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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

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ANTIQUITY.

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

VOLUME XXV.



LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SON, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN SOMERSET-PLACE; AND BY MESSRS. HARDING AND LEPARD, CADELL, EGERTON, AND TAYLOR.

MDCCCXXXIV.

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At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 31, 1782.

RESOLVED,

THAT any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir he may have presented to the Society, may be allowed, upon application to the Council, to have a certain number, not exceeding Twenty, printed off at his own expense.

At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 23, 1792.

RESOLVED,

THAT the Order made the 31st of May, 1782, with respect to Gentlemen who may be desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir they may have presented to the Society, be printed in the volumes of the Archæologia, in some proper and conspicuous part, for the better communication of the same to the Members at large.

At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 2, 1815.

ORDERED,

THAT, in future, any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Paper he may have presented to the Society, which shall be printed in the Archæologia or Vetusta Monumenta, shall be allowed, on application in writing to the Secretary, to receive a number not exceeding Twenty Copies (free of all expense) of such Paper, as soon as it is printed.

ARCHAEOLOGIA;

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

I. *A Letter from* JOHN GAGE, *Esquire, Director, to* HUDSON GURNEY, *Esq. Vice President, &c. accompanying a Plan of Barrows called the Bartlow Hills, in the parish of Ashdon, in Essex, with an account of Roman sepulchral relics recently discovered in the lesser Barrows.*

Read 5th April, 1832.

DEAR SIR,

AT the north-eastern extremity of the parish of Ashdon, in Essex, are certain artificial mounds, a plan of which I have the honour to lay before you. They consist, as you will observe, of a line of four greater Barrows, and of a line of three smaller Barrows, at the distance of between seventy and eighty feet in front of the others. The situation of these mounds is remarkable; they stand on a gentle acclivity in face of Bartlow church, the country gradually rising round them like an extended amphitheatre. Between the hills and the church, is a hollow to the north, down which runs a little brook

that divides the parishes of Ashdon and Bartlow, forming the boundary of the counties of Essex and Cambridge. Though the hills do not belong to the parish of Bartlow, which is in Cambridgeshire, nor to the hamlet of Bartlow, which is in Essex, still, from the received interpretation of the Saxon word *Low*,[a] a Barrow, it is clear that they give name to the place, a proof of their antiquity. Ashdon church stands considerably more than a mile distant, and is not visible from the hills.

The diameter of the largest Barrow is 147 feet, and that of the three other principal Barrows is about 100 feet. The altitude of the largest is 93 feet, and of the one on each side of it 69 feet: the other principal hill, which has been lowered, is about 45 feet high.

The diameter of the smaller Barrows is 95 feet, and as they are not more than from 8 to 10 feet high, the plough passes over them in the course of husbandry. The earth of these was thrown up from the brook side: the others were raised chiefly from the pit in front.

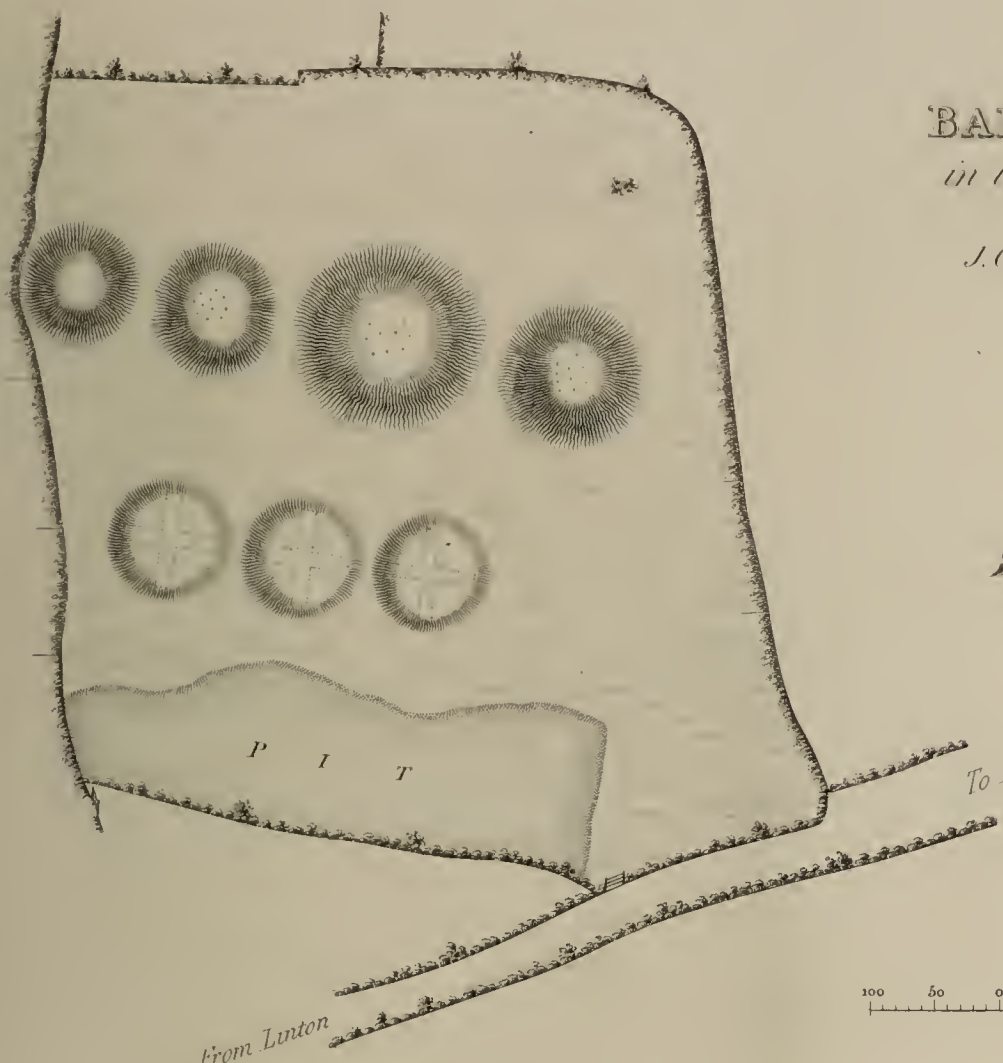
The highway leading from Linton to Ashdon passes at the distance of rather more than 80 yards from the smaller Barrows on the western side.

In a little meadow by the brook side, within 150 yards of the mounds to the northwest, are vestiges of an earthwork which seems to have remained hitherto unnoticed. The agger is 317 feet long, from east to west, the eastern end being cut through by a ditch which separates it from the Bartlow Rectory garden, in which direction there is the appearance of the mound being continued. The western end is broken by the highway before mentioned, and at an angle, here, the earthwork forms a little inclosure in the form of a parallelogram, 120 feet by 63, with two entrances. In this spot is a low mound 26 feet in diameter. There are also some appearances of another earth-work about 300 yards south-west of these mounds, at a place called Blackditch.

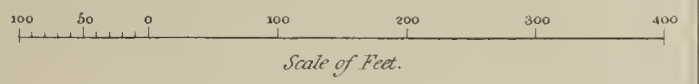
[a] See a Disquisition by the Rev. Mr. Pegge on the Lows in the Peak of Derbyshire, Archæologia, vol. vii. p. 131.

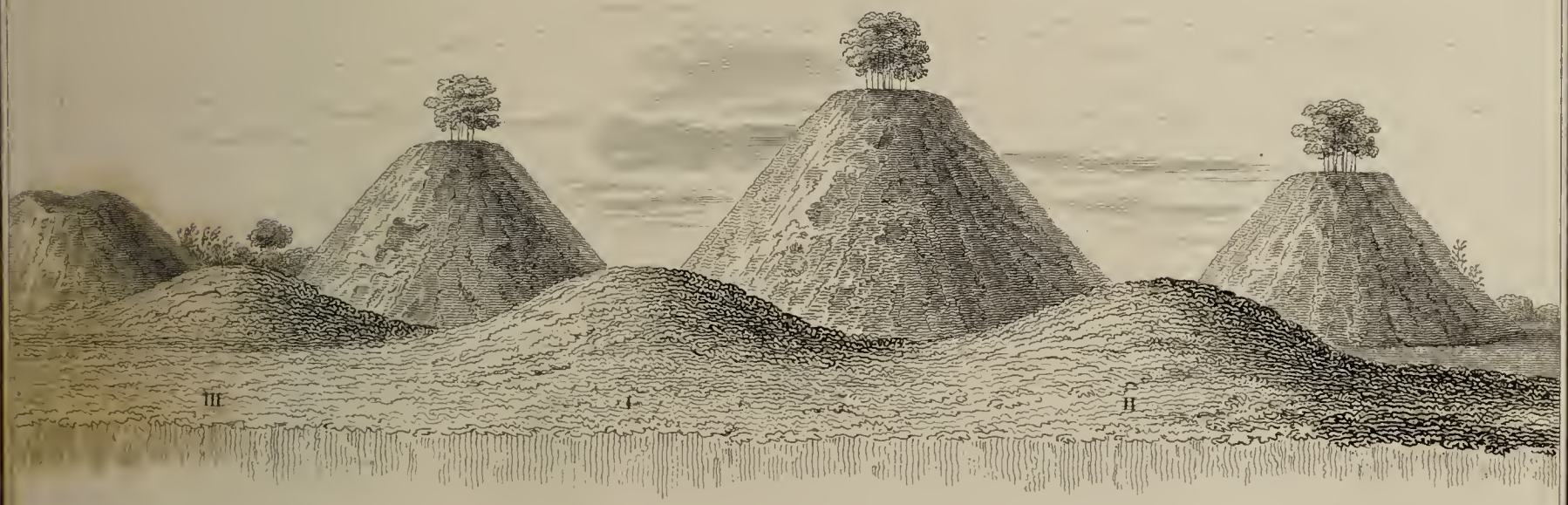
A Plan
of the
BARTLOW HILLS,
in the Parish of Ashdon
IN ESSEX.

J. G. Lenny, Surv.r Bury St. Edm.ds
1832.









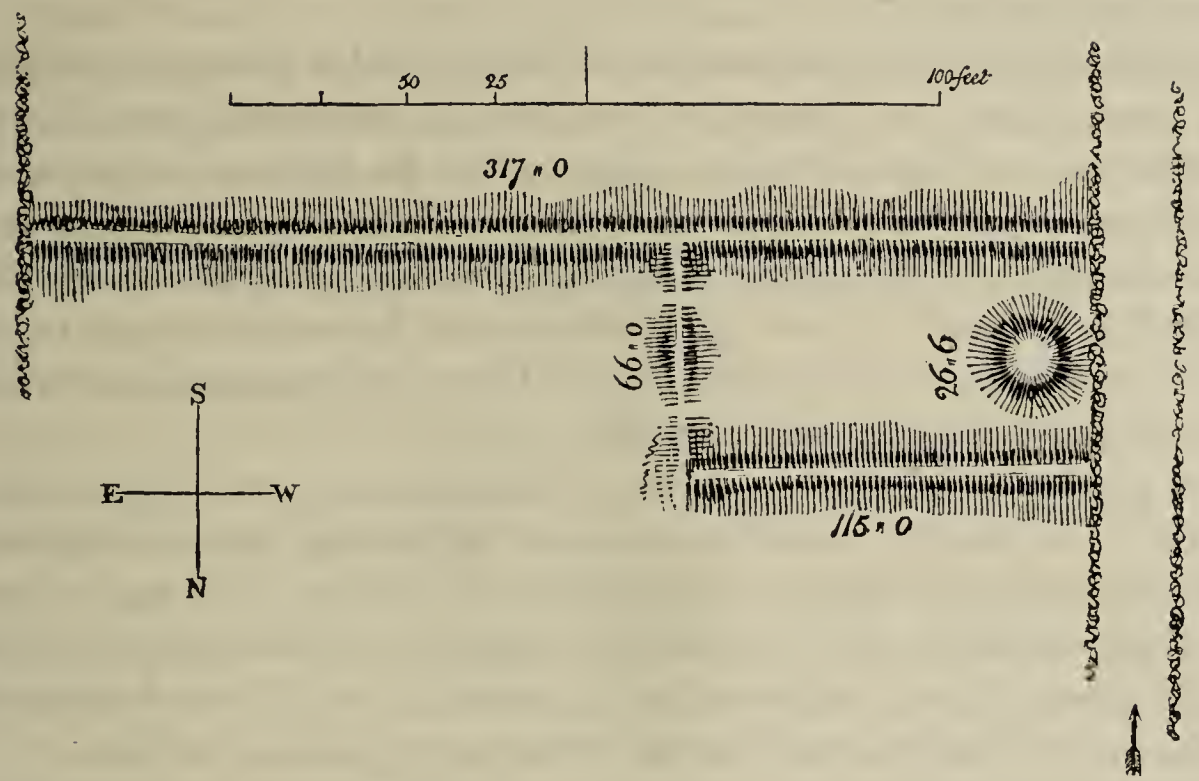
Perspective View of the Bartlow Hills (from the N.W.)

Diameter of the largest Hill	*147 Feet.*
Diameter of the three other principal Hills (about)	*100 Feet.*
Diameter of the three small Barrows	*95 Feet.*

J.e Basire sculp

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 28th April 1832

A plan of the first described earthwork is subjoined:



Camden speaks of Bartlow, under the name of Barklow, in Essex, in the following words:[b] "On the edge of the county next to Cambridgeshire is Barklow, remarkable for four artificial hills, such as were anciently thrown up for soldiers slain in battle, whose remains, as some think, could not be found. But upon digging down a fifth and sixth, some time since, I am informed they found three stone coffins with broken human bones in them. The country people say they were cast up after a battle with the Danes, for the dwarf elder which grows plentifully hereabouts, with blood-coloured

[b] Gough's Camden, vol. ii. p. 46. The following is the passage in the original: "Et quâ hæc regio Cantabrigienses spectat, Bartlow quatuor jam tumulis aggestis notum ostenditur, cujusmodi, occisis militibus, quorum reliquiæ non faciles erant repertu, ut aliqui volunt, extruxit antiquitas. Verum cum quintus et sextus ex his jampridem defoderentur, tria, ut accepimus, e saxo sepulchra, et in illis confracta hominum ossa sunt inventa. Aggestos vero post prælium ibi contra Danos commissum rustici ferunt. Ebulum enim quod sanguineis baccis hîc circumquâque copiosè provenit, non alio nomine quam *Danes-bloud*, id est, *Danicum Sanguinem*, etiamnum appellitant, ob multitudinem Danorum qui ibidem ceciderunt." This is from the author's edition of the Britannia, published in 1607, which varies from the first edition of 1590, where he speaks of three mounds remaining, and of one dug down.

berries, goes by the name of *Danes-blood*,[c] in memory of the numbers of that nation slain here."

By Holinshed[d] this spot is treated as the bloody field of Æscendun or Assandun, where Cnut, the Dane, in 1016, finally triumphed over Edmund Ironside; and he adds: "In this place, where the field was fought, are yet seen seven or eight hills wherein the carcases of them that were slain at the same hills were buried, and one being digged down of late, there were found two bodies in a coffin of stone, of which the one lay with his head towards the other's feet, and manie chaines of iron (like to the water-chains of the bits of horses) were found in the same hills."

The battle just alluded to, in which the flower of the English nobility perished, was fought, according to some authorities, in the kingdom of Essex; according to others, on the confines of Mercia.[e] The spot is doubtful: Camden and Gough[f] place it at Assingdon, in the hundred of Rochford, in Essex; Blore,[g] at Essendine, in Rutland; and Morant[h] agrees with Holinshed in fixing it at the Bartlow Hills, in the parish of Ashdon.

Malmesbury, speaking of Cnut, says:[i] "Loca omnia in quibus pugnaverat & precipue Achendune ecclesiis insignivit; ministros instituit, qui per succidua seculorum volumina Deo supplicarent pro animabus ibi occisorum. Ad consecrationem illius Basilicæ & ipse affuit, & optimates Anglorum & Danorum donaria porrexerunt. Nunc, ut fertur, modica est Ecclesia presbytero parochiano delegata." This passage occasioned Morant to remark, that Cnut's church "could not be the present church of Ashdon, because it stands too far from the field of battle; therefore it is with great reason supposed that it is Bartlow church which stands near the hills, *and hath a round steeple, being the Danish way of building.*"

[c] Sambucus Ebulus, Dwarf Elder, called Dane's-wort. [d] Holinshed, Chron. vol. i. p. 176.

[e] Encomium Emmæ, p. 16, Lond. 1783; Saxon Chronicle; Flor. Wigorn, p. 387, Lond. 1592; Historia Eliensis, p. 503; Malmsb. de gestis Reg. lib. ii. p. 40 b; Hist. Rames. 433; Matth. Westm. p. 204. Cnut had passed from Shepey into Essex, and through Essex into Mercia. On the advance of Edmund he retreated back the same way;—and that way would in all probability lead to Shobury, the favourite port and residence of the Danes. Not far from Shobury is Assingdon, which bears a great resemblance to Assandun, and this Camden considers to be the place of the battle. [f] Gough's Camden, vol. ii. pp. 42, 61.

[g] History of the County of Rutland, p. 28. [h] Hist. of Essex, vol. ii. p. 539.

[i] De gestis Reg. lib. ii. c. xi.

When I some time since offered to you my observations on our ecclesiastical Round Towers,[k] I controverted the absurd notion of ascribing round towers of churches to the Danes, and I laid before you a drawing of Bartlow church, shewing that it could have no connection with Cnut, since it is built in the Pointed style of Architecture. I ventured, at the same time, to express doubts whether the Bartlow Hills, themselves, were raised by the Danes, for different circumstances led me to think that the mounds were more probably British or Roman works. The recent discoveries go far to establish my opinion.

With the permission of Viscount Maynard, on whose estate these hills are situated, the line of smaller Barrows has been lately opened, and I beg to make the following report of the discoveries:

On the 2nd January, 1832, in the presence of Mr. Wright, of Waltons, Mr. Plowden, and others, aided by Lord Maynard's respectable tenant, Mr. Hustler, I opened the centre Barrow, No. I. A few bones presented themselves in the course of digging through the Barrow; small cavities or hollows were occasionally observable in the soil, taking horizontal directions; and as the work approached the bed of chalk, small pieces of decayed wood were taken out, and a layer of decomposed wood was seen. The workmen at length struck off the long neck of a glass vessel. On examining now the spot particularly, there appeared to have lain in the bed of chalk, at the depth of a foot and a half or thereabout, a wooden chest about four feet square. The chest itself was entirely pulverized, but the spike nails that had fastened it on all sides, and some of which are four inches and a half long, were seen lying in a square as they had fallen, and at the angles were the iron straps with portions of wood adhering to them.

In this space the following sepulchral relics were discovered: I. a thin, transparent glass vessel *(fig.* 1, ***Plate II.)*** resembling a Florentine flask, with a long narrow neck, and a ribband-fashioned handle, terminating in the manner of an eagle's talon. The glass is ten inches and three quarters high, and five inches and a half in diameter, and there are some stains of liquid upon it. II. A small, square, narrow-mouthed, glass vessel like a jar *(fig.* 2, ***Plate II.)*** six inches high, and full three inches square, nearly filled with some black and white substance, chiefly fatty matter. III. A coarse, yellowish, spherical

[k] Archæologia, vol. xxiii. p. 10.

shaped, earthen vessel, of the pitcher kind, with a narrow neck and an ear *(fig.* 3, *Plate II.)* being seven inches high, and four and a half in diameter. IV. Eight vessels of red glazed earthen ware, of different sizes, in the form of cups and saucers *(see specimens, figs.* 4, 5, *Plate II.)*: these are all stamped with the potter's marks, and of such of them as are distinguishable, fac-similes are here given.









These vessels were filled with the decomposed wood of the chest, and one of them is preserved in that state. V. Two small dark earthen-ware urns *(figs.* 6, 7, *Plate II.)* one measures three inches and a quarter high, by three and a half in diameter, the other three inches five eighths, by three inches and a quarter. VI. A little bronze lock, and one or two bits of iron with wood adhering to them, as if belonging to some small wooden coffer. VII. An iron lamp, with the wood of the chest adhering to the bottom of it: and lastly, VIII. A small deposit of burnt human bones, which were lying on the chalk surrounded by the things described: in the cavity of one of the bones is a twisted iron point.

On the 6th of January I opened the other two Barrows, Nos. II. and III. in the presence of Lord Braybrooke, Sir William Pringle, Lt.-Col. Drummond, Mr. Wright, the Rev. Messrs. Chapman, and Carr, Rectors of Ashdon, and Hadstock, and, among many others, of the Rev. John Bullen, Rector of Bartlow, whose friendly assistance it gives me pleasure to acknowledge. In Barrow No. II, was discovered a remarkable brick sepulchre, in the shape of an altar, six feet three inches long, two feet three inches and a half wide throughout, and one foot eleven inches and three quarters high, *(see the perspective view, fig.* 1, *and section, fig.* 2, *Plate III.)* It stands north and south on the bed of chalk, about a foot below the natural surface, and between seven and eight feet below the artificial soil. The basement consists of a single course of bricks raised on a floor of cement full two inches thick; each of the walls has seven courses of brick regularly laid, excepting that the top course of the side walls is set two inches within the rest, by which means the mouth is contracted to eight inches, and the interior was thus better secured from wet. The lid (*fig.* 3, *Plate III.*) is composed of two courses of brick of different sizes, the under joints being lapped; and the whole was covered with a thick



Fig. 4.



Fig. 3.

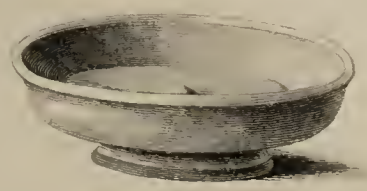


Fig. 5.

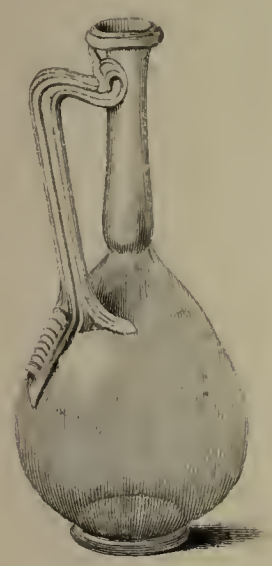


Fig. 1.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 6.



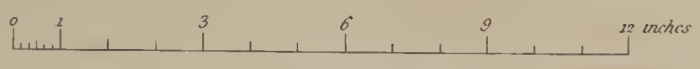
Fig. 11



Fig. 7.



Fig 10



I C.Buckler. del

J.ª Basire. sc.

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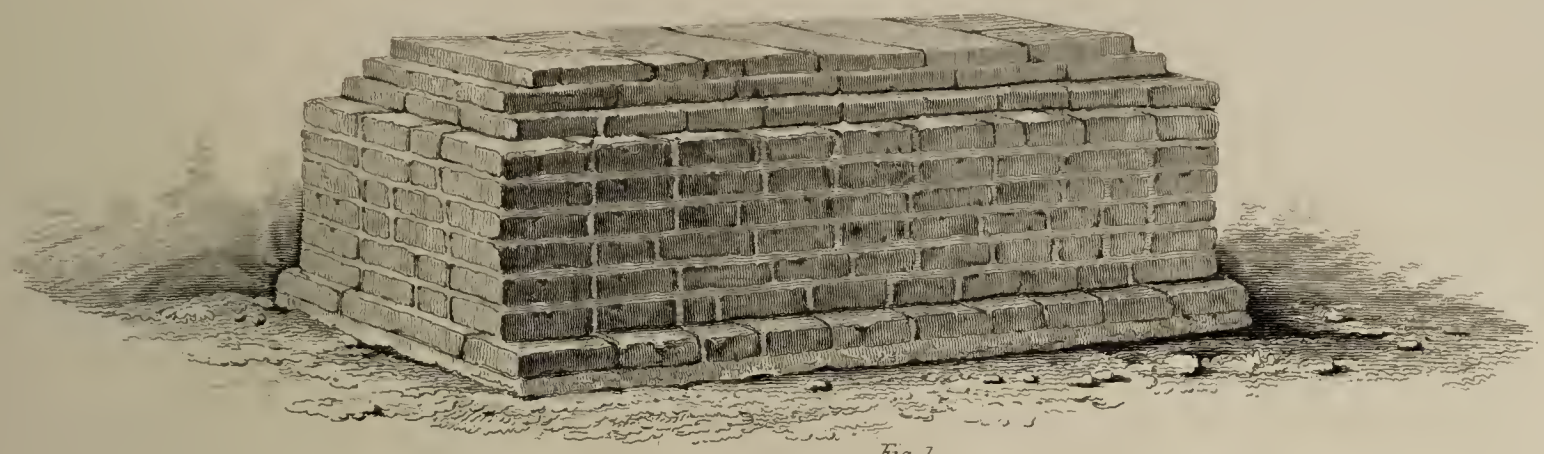


Fig 1.

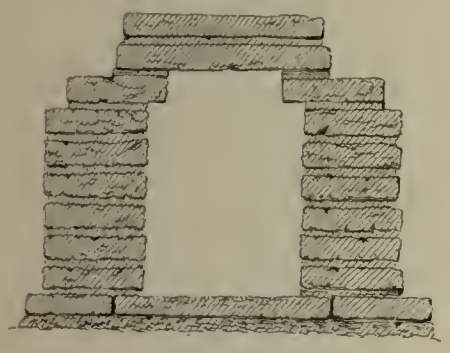


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 5.

Fig. 9.



Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

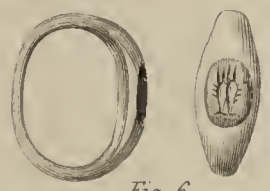


Fig. 6.



Fig. 4.

J C.Buckler del.t

J.s Basire sc.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1833.

coat of cement. The largest of the top bricks measures one foot five inches, by eleven and a half, and two inches thick, the side bricks are about two inches and a half thick. All the courses were laid in deep beds of cement, which was hard and dry.

On opening the mouth of the sepulchre (*fig.* 4, ***Plate III.***) there was seen toward the southern end the following objects :

I. A large, thick, cylindrical, greenish coloured glass urn (*fig.* 5, ***Plate III.***) eleven inches and a half high, and ten inches and a quarter in diameter, with a short reeded handle, springing from the neck ; along one side of the vase lay a thick incrustation of dark brown powder. The vessel was open at the mouth, and nearly two-thirds full of a clear pale yellow liquor, covering a deposit of burnt human bones ; on the top of the bones was seen lying a gold ring (*fig.* 6, ***Plate III.***) which when taken out (the mouth of the vase being wide enough to admit of the introduction of a boy's hand for the purpose) was found to be a signet ring, having a cornelian intaglio, with the design of two ears of bearded corn. Afterward, when the contents of the vase came to be examined by Dr. Faraday, there was discovered a coin much corroded, adhering from rust firmly to one of the bones at the top. The coin is second brass, with the head of the Emperor Hadrian on the obverse, and on the reverse a figure seated, holding something nearly defaced in the right hand, and a cornucopia in the left, probably a Fortuna Redux.[1] II. A small, cylindrical, glass vase (*fig.* 7, ***Plate III.***) of the same quality as the urn, measuring five inches and three quarters in height, and five inches and a quarter in diameter, with a short reeded handle, which touched the urn, so that upon this vase had fallen some of the same kind of dark brown incrusted powder seen on the side of the other. This was also open at the mouth, and had a small quantity of a darker coloured fluid in it. III. A small, thick, yellow, sparkling, glass cup, with a whitish coat adhering to it both inside and out : the lip of it was nearly dissolved, and the little handle, of a bluish tint, had fallen off and lay near. On touching the cup it fell to pieces ; as near as could be calculated it measured about three inches and a quarter high, and the same in diameter (*fig.*

[1] There are several coins of the Emperor Hadrian having on the reverse a Fortuna Redux, with a rudder in her right hand, and a cornucopia in her left. Hadrian visited Britain in the year 120, and some of his coins are inscribed Britannia.

8, ***Plate III.)*** IV. Fragments of fine platted basket-work in the shape of a little bottle, with a white coating inside. V. A wooden vessel, four inches and a half in height, and two inches in diameter, hooped round the middle, and also at the top and bottom, with bronze, and having a handle of the same material *(fig.* 9, ***Plate III.)***; the wooden ribs are in extraordinary preservation; much of the bronze had fallen to pieces, and lay near; the rest gave way on the vessel being moved. VI. Some very fine earth, so dry as to be capable of being sifted, lay at the northern end of the sepulchre, and at the southern end was also a little earth of the same quality, mixed with the decomposed wood of a small coffer, and the lock and iron straps that had belonged to it.

The third Barrow exhibited appearances of decomposed wood, as the workmen approached the chalk, much the same as in the first Barrow opened; but there were not any nails, nor iron straps for a chest. The following sepulchral remains were discovered: I. A large, thick, square, wide mouthed, greenish coloured, glass urn of the jar form *(fig.* 8, ***Plate II.)*** with a reeded handle: it measures twelve inches high, and six inches square, and is full of burnt human bones. II. Two small, square, narrow mouthed, greenish coloured, glass vessels with reeded handles *(see an example of one of them, fig.* 9, ***Plate II.)***: they were empty, and very similar to, but rather smaller than the glass vessel with fatty matter found in the first Barrow. III. An iron lamp *(fig.* 10, ***Plate II.)*** of the same description as that found in the first Barrow, but more perfect; the long handle fastened by a ring, from which the lamp was suspended, being unbroken. IV. An elegant bronze vase, five inches and a half high, and four inches and three quarters in diameter, with an elevated handle, and standing on a vessel or dish of bronze. The dish, seven inches and a half in diameter and one and a half in depth, is round, with circles within, the centre of it being convex, and has a solid, straight, fluted handle, four inches and three quarters long, that terminates in a ram's head: the handle had been soldered to the vessel, and lay detached by the side of it *(fig.* 11, ***Plate II.)***. V. Some fragments of a little dark earthenware urn, and also some bits of iron, including a small strap supposed to have belonged to a wooden coffer;—such were the contents of the line of smaller Barrows.

Cæsar informs us that it was the custom of the Gauls[m] to burn their dead, which had become a common practice of the Romans, in imitation of the Greeks, toward the end of the Republic,[n] and was almost universal under the Emperors;[o] and certainly the sepulchral mound and the funeral urn, at the time of Cæsar's invasion, were common both to the Romans and the British Belgæ; whence it is not always easy, even on the opening of some of our Barrows, to distinguish the sepulchres of the two nations. We are relieved from difficulty in the present instance, as the contents, just detailed, of the Barrows opened by me, leave no doubt of their pure Roman origin.

> Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens
> Aggeritur tumulo tellus. ÆNEID, lib. iii. v. 62.

In character the three sepulchres so nearly resemble each other that they may safely be ascribed to the same age. Two were constructed of wood, and one of brick, laid respectively on the bed of chalk. Each contained human bones burnt, which in the brick tomb and one of the wooden sepulchres, were deposited in glass urns: all the cinerary deposits were laid to the south, accompanied by sacrificial or funeral vessels; each tomb had some glass vessel, the quality and manufacture of which were decidedly the same in all three, and the iron lamps found in the two wooden sepulchres were also precisely alike.

When a body was burnt and buried in the same place, it was called *Bustum*, whence the word was often used to signify the Tomb, and Cicero speaks of the *Bustum*[p] Basili, and the Catuli *Bustum*: it would seem, therefore, that Bustum is a proper name for the sepulchres we have opened:

> ——desertaque busta
> Incolit, et tumulos expulsis obtinet umbris,
> Grata Deis Erebi. LUCAN, lib. VI. v. 511.

In 1779[q] the Rev. James Douglas opened a tumulus on Chatham Lines, which contained a skeleton and various objects, including different coins of the Lower Empire. "A dark-coloured earth," says the discoverer, "which

m Cæsar, lib. vi.
n Cic. de Leg. lib. 2. Plin. vii. 54.
o Tacit. Annal. xvii. 9.
p Epist. ad Attic. lib. vii.
q Nenia Britannica, tumulus II.

sheeted the body, and which, on the sides of the grave, in a section through it, discovered some appearance of a decayed substance; and the breadth of it, gave me reason to suppose the body had been inclosed in wood." In 1784 and 1789[r] various sepulchral urns, leaden and stone sarcophagi, Roman coins and utensils, were discovered at Kingsholme, near Gloucester; and the Rev. Thomas Mutlow, describing one of the leaden sarcophagi, says that the labourer who made the discovery "is certain that there was a coffin of wood in which the leaden one had been inclosed, as the nails supposed to have fastened it lay in a regular position round the place where the leaden one was found." In 1801[s] the Rev. Peter Rashleigh discovered at Southfleet, in Kent, upon a spot where many Roman antiquities were subsequently found, a stone sarcophagus, having a lid with an iron ring, and containing two skeletons wrapped in lead, which he concludes had been inclosed in wood, from several large spike nails with flat heads having been found among the dust in the tomb.

To these examples, which are presumed to be Roman, of the use by that people of wooden chests for inclosing the funeral deposits, are to be added those at Bartlow; and I suspect, from the frequent appearance of decomposed wood in barrows, that it was not unusual to inclose the urn, or the ashes themselves, in wood; and in confirmation of this may be cited Seneca,[t] who speaks of the use of wooden sepulchral urns.

The brick Roman sepulchre is often found in the Campagna di Roma, and it is sometimes met with in this country, of which that discovered at York in 1768, described in the second volume of our Transactions, and where coins of Domitian and Vespasian were found, may be cited as an example. I know of none the form of which is so elegant as that discovered at Bartlow.

The Bustum of stone, as well as the Roman stone Sarcophagus, in which was deposited the body unburnt, is not uncommon in England, and some specimens of the stone Bustum will be noticed hereafter.

When Camden relates, on hearsay, that stone coffins with broken human

r Archæologia, vol. vii. p. 376-379; vol. x. p. 132.

s Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 37.

t Vasa etiam multa aurea erant et argentea; majore autem numero, ærea, figlina, *lignea*, atque vitrea. Seneca.

bones had been discovered in levelling two of the Bartlow Hills, I am induced to think that these were Roman sepulchres. The Rector of Ashdon has in his garden a small stone trough, in the form of a parallelogram, which came from the village blacksmith's, and which, according to tradition, was dug out of the Bartlow Hills; it is just such a trough in size and form as is occasionally met with, containing Ossoria, or vessels, sometimes of earth, often of glass, with burnt human bones.

The Romans made great use of glass for domestic as well as sepulchral purposes; and the Royal Museum at Naples contains a large collection of glass vessels of every kind and form, from Herculaneum, Pompeii, and the vicinity. In the sixth volume of the Real Museo Borbonico drawings are given of two glass urns, covered, both described as containing burnt human bones floating in liquid mixed with aromatics. The Vatican, among other foreign collections, possesses different examples of Roman glass; and in the Royal Museum at Munich is sepulchral glass found at Ratisbon and Salzburgh, consisting of urns of a pale green colour full of bones, and some lying in stone troughs or receptacles. Sir William Hamilton found a large glass sepulchral urn at Puzzuolo, and in 1767 another smaller urn, near Cuma, which was full of ashes, and stood in a leaden coffer. These are now in the British Museum, where the collection of Roman glass is small, though more valuable than all other collections since it possesses the Portland vase. That celebrated urn, from the Barbarini Palace, was found with ashes in it, in the tomb of Alexander Severus, and exhibits a perfection of art in glass, such as we have never equalled.

In this country, beads, armillæ, lacrymatories, vases, cinerary urns, and other relics of glass, are occasionally found in all parts. According to Strabo, glass was one of the commodities introduced into Britain from Tyre: some have questioned whether the Romans brought hither with them the art of manufacturing glass; but when we reflect upon the long and flourishing settlement of the Romans in Britain, it seems hardly possible to doubt that this, among the other arts of Rome, must have been communicated by her to this favourite province of the Empire. I will content myself with selecting two or three remarkable examples of discoveries in this country of sepulchral glass, as illustrations to our purpose.

On the opening of a barrow at Winston in Derbyshire in 1768,[u] two glass vessels were found, between eight and ten inches high, with wide circular mouths, each containing about a pint of liquid of a light greenish colour, exceedingly limpid. Beads of glass were found with the vessels, and ornaments of silver and gold, and some small remains of brass clasps and hinges with pieces of wood, as of a little box in which the ornaments seem to have been deposited. In 1801[x] Mr. Walford communicated to the Society a Survey of a Roman way passing through Ridgwell, Birdbrook, and Sturmere in Essex, and Haverhill and Withersfield in Suffolk, accompanied with a description of various discoveries of Roman antiquities made along that way in different places. In a meadow near the brook by Meldham Bridge, adjoining Haverhill, Mr. Walford mentions that many bones and a variety of urns were found in 1757 or 1758, one in particular of pale bluish green glass, hermetically sealed, sufficiently large to contain two gallons. When found, the urn was three parts full of small pieces of burnt bones, upon which was placed a lacrymatory. At the same place were also discovered vessels of earthenware, among which, was a cup of red pottery, with the potter's mark VITAL. It must be observed that the spot where these sepulchral remains were found, is about five miles from the Bartlow Hills, and that the glass urn and cup last mentioned have their counterparts[y] among the relics discovered at Bartlow, with the same potter's mark on the earthenware. In 1802[z] Mr. Rashleigh discovered at Southfleet, near the Sarcophagus of which mention has been made, various Roman antiquities, and, among others, another Sarcophagus, divided into two parts, fitting in a groove: within were two large glass urns, containing each a considerable quantity of burnt human bones. Both the urns were open at the top; one of them, containing bones which occupied about one third of it, was filled to the brim with a transparent liquor, without taste or smell. The other urn was about two-thirds full of bones, and had some of the same liquor. Between the two urns were the remains of two

[u] Archæologia, vol. iii. p. 274.
[x] Ibid. vol. xiv. p. 74.
[y] See Plate V. ibid.
[z] Ibid. p. 221.

pair of splendid shoes. A large square glass urn with burnt human bones was fouud in 1795 at Lincoln, precisely similar to the Ossorium found in our third barrow.[a]

Mr. Clift, the intelligent Conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, on a careful examination of the bones recently discovered at Bartlow, is of opinion, that those deposited with the liquid in the glass urn found in the brick bustum, are of an adult, but whether male or female it is difficult to pronounce; that the bones in the other glass urn are of a male, older, and more robust than the first subject; and in respect to the bone, the cavity of which contains an iron point, he is doubtful whether it may not be ivory, and the handle of an instrument. At the same time he remarked that, among the bones, there was more than one specimen unquestionably human, which had acquired something of the same appearance as the bone just noticed.

With great good feeling and alacrity, Dr. Faraday, of the Royal Institution, undertook to analyse the liquid, and to give his opinion on that and other things which he allowed me to submit to him, and I have much pleasure in subjoining his report:

"Royal Institution, February 11, 1832.

"The large glass vase or bottle, being cylindrical in the body, about ten inches in diameter, and eight inches high, would contain nearly two gallons and a half. It was about two-fifths full of liquor and burnt bones; the latter being well covered with the fluid. Some pieces of the bones had drops of fused light-coloured glass adhering to them. The bones were burnt so much as to be most of them white on the exterior; but some were still black and carbonaceous on the outside, and many were so within.

"The pieces of glass adhering and fused to the bones, were light coloured and nearly white externally. They were not the consequence of fusion of the bones with the ashes of the wood, but were like the material of the bottles, and have resulted from glass, which, either in the form of vessels or otherwise, has been added, or rather subjected to the fire.

"With respect to the cupreous coin found in the vase upon the top of

[a] Ibid. vol. x. p. 345; vol. xii. p. 108.

the bones, and adhering to one of the pieces, and also in reply to your question, whether I think it has the appearance of having been heated? I must state, though with great deference, that I do not think it has. All the carbonate and oxide of copper which incrusts it, may have been easily formed by the joint action of time, water, and air; and if it had been subjected to the same heat as that which the bones accompanying it have borne, I think it would have been melted, or at least oxydized so violently and suddenly upon the surface, as to have taken away from the distinctness of the impression more than it seems to have lost. From its position also, it seemed to have been the last thing put into the bottle, and its adhesion to the bone was just that which the gradual formation of oxide would occasion.

"The liquor in this vessel was of a clear pale brown colour. It was a very weak aqueous solution, containing a little carbonated soda and traces of sulphate and muriate of soda; it contained no earthy salts. One fluid ounce left 4.2 grains of a pale brownish substance, which when heated, blackened and yielded a little ammonia, but did not flame or burn visibly.

"I cannot tell when the water which has formed this weak solution entered the open vase; whether it was put in at the time of the interment, or whether it has gradually entered, either by dropping in, or by differences of temperature causing a species of distillation into the vessel after it was inclosed in the vault and surrounded with earth. I can easily conceive that any of these cases may have happened.

"The deposit upon the side of the large vase, and also of its neighbour, was a dry flea-brown powder, containing a few white specks. It was combustible with a very feeble flame, burning like ill-made tinder or charred matter. It left a little pale light ash, containing carbonated alkali, carbonate of lime, and a little insoluble earth. This substance gave no trace of ammonia by heat. It is probably the result left upon the decay of organic matter, but of what nature or in what situation that may have been I cannot say.

"The liquor from the smallest vase did not amount to more than one-sixth of an ounce, and was very dirty, i. e. it contained black insoluble matter, which when separated by a filter, was partly combustible and partly earthy, but I could make nothing of it. The filtered liquor was aqueous,

clear, almost colourless, not alkaline; it contained in solution, sulphate of lime and sulphate and muriate of a fixed alkali.

"Let me now proceed to the square narrow-mouthed bottle. It had evidently been blown in a mould. It might hold about a pint and a half. Its mouth was so narrow as but just to admit the little finger; and yet it was three-fourths filled with a solid substance, which, though generally moulded to the form of the bottle, was not compact, but lying loosely in portions with intervening spaces or clefts; some parts were light in colour, others discoloured, and others black.

"Being removed from the bottle it weighed about five ounces and a half. When a compact piece which had lain uppermost was broken, it presented a sharp fracture, yellowish and semi-transparent in the middle, whiter and more opaque nearer to the external part, and dark brown or black at the exterior: it was of a fatty nature and could be cut with the nail. Other portions towards the bottom of the bottle were soft, pale, yellow, and discoloured by brown matter; these also were fatty.

"The darkest portions were in comparatively small quantity, but they also were fatty to the touch.

"When the pale substance was heated, it fuzed at temperature lower than 212° F. and on cooling solidified, becoming at the same time imperfectly crystallized. When heated with water it melted and floated on the water, but did not dissolve in it. It dissolved instantly upon the addition of a little alkali, forming a soap. It dissolved also freely in hot alcohol, a bulky crystalline mass being produced as the solution cooled. It dissolved less freely in cold alcohol. It burnt with a bright white smoky flame like fat, and had indeed all the characters of saponified fat, or the margaric or stearic acid.

"The brown parts also burnt with bright flame like fat, leaving a very little ash. When digested in alcohol, that fluid dissolved out a very great proportion of a nearly colourless fatty matter, like that described above, and left a few dark brown flocculi heavier than water. These being collected, burnt on platina foil somewhat in the manner of tinder, and not with flame; on examining a portion by heat in a tube, upon the supposition of

its being the residue of albuminous or gelatinous matter, no trace of ammonia could be obtained from it.

" Hence, the whole of the contents of this bottle may be resolved into nearly colourless fatty matter, *i. e.* margaric or stearic acid, and black films or flocculi. The substance cannot be the residue left by the decomposition of any ordinary fluid, such as blood, or milk, &c. &c. but has probably, when introduced, been fat poured in in the melted state. It may have been converted into fatty acid by heat before its introduction ; or time may have effected that change in it since. From the form of the portions and their state in the bottle, I think it not improbable that there may have been a little aqueous fluid, such as milk, blood, or some other decomposible substance in the bottle, before the fat was introduced and which by its intervention has caused the separation into portions ; and by its decay has left the black patches of matter : or else, that some decomposible substance has been introduced with the fat. Is it at all likely that any of the viscera or other parts of the body, have been introduced, and the fat poured in with, or upon them ? The decay of such parts would account for the cavernous form of the fat and the black carbonaceous matter.

" You gave me a piece of glass, which was peculiar from its not having the greenish colour of the larger vases (which resemble in that respect some of our crown glass) but being rather pale yellow ; and also earthy and white on the outside. The glass handle which you showed me as accompanying the present specimen, was coloured blue, and, judging from appearance only, I think with cobalt. The piece of glass which I took (pale yellow) I found not to differ essentially from that of the large vases except in original purity of material. It was much freer from iron, but it contained only alkali, lime, silica, &c. &c. and no lead. The outside has been much altered by air, and probably water, and hence its white and earthy appearance.

" The fragments of metal which I took from the handle of the tub, from the dish, and the vase, were all of them bronze, *i. e.* a combination of copper with tin.

" Nothing now remains for me to refer to but the fragments of a neatly platted basket, or other such article. On the interior part of this fragment is an incrustation, about one-twelfth of an inch thick, loose and crumbling,

generally brown on the exterior, but white within when broken up. This substance is an odoriferous gum resin. When heated, it evolves a fine aroma, somewhat resembling that of myrrh or frankincense; and at a higher temperature it burns with a white smoky flame. Boiled in alcohol part dissolves, and the solution is precipitated by water; or boiled in water part dissolves, and the solution is precipitated by alcohol.

" The incrustation appears, upon close examination, as if it consisted of numerous small white masses, separated from each other by brownish matter. It may have been applied to the interior of the basket in the state of a paste, but there is little to indicate what has really been the process. The vegetable platted fibres of the basket, when separated from this incrustation, yield no aroma by heat, they burn with a pale flame, and have the marks of old vegetable matter of ordinary character which has been well preserved.

(signed) M. Faraday."

Thus far Dr. Faraday.—The pieces of glass noticed by him as adhering from fusion to some of the bones, and the liquid covering them in the urn, could not fail recalling to recollection these lines of the poet's description of the funeral pile of Misenus.

——— Congesta cremantur
Thurea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.
Postquam collapsi cineres et flamma quievit;
Reliquias vino et bibulam lavêre favillam;
Ossaque lecta cado texit Chorinæus aheno.

Æneid, lib. vi. v. 224.

I was led to think that this liquid might be wine, or perhaps lustral water, as the dry state of the bustum, and the difficulty for water to get into it, make it likely that the liquid was poured into the urn at the time the bones were deposited there.

The same poetical description also seemed to account for the dark brown incrusted powder lying along one side of the urn, and which had sprinkled the other glass vessel and also the ground near it.

——— Cui frondibus atris
Intexunt latera et ferales ante cupressos
Constituunt. Æneid, lib. vi. v. 215.

A branch of yew or other dark vegetable substance might have been the origin of the incrustation. It is proper to remark, that Mr. Almack in his notice [b] of the discovery at Melford, in Suffolk, of Roman antiquities, consisting of a large glass sepulchral urn, pateræ, and other objects, mentions a substance like lamp-black that lay about the pateræ.

Milk, wine, and blood, were the chief offerings at the funeral sacrifices, *Inferiæ.*

> Inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte,
> Sanguinis et sacri pateras; animamque sepulchro
> Condimus, et magna supremum voce ciemus.
>
> ÆNEID, lib. iii. v. 66.

The vessels for libation used at the pile, appear to have been often deposited in the tomb with the urn, and they sometimes added such munera or oblations as were thought to be most agreeable to the manes of the deceased. Thence comes that variety of things found in the Roman Sepulchres:

> Sit satis, O superi, quod non Cornelia fuso
> Crine jacet, subicique facem complexa maritum
> Imperat, extremo sed abest a *munere* busti
> Infelix conjux.—— LUCAN, lib. viii. v. 739.

At Avisford Hill, near Arundel, was discovered a Roman sarcophagus, described by Mr. Dallaway in his History of Sussex,[c] containing a large glass sepulchral urn with bones, round which were placed more than thirty different vessels and other things.

A few remarks may be bestowed on some of the most interesting objects found with the urns in the Bartlow sepulchres.

The simpula and pateræ, or vessels in the form of cups and saucers, found in the first Barrow, and which were used for the libations, or to receive the

[b] Archæologia, vol. xxiii. p. 395. The sepulchral urn is preserved in the British Museum and is very similar to that found in the brick bustum at Bartlow. Mr. Almack, in a letter addressed to the writer of the text, mentions that there was a black liquid with the bones in the glass vessel; also, that some pieces of iron, like nails, were lying with it; and that near the spot coins were found of Hadrian and Vespasian.

[c] Vol. ii. p. 367, and new edit. 1832, p. 80, where a section of the tomb is shown.

blood of the victims, are of red earthen ware, in imitation of the Samian[d] ware prescribed for the service of the Roman sacrifices,

—— *Ad rem divinam, quibus est opus, Samiis vasis utitur.*

PLAUTUS, Capt. act. ii. 41.

There is this difference between the red pottery and the Samian ware, that the one is glazed and the other uniformly unglazed; for the fine material of the latter, like the French porcelain, did not require glazing. The red ware is formed of native clay, washed, and glazed with salt and a small proportion of lead: it has been shaped by the hand, with the common instrument much like a knife, and after being exposed to the sun, has been slightly baked. The coarse little brown urns described, with a blue or frosty appearance, have also undergone the fire. Examples of potters' marks may be seen[e] in the fifth and sixth volumes of our Transactions, and to these Mr. Kempe has made a large addition in his recent description of the Roman antiquities discovered on the site of St. Michael's church, Crooked Lane. Two marks in Mr. Kempe's collection occur in the earthenware found at Bartlow.

In the library of Clare Hall, Cambridge, is preserved a collection of sepulchral vessels found about the year 1822 in a Roman cemetery at Litlington, in Hertfordshire; among them are two glass vessels with long necks, and straight handles, reeded, that terminate with a human head. From the deposit in these vessels they are supposed to have contained an oleaginous substance.[f] They are of the same character, though not precisely of the same form, as the glass flask found in our first Barrow, which I think contained milk. At Rouen[g] a vase was discovered in 1828, which had some glutinous appearance upon it, conjectured to have been produced by milk.

In 1730,[h] among other sepulchral relics found in a barrow on Chatham Downs, was a small glass vessel of a yellowish green colour, the quality of which seems to be the same as that of the little sparkling cup found in the brick bustum.

[d] On Samian Ware, see Montfaucon L'Antiquité Expliqué, tom. v. p. 137. Archæologia, vol. v. 287.

[e] Archæologia, vol. v. p. 290; vol. vi. p. 124.

[f] Cambridge Chron.

[g] Memoire sur des tombeaux Gallo-Romains, par E. H. Langlois. Rouen, 1829.

[h] Nenia Brit. pl. 5. tum. v.

In 1767,[i] in a barrow at Stowborough, in Dorsetshire, was found a decayed oaken cup; and in 1771,[k] at Ash, in Kent, a wooden vessel in the shape of a pail, eight inches in diameter, and seven inches and a half in height, with hoops and a handle of iron and brass. I mention these as illustrations of the wooden vessel found in the brick bustum.

Perfumes, *odores*, were used in the funeral rites, and deposited with the dead, and the incense cup is often found in sepulchres. The little basket, fragments of which were found in the brick bustum, seems to have contained some fragrant unguent.

> Non pretiosa petit cumulato thure sepulchra
> Pompeius, Fortuna, tuus; non pinguis ad astra
> Ut ferat e membris Eoos fumus odores.
>
> LUCAN, lib. viii. v. 729.

It is recorded on the tomb of Lælius,[l] at Rhodes, that his mother,

EVM · LACHRIMIS · ET · OPOBAL
SAMO · VDVM
HOC · SEPVLCRO · CONDIDIT.

The bronze vase, from the third Barrow opened, is not the least interesting object among the relics found. This form of sacrificing vessel, from which the wine, or other liquor, was poured, is often seen with other sacred instruments on reverses of Roman Imperial coins, inscribed PIETAS AUGUSTI, and also on bas-reliefs of sacred rites, and is considered by antiquaries to be the *præfericulum* of Festus.[m] Whether it was borne on the bronze patera upon which it was found standing, as represented in Plate II., may be doubted, since the bottom of the vase is not concave enough for the convexity of the centre of the patera; beside, I do not observe in the ancient bas-reliefs any example where the one is borne on the other. On a bas

[i] Hutchins's History of Dorset, vol. i. p. 26, edit. 1774.

[k] Nenia Brit. pl. 12, tum. xv.

[l] Thes. Rom. Antiq. Grævius, 1248.

[m] Il n'y a aucun doute que ce beau vase que nous voyons sur un grand nombre de monumens, ne soit tout autre que le *præfericulum* de Festus. Montfaucon l'Antiquité Expliqué, vol. ii. p. 140. Plates lvi. lxxi. lxxxiii. See Sexti Pomp. Festi Verb. sig. lib. xiv.

relief in the Berlin collection,[n] a female attendant upon a priestess is represented with the præfericulum in one hand, and the patera, similar in form to our examples, in the other, holding each by the handle. It must, however, be mentioned, that a bronze vase and patera of the same description as those found by me, were discovered in 1800[o] at Topesfield, in Essex, the patera having a boss in the centre, and the bottom of the vase being hollowed as if to receive the boss. Among the examples of bronze pateræ with long handles, one from Pompeii, figured[p] in the Museo Borbonico, exactly corresponds in shape and design to the example found at Bartlow, with the exception that, instead of a ram's head, the handle terminates with a human head.

In a fresco painting[q] from Herculaneum a slave is represented carrying a lamp similar to those found in the Bartlow Barrows, with a long handle suspended by a ring, a form not unusual at this day in Italy.

With respect to little wooden coffers, of which remains were found in all the barrows, they are not unusual in Roman sepulchres. One instance I have mentioned in speaking of Winston Barrow; coffers of the same kind were also found on Barham Downs,[r] Avisford Hill,[s] and Southfleet.[t]

n Mr. Hope's Costume of the Ancients, pl. xxvii.

o See plates iv. and v. Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 24, accompanying an account by Mr. Walford of the antiquities discovered at Topesfield. The handle of the patera is there represented, as it was found, detached from the patera; and when Mr. Walford wrote his account, he imagined that the handle belonged to some other vessel. These antiquities remain in Mr. Walford's possession, and are now at Birdbrook, in Essex; and, by way of supplement to his valuable paper, I subjoin an extract of a letter, dated 14th June, 1832, from a friend who, at my desire, lately examined them:

"Mr. Walford's præfericulum is about six or seven inches high, similar in form to the Bartlow one, but not at all ornamented, and I think not quite so elegant. The dish may be six or seven inches in diameter, and the boss was undoubtedly to support the vase, as Mr. Walford found, before he had something put into the foot of the præfericulum, to solder it, as it had been injured. The handle unquestionably belonged to the dish (as you suppose), and as he found after his account was written; and it is now attached to it and rivetted on, the parts fitting exactly. What you consider a lion's head in his plate is not meant for one, but for that of some great dog, a wolf dog, Canis Mollossus, perhaps: it is well executed. The dish is plain as well as the vase, the handle about four or five inches long."

p Vol. iii. tav. xv.

q Antichita di Ercolano, vol. viii. pl. 6.

r Nen. Brit. tum. xiv.

s Hist. of Sussex, vol ii. p. 367.

t Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 222.

The ring, *annulus signatorius*, found in the urn, is too small for the finger even of a female, and it bears evident marks of having been attached to some chain or other ornament. Among the Ægyptian remains in the British Museum is a painting with many figures, each carrying two ears of bearded corn, the device on the ring; and the same is common on Roman gems and coins.

The care bestowed upon the dead, and the absence of all warlike instruments in the Bartlow sepulchres opened, indicate that these barrows were not raised on the occasion of a battle. This is certainly the cemetery of a Roman settlement, and the coin of the Emperor Hadrian dropped into the urn may fairly be presumed to fix the age of that sepulchre. The earthworks before described seem to be vestiges of the station. With the permission of Mrs. Dayrell, of Camps, I made excavations in more than one part of the principal agger, and I also opened the low Barrow connected with it, but did not make any discoveries deserving notice.

The Rev. John Bullen has in his possession a coin second brass of the Emperor Hadrian, found at Bartlow in the Rectory garden, in the line of the principal agger. Obv. HADRIANVS . AVG . COS . III . P . P. Bust Laureate. Rev. FELICI . . AVG . below S . C . The Emperor holding in his left hand a scroll, the Empress holding in hers a caduceus, standing, with their right hands joined.

Frequently Roman coins are picked up on the spot, and brasses of Faustina, Vespasian, Constantine, and Theodosia were shown to me, said to have been found here. On the south-east side of the greater Barrows, broken pottery and bones of animals were lately discovered in a hollow through which a horse's foot had penetrated.

The Roman way leading from Colchester to Grantchester passes within two miles from Bartlow, below Horseheath mill, in a straight line over the Gogmagog Hills, and is crossed by the high road from Bartlow to Newmarket. Another Roman way communicates with the former below Haverhill Castle, supposed to come from Chesterford by Bartlow, leaving Camps to the right.[u]

[u] Mr. Leman's MSS. Roman Roads, in the Library of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. Mr. Walford's Survey of part of the military way leading through Haverhill. Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 62.

The greater Barrows, of such imposing magnitude and form, still remain to be explored; and I am not without expectation that Viscount Maynard, to whom we are obliged for the exhibition of the Roman relics recently discovered, will on some future occasion make excavations which possibly may throw more light on this interesting place.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN GAGE.

Hudson Gurney, Esq. V.P.

II. *Observations on certain ancient Pillars of Memorial, called Hoar-Stones. By the late* WILLIAM HAMPER, *Esq. Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Honorary Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, &c.*

Read 2nd February, 1832.

*** It will probably be in the recollection of many of the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries that our late worthy Member, William Hamper, Esq. of Birmingham, in the year 1820, published a Tract, entitled, "Observations on certain Ancient Pillars of Memorial, called Hoar-stones." These pillars, or massive blocks of stone, scattered through England, with a few instances in Wales and Scotland, having received no satisfactory elucidation, Mr. Hamper, in his Treatise, gave: 1st. The notions of different writers concerning them; 2nd. An exposition of their name, in which he shewed the intention of our ancestors in erecting them; and, 3rd. A list of places where they occur, or which it was believed had been denominated from them.

From the time of the publication of this work till Mr. Hamper's death, he continued to add to its contents; and had prepared the manuscript for a second and enlarged edition. This manuscript has been forwarded by his executor to the Society of Antiquaries, with the intention of offering it for insertion in the Archæologia: on account, first, that it contains a very large mass of new information upon the subject of the pillars of memorial; and secondly, because, as the representatives of Mr. Hamper relinquish every thought of publishing a new edition themselves, this improved work, unless inserted in some Collection of Tracts, such as the Archæologia is, would probably hereafter be lost to the world. The Council of the Society have, in consequence, determined that it shall form one of the Memoirs of the present Volume.

INTRODUCTION.

"Between Penmiarth house and the river Usk is a *Maen-hir*, but of the purpose or the occasion for which this was placed, we know no more than we do of any other of these stumbling blocks to the antiquary."—Jones's Breconshire, Vol. II. Part 2. p. 502.

"What signifies that knowledge, say some, which brings no real advantage to mankind, and what is it to any one whether the Roman walls passed this way or that, or whether such a Roman inscription is to be read this way or another?—To this I would answer: there is that beauty and agreeableness in truth, even supposing it to be merely speculative, as always affords on the discovery of it real pleasure to a well-turned mind: and I will add, that it not only pleases, but enriches and cultivates it too."—Horsley's Britannia Romana, Pref. p. ii.

IN many parts of Great Britain are to be seen certain upright rude Pillars, or massive blocks of Stone, which in England are called HOAR-STONES, or by a name of nearly the same sound, with all the gradations of dialectical variety. Their appellation in Scotland is the HARE-STANE; and amongst our Cambrian neighbours they are known as the MAEN-GWYR, and MAEN-HIR, the first syllable signifying a Stone, in the plural MEINI-HIRION. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in his Ancient History of North-Wiltshire, p. 113, observes that they are also found in Ireland.

So remote is their antiquity, that all tradition of the purpose for which they were set up has ceased, and their name has lost its distinctness; whilst the contrariety of opinion expressed by those writers who have incidentally noticed the subject, has raised an additional mist of obscurity around it.

The following attempt at its elucidation will be divided into three sections:

The first to contain the notions of different authors concerning Hoar-Stones;

The second, an exposition of the name, whereby will be shewn the intention of our ancestors in erecting them; and

The third, a list of places where they occur, or which have been named from them.

SECTION I.

The notions of different authors concerning Hoar-Stones.

Somner.

The Anglo-Saxon words "*on thane haren stan,*" in a charter relative to the monastery of Wolverhampton, co. Stafford, are rendered "*in lapidem mucidum;*" under the idea of *haren* meaning *hoary.* Monasticon Angl. i. p. 989.

Gough.

The boundaries of Codeston, now Cutsdean, co. Worcester, are described in the Anglo-Saxon of Heming's Cartulary, p. 348, as coming "*on thæne haran stan,* of thane haran stan and lang grenan weyes;" which is translated in Nash's Worcestershire, ii. App. p. xlv. "on to *the grey stone,* from the grey stone along the green way."

Mr. Nichols informed the writer that the translations from Heming, in the abovenamed history, were by the editor of Camden.

Hutton.

This author, speaking of a Roman station at Birmingham, says, he can find no vestiges remaining, though "the most likely place is *Wor-ston,*" which he interprets "*Wall-stone;*" part of the Ikeneld Street being called Warstone Lane in passing through that neighbourhood. History of Birmingham, third ed. p. 221.

Nichols.

In Humberston field, co. Leicester, the apex of a rock rising considerably above the ground, is called *Holstone,* which Mr. Nichols conjectures to be a corruption of *Holy-stone;* adding, that in Dorsetshire and the other western counties these Holy Stones are very frequent, and "by the common people sometimes called *Hell-stones,* a name deducible either from *helian,* to cover or conceal, or rather from *heilig,* holy." History of Leicestershire, iii. part ii. p. 981, note 2.

Dudley.

The Rev. John Dudley, under the signature of J. D. in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1813, part i. p. 318, calls the stone mentioned in the last extract, "*Hoston-stone*, or *Hoston*; meaning probably *High-stone*."

Watson.

In an account of Druidical remains at Halifax, in Yorkshire, by the Rev. John Watson, Archæologia, ii. p. 353, it is said, that "the Rocking Stone is situated so as to be a boundary mark between the two townships of Golcar and Slaighthwait, and gives the name of *Hole-stone* Moor to the adjoining grounds—corrupted, as I take it (adds Mr. Watson, p. 356,) from *Holy-stone*, or *Holed-stone*."

Anonymous.

The nameless author of a discourse about some Roman antiquities discovered near Conquest, co. Somerset, A. D. 1666, published by Hearne, in Langtoft's Chronicle, p. 472, mentions a stone of eight feet high, called "in the full of the mouth *Hoore-stone*," observing, that "doubtless the ancient name was either Hereston, or Hewr-stone, or "Hier-stone, i. e. *Duke's-stone*, or *Generall's-stone*, Anglo-Saxonice:" yet, doubting his own "doubtless" opinion, and entering into a disquisition respecting *Ursus*, or *Urse*, sheriff of Worcestershire in the time of the Conqueror, whose father might have had the same name, and might have been slain and buried here, the author again wanders into the fields of imagination, and adds: "if this stone be Huer-stone, it is *Lord Generall's stone*; if Urse-stone, it is *Ursus-stone*; if Huer-stone and Urse-stone, then *Lord Generall Ursus his stone!*"

Scott.

In note ix to the fourth canto of his Marmion, Sir Walter Scott gives the following information: "When James VI. mustered the army of the kingdom [at Edinburgh] in 1513, the Borough-Moor was, according to Hawthornden, a field spacious and delightful, by the shade of many stately and aged oaks. Upon that and similar occasions, the royal standard is traditionally said to have been displayed from *the Hare Stane*, a high stone, now

built into the wall. The Hare-stone probably derives its name from the British word *Har*, signifying *an army*."

ROWLANDS.

Alluding to the rude "uneffigiated erected pillar-stones" of the Israelites, and supposing the *Meini-gwyr* of the Welsh to have been set up for the same purposes in the times of Druidism, Mr. Rowlands observes, as one reason for idol worship, that "when men esteemed the souls of deceased heroes as deities, and accounted them worthy of divine honours, they thought of no fitter place to afford them this adoration than at their sepulchres and monuments: esteeming those places as certain fixed and peculiar residences and habitations of those deities. And these monuments there erected, perhaps called by the names of the men departed, (which by the way may somewhat account for our *Meini-gwyr*, i. e. our Men-pillars,) they accounted statuas animatas." Mona Antiqua, ed. 1766, p. 215.

LHWYD.

Describing the Buarth Arthur, or *Meineu-gwyr*, in the Additions to Gibson's Camden, Mr. Lhwyd says, that "*Meineu-gwyr* is so old a name it seems scarce intelligible. *Meineu* is indeed our common word for large stones, but *gwyr* in the present British signifies only *crooked*, which is scarce applicable to these stones, unless we should suppose them to be so denominated because some of them are not at present directly upright, but a little inclining. It may be, such as take these circular monuments for Druid temples, may imagine them so called from *bowing*, as having been places of *worship*. For my part I leave every man to his conjecture." Carmarthenshire, col. 752.

FENTON.

This writer, who appears to have had a generally correct view of the subject, in his Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire, p. 24, after noticing a circular earth encampment near Fynnon Druidion, "marked by a solitary *Maen-hir*," thus proceeds: "*Maen-hir*, making Meini-hirion in the plural, literally translated *a long stone*, is here meant to designate one of such erect stones as are numerous over every part of Wales, the rude memorials of the

earliest ages, serving as well to record various events, such as battles, treaties, covenants, and contracts, as to fix the boundaries of petty dynasties, and less important subdivisions of property."

To these Extracts, which sufficiently exhibit the variety of ways in which our antiquaries have viewed these "stumbling blocks,"[a] it must be added, that Mr. Jones, and Sir R. C. Hoare, have, in like manner with Mr. Fenton, considered the name of Maen-hir as derived from *hir*, the Welsh for *long*; the former gentleman mentioning "a maen-hir, or *long* upright stone, in a field before Cwrt y gollen house," Brecon. ii. part ii, p. 470, and the latter in his Ancient History of North Wiltshire, making the second class of British Monuments the "Maen-hir, or *long* upright stone," pp. 113, 114.

King, in the first volume of Munimenta Antiqua, has an entire chapter "concerning stones of memorial," but there is nothing in it to elucidate the particular object in question; nor does Borlase, in his History of Cornwall, a book replete with curious information, seem to be aware of the real designation of these stones, though he treads on the very verge of discovery, and a single line from one portion of his work will afford us an undeviating clue to it.

This shall be given in the following Section.

[a] See the motto prefixed to the present Essay.

SECTION II.

An exposition of the name of Hoar-stones, whereby is shewn the intention of our ancestors in erecting them; confirmed by examples of many other objects bearing the epithet of Hoar.

"Termine, sive lapis, sive es defossus in agro
Stipes, ab antiquis sic quoque numen habes."
OVID. FASTI, lib. ii. ver. 641, 2.

"He loves to peer him after ancient fragments in out-of-the-way places; such as wading through a drain when parishes beat their boundaries, to see where the old land-mark stood."
TALES OF AN ANTIQUARY, 1828, vol. i. p. 8.

"*Harz*, a bound, limit, hinderance, derived from the Armoric; as MENHARS, A BOUND-STONE." This is the promised quotation from Borlase, Cornish-English Vocabulary, p. 436, and with relation to the present subject it appears at once explicit.

In fact, the Greek *Horos*, the Latin *Ora*, the Celtic and Welsh *Or* and *Oir*, the Armoric *Harz*, the Anglo-Saxon *Or*, *Ord*, and *Ora*, the German *Ort*, the Italian *Orlo*, the old French *Orée*, the French *Orle*, the Spanish *Orla*, the Arabic *Ori*, the obsolete British *Yoror*, the obsolete Irish *Ur* and *Or*, the Gaelic or Erse *Ear* and *Aird*, with similar words in other languages, have all to a certain degree one and the self-same meaning, namely, a *bound*, or *limit*;[b] and the Hoar-stone is consequently nothing more than the *stone of memorial* or *land-mark*, describing the boundary of property, whether of a public or a private nature, as it has been used in almost all countries, from the patriarchal era down to the days of the present generation.

[b] See Lhuyd's Archæologia Britannica, pp. 108, 205, 207, 272. Davies's Celtic Researches, pp. 426, 529. Lye and Manning's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, under *Or* and *Ord* (Initium) and *Ora* (Ora, littus,) Bullet's Dictionnaire Celtique, also Borlase, ut supra. To these authorities may be added the following observations of Dr. Whitaker: "The River *Hodder* for several of the last miles forms the boundary of Yorkshire and Lancashire, as it must have originally done between two British tribes, the word *Odre* in that language signifying a limit or bound." History of Whalley, ed. 3. p. 7.

The unaspirated Greek *Oros* denoting a mountain, one of the natural limitations of vision, its root, and that of all the preceding words, may probably be referred to the Hebrew *Hor*, or *Har*, a mountain,[c] which in a secondary sense, seems to be used for a termination. Thus mount *Hor*, otherwise Seir, formed the western boundary of Arabia Petræa, Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 20, 21. Another *Hor*, or Lebanon, divided the northern frontier of Palestine from Syria, Numbers, xxiv. 7. Mount *Hermon*, or Sion, was also a limitary station, Deut. iii. 8, iv. 48. In the last quoted passage the words are very remarkable, "From *Ar*-oer, which is by the bank of the river *Ar*-non, even unto Mount Sion, which is *Her*-mon." Arnon, in another place is said to be "the *border* of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites," Numbers xxi. 13. Beth-*horon*, likewise, was a border station of the Ephraimites, Josh. xvi. 5.

"The conic, pyramidal, and cylindrical stones, perpendicularly raised, which are to be seen in the British Islands, were in pagan times generally to ascertain the boundaries of districts." This is the remark of Mr. Astle, in the Archæologia, vol. XIII, p. 211; and Borlase observes, History of Cornwall, p. 167, that "Stones were erected by the ancients as boundaries, either national or patrimonial.[d] Laban and Jacob's monument was partly of the patrimonial kind: 'This heap be witness, and this pillar be witness, that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm.' Genesis, xxxi. 52. As to national boundaries, the Israelites, where no city, sea, lake, or hill offered itself, made a stone their boundary; as in the limits of the kingdom of Judah; 'and the border went up to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben,' Joshua, xv. 6; 'and descended to the stone of Bohan,' Ibid. xviii. 17."[e] The northern nations had also the same way of distinguising their districts according to Olaus Magnus, Gent. Septentr. Hist. lib. I. cap. 31; "Sunt et lapides alti,

[c] Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, ed. 7. p. 165.

[d] It is a remarkable fact, that from the circumstance of stones having been erected for landmarks, the earliest maps were delineated upon pillars. Bryant's Ancient Mythology, I. p. 385.

[e] The prædial landmarks of the Jews seem generally to have been set on end. "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have SET in thine inheritance." Deut. xix. 14. "Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have SET." Prov. xxii. 28.

quorum aspectu et signo, provinciarum, præfectuarum, arcium, communitatum, nobilium ac plebeiorum antiquissimæ possessiones, sine legibus, sine litibus, sine judiciis, unicuique pacificæ permittuntur; documento cæteris nationibus ostenso, quod inter has simplices gentes plus juris et æquitatis ex limitaneis saxis habetur, quam alibi in multis legum voluminibus, ubi homines se reputant doctiores, et civiliores." [f]

So likewise did the Greeks [g] and Romans point out the limits of their prædial possessions; and the subject itself, in a more extended view, would embrace the whole history of the heathen Terminus.[h] Suffice it to mention, that in the scene where Homer [i] describes the missile with which Minerva wounded Mars, it is said,

> "Then heaved the Goddess in her mighty hand
> A stone, the limit of the neighbouring land,
> There fix'd from eldest times; black, craggy, vast."
>
> POPE.

And also that Virgil [k] places a similar object in the grasp of Turnus, during his last struggle with Æneas:

> "Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo qui forte jacebat
> Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis."

[f] "The Gaelic people did sometimes erect memorial stones, which, as they were always without inscription, might as well have not been set up." Chalmers's Caledonia, III. p. 233. Mr. C. had forgotten that such stones were intended *to aid tradition,* by exciting an enquiry why they were erected. So in Joshua, iv. 6, 21; "When your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones? Then ye shall answer them." Dr. Richardson, in 1816, mentions that "the ancient custom of setting up stones, or stony pillars, to commemorate particular events, still prevails in Nubia." Travels, I. p. 473.

[g] See in Dodwell's Tour through Greece, I. p. 34, some remarks upon the word *Horos,* with which several mountains are inscribed, possibly to distinguish the bounds of pasturage; where it is also observed that Dr. Macmichael found some sepulchral stones, near Athens, inscribed with the same word, indicating the limits of the tombs.

[h] In Pelletier's Dictionnaire de la langue Bretonne, p. 421, is an extremely curious article, wherein an evident connexion is shown between the Celtic word *Harz,* a boundary, and the passage in Cæsar de Bello Gall. lib. 6. "Deum maximè Mercurium colunt," &c. as well as between *Terminus,* and the Celtic *Ter-mein,* i. e. earth-stones. A very learned disquisition, entitled, "Ogmius Luciani ex Celticismo illustratus, auctore Frid. Sam. Schmidt, Helvet. Bernas." (Archæologia, I. p. 262) may be consulted for information respecting the Dii Terminales.

[i] Iliad, xxi. 403-5.

[k] Æneid. xii. 897, 8.

"An antique stone—the common bound
Of neighbouring fields, and barrier of the ground."

DRYDEN.

In confirmation of the foregoing remarks, it will be satisfactory to see how the word *Hoar*, by itself, expresses a frontier or peninsular situation, and combines adjectively with other words, to the extraordinary number of seventy, as descriptive of terminary qualities; evincing, to demonstration, that the prolific etymon of *Horos* is interwoven in the construction of many local names, where its existence hitherto has not been suspected.

1. HOAR.

Woore, co. Salop, in Domesday Wavre, on a tongue of land between Staffordshire and Cheshire.

Church-Over, co. Warwick, in Domesday Wavre, bordering on Leicestershire.

Over, co. Cambridge, in Domesday Ovre, bordering on Huntingdonshire.

Awre, co. Gloucester, in Domesday Avre, on a peninsular in the Severn.

Oare, co. Somerset, in Domesday Are, bordering on Devonshire.

The limits of Exmore, 26 Edw. I. went "usque aquam quæ vocatur *Ore*." Hearne's Adam de Damerham, p. 190; or, according to the Forest Roll in the Tower, 29 Edw. I. "per fossatum usque ripam de *Ar*, que est in confinio Com. Som. et Devon."

Hasted describes *Owre*, near Milton, as "situated on the *edge* of the marshes;" and *Ore*, near Feversham, "at the *very edge* of the marshes," ii. pp. 628, 730.

2. HOAR OAK.

In Speed's Map of Devonshire, the figure of a tree, called *Hore Oke*, stands on the line of division between that county and Somersetshire.

3. HOAR WITHY.

"Fram Egceanlæa to tham *Haran Withie*." In a charter of K. Ethelred's to Eynesham Abbey, co. Oxon. Monast. Angl. i. p. 260.

"On tha *Haran Withi*." Boundaries of lands belonging to Wolverhampton, co. Stafford. Ibid. i. p. 990.

"On thone *Haran Withig*." Heming's Cartulary, describing the limits of Pendock, co. Worcester, pp. 183, 184, 360, 361.

"Per medium alneti usque ad *la Horewythege*." In the boundaries of Glaston twelve hides, co. Somerset. Collinson, ii. p. 238, from Joh. Glaston, i. p. 13.

The limits of the New Forest are described in the Forest Roll, 29 Edw. I. as going "into *Horewythge*," and in a perambulation, 22 Car. II. "to *Horewithey*, in the place whereof (now decayed) a post standeth in the ground."

"On thonne *Haran Withig*." Boundaries of lands belonging to Abingdon abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius, B. vi. fol. 92.

"On thone *Haran Withig*." In King Edgar's grant of lands at Rimecunda to the same monastery. Cotton. MS. Augustus II.

"By the water of Cranbourne to *la Horewieth*." Limits of Cranbourne Chase, co. Dorset, 29 Hen. III. Hutchins, iii. p. 65.

4. Hoar Thorn.[1]

"To the *Hoare Thorne*." Boundaries of lands at Chobham, co. Surrey. Monast. Angl. i. p. 77.

"On the *Haran Thyrnan*." Boundaries of lands belonging to Abingdon abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius, B. vi. fol. 40.

"On thone *Haran Thorn*." Ibid. fol. 107 b.

"On thone *Haran Thorn*." Boundaries of lands belonging to Wilton abbey. Harl. MS. 436. fol. 54.

Horthorne Meadow in Bickenhill, co. Warwick, named in a sale Particular, A.D. 1662.

Horethorne Down, co. Somerset. This is on the frontier of Dorsetshire, and must have been so called from some conspicuous boundary-tree; though Collinson, ii. p. 351, derives its name from the Saxon Hear Thorn, or High Thorn.

[1] The peasantry of Ireland regard "old and solitary thorns" with great reverence; considering them as sacred to the revels of the faries, whose vengeance follows their removal. Croker's Researches, p. 83. I have met with several instances of lands in England, described, in ancient deeds, as lying near *the Night-mare thorn*; some lonely spot which superstition had peopled with unearthly beings.

Worsthorn, co. Lancaster, bounding on Yorkshire.

5. Hoar Hazel.

"On thone *Haran Hæsle.*" Boundaries of lands belonging to Wilton abbey. Harl. MS. 436. fol. 40.

6. Hoar Maple.

"To then *Hare Mapeldure*, of then *Hore Mapeldure.*" Boundaries of lands at Chertsey, co. Surrey. Monast. Angl. i. p. 76.

7. Hoar Apple-tree.

"Westward on *Harenapildore*-wei." Boundaries of lands belonging to Glastonbury abbey. New Monast. i. p. 55.

"On the *Haren-apuldre.*" Ibid. at Batecomb, p. 56.

"On the *Haran Apel-treo.*" Heming's Cartulary. Boundaries of Wyke, co. Worcester, p. 75.

"In *Haran Eapol-derne.*" Ibid. Cofton, co. Worcester, p. 7. Bishop Lyttelton translates this "to the *grey* apple-trees," in his account of Alvechurch Parish, as printed by Nash, i. p. 20.

"To thære *Haran Apeldran.*" Ibid. Hallow, co. Worcester, p. 340.

"To there *Hore Aepeldure.*" Boundaries of lands at Egham, co. Surrey. Monast. Angl. i. p. 77.

"Thonan on *Haran Apuldre.*" Boundaries of lands belonging to Wilton abbey. Harl. MS. 446. fol. 27.

"Erest on tha *Haran Apeldran.*" Boundaries of lands belonging to Abingdon abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius B. vi. fol. 16 b.

"On tha *Haran Apeldere.*" Ibid. fol. 28 b.

"On tha *Haran Apoldre.*" Ibid. fol. 39 b.

"To thære *Haran Apoldre.*" Ibid. fol. 39 b.

"Metæ et termini Forestæ de Gilling, co. Dorset,—sicut marchæ de Wylteschyre tendunt usque *Horapeldure.*" ["Hor Appildor," in another MS.] Hearne's Adam de Domerham, p. 654. The Forest Roll, 29 Edw. I. in the Tower, says, exinde usque *Horeapeldre.*

Heming's Cartulary, in one place notices an apple-tree and a maple grow-

ing together as a landmark: "Ther stondath apeltreo and mapeltreo togædere gewæxen." Clive, p. 245.

8. Hoar Cross.

Hore Cross, a hamlet in Yoxall, co. Stafford, anciently called the Manor of the Cross. It is on the edge of Needwood Forest. Shaw, i. p. 103.

9. Hoar Stoke, or Place.

Warstock, in King's Norton, co. Worcester, is close to Warwickshire; and on an inquisition being taken there, 5 Edw. III. is described in the Escheat Roll as "*le Horestok*, in confinio Comitat. Wigorn. et Warr."

10. Hoar Ham, or Home.

The manor of *Horeham*, co. Essex, lies partly in Thaxted and partly in Broxted. Morant, ii. p. 440.

"*Arlingham*, co. Gloucester, is peninsulated by the Severn on the E. W. and N. sides." Rudder, p. 234.

11. Hoar Ton, or Inclosure.

"Abinde usque la Lee, et sic usque *Horton*." Limits of Windsor Forest, 1 Edw. III. in the Leger Book of Chertsey abbey. Lansd. MS. 435. fol. 133.

"Up and lang winburnan oth *Hore-tuninge* gemære." Boundaries of land belonging to Wilton abbey. Harl. MS. 436, fol. 37 b.

Orton, co. Westmoreland, joins Sedbergh in Yorkshire. Nicolson and Burn, p. 481.

Horton, co. Northampton, abuts on Buckinghamshire on the E. and joins Hartwell on the S. W.

Hareston, co. Leicester, borders on Lincolnshire.

Hornton, co. Oxford, abuts on Warwickshire.

Warmington, co. Northampton, is situate on the river Nen, which divides it from Huntingdonshire.

Warmington, co. Warwick, is bounded by Oxfordshire.

Wormleighton, co. Warwick, joins Northamptonshire.

Wharleton, co. Durham, bordering on Yorkshire.

Warton, co. Stafford, abuts on Shropshire.

Everton, lies partly in each of the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon.

12. Hoar Worth, or Inclosure.

Harworth, co. Nottingham, borders on Yorkshire,

Arthingworth, co. Northampton, is bounded on the S. W. by *Harringworth*, which the river Welland divides from Rutlandshire.

Warkworth, co. Northampton, bounds on Oxfordshire.

13. Hoar Wood.

Whaddon Chase, co. Bucks, an ancient forest of the Mercian kings, is bounded on the W. by the parishes of Great and Little *Horwood*.

Hardingwood, co. Chester. See Pennant's Tour, 8vo edit. p. 59.

14. Hoar Thwait, Assart, or Ridding.

Stoneraise division of Allerdale parish, co. Cumberland, goes "round *Harthwait* Common." Nicolson and Burn, p. 142.

15. Hoar Park.

An ancient wood, called *Hoar Park*, occupies the outskirts of Bentley, and abuts on Monwode, co. Warwick.

16. Hoar Land.

Hore Londe at Wootton Wawen, co. Warwick, is mentioned in the Ministers' accounts of the Duke of Buckingham, Hen. VII. and is probably the same as now called Whor-knap, bordering on Oldborough and Morton.

Hartland Point, co. Devon, a celebrated promontory.

Horlands, one of the limits of the New Forest, in a perambulation, 22 Car. II.

17. Hoar Grounds.

Some fields, named *Hoar Grounds*, lie between Hoar Park and Monwode, co. Warwick.

18. Hoar Ley, or Pasture.

Ondlang thæs weyes on *Haran Læh.* Heming's Cartulary, describing the boundaries of Lawern, co. Worcester, pp. 161, 349.

Harley, a large common field, now inclosed, in Bagot's Bromley, co. Stafford, bounds on Yatesale.

Hurley, co. Berks, in Domesday Herlei, bordering on Buckinghamshire.

Harleyford, co Bucks, bordering on Berkshire.

Warlegh, co. Devon, bordering on Cornwall.

Waresley, co. Huntingdon, bordering on Cambridgeshire.

Horley, co. Oxford, bordering on Warwickshire.

Wardley, co. Rutland, bordering on Leicestershire.

Hordley, co. Salop, bordering on Flintshire.

Worley, Wigorn, and *Worley*, Salop, two hamlets in those respective counties, joining each other.

Horley, co. Surrey, a frontier manor on Sussex.

Hordley, co. Durham, "Memorandum. Quod parochia de Wytton Gilbert incipit ab Hennyburn, aliter Hornbyburn, ex parte orientali, sequendo *le Hordley* usque Conkburn." Hutchinson, ii. p. 348 note.

19. Hoar Mead.

In the parish of *Hormead* Parva, co. Herts, is "an irregular block of granite, which Salmon conjectures to have been a Roman milestone," and Mr. Clutterbuck thinks it likely to have had this office from its vicinity to Hare Street, upon the Ermin Street Road. iii. p. 423. It was probably the Hoar-stone, standing in the Hoar Mead.

Some of the demesne lands of Monk's Horton Priory, co. Kent, lay "in *Horre Mede*." New Monast. v. p. 36.

War Meadow, in Solihull, co. Warwick, abutting on King's Norton, co. Worcester.

20. Hoar Ing, or Meadow.

Harding, co. Wilts, borders on Berkshire.

21. Hoar Field.

Horfield, co. Gloucester, in Domesday Horæfelle, is situate "in the *extremity* of the lower division of the hundred of Berkeley." Bigland, ii. p. 97.

Harefield, co. Middlesex, borders on Bucks and Herts.

22. Hoar Croft.

War Croft, in Solihull, co. Warwick, abutting on King's Norton, co. Worcester.

23. Hoar Moor.

In the Forest Roll, 29 Edw. I. the limits of the New Forest are set out as going "usque Merkeford, et sic usque *Horemor;*" and 22 Car. II. "to *Horemore.*"

Hormer, a hundred in Berkshire, "being the northern part of the County, bounded on the E. N. and W. by the Isis, which separates it from Oxfordshire." Capper's Topogr. Dictionary.

Whor Moor, in West Bromwich, co. Stafford.

A meadow in Little-Hay, co. Stafford, is called the *Whore Moor*, in the Court Roll of 1691.

Harding Moor, co. York, Dr. Richardson, in Lel. Itin. i. 146.

24. Hoar Moss.

"Ab exitu *Haremos*, qui est inter Marburiam et Bromkelawann,—ad antedictum exitum de *le Haremos.*" Limits of land at Cumbermere, co. Chester. Monast. Angl. I. p. 764.

25. Hoar Quebb, or Quagmire.

A leasowe or pasture called *Hore Quebbe*, within the forren of Birmingham, nighe Wynsdon Greene, is named in a Deed, 33 Eliz.

26. Hoar Slade, or narrow Valley.

The boundaries of the City of Lichfield go "along by the pool and the brook, taking in *Horslade.*" Harwood, p. 357.

27. Hoar Coomb, or Valley.

Harescomb parish, co. Gloucester, forms a narrow projecting point of Dudstone and King's Barton Hundred, running between those of Whitstone and Bisley.

28. Hoar Dean, or Dale.

"Up at thære dices geate æt *Harandene.*" Boundaries of land belonging to Abingdon Abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius B. vi. fol. 77.

29. Hoar Dell.

Hare-dell field, in Offley, co. Herts, bounded by the road leading from Lilley to Offley. Clutterbuck, iii. p. 91.

30. Hoar Gill, or Glen.

A charter concerning "rectas divisas inter Bernolveswic, et forestam de Blakeburnescire," gives the following boundary marks: "usque ad *Oregile*, et ita per *Oregile* sursum usque ad Pikedelawe." New Monast. v. p. 532.

31. Hoar Hyrne, or Corner.

"De Solemereswestnok usque *Horehyne*." In a charter of King Edgar's, describing lands belonging to the monks of Winchester. Mon. Ang. i. p. 38.

32. Hoar Wick, or Bank.

"Of tham thorn on *Haran Wic* westewearde." Boundaries of land belonging to Wilton abbey. Harl. MS. 436. fol. 27.

Harwich, at the N. E. extremity of Essex, on the river *Orwell*, with *Arwarton*, in Suffolk, nearly opposite.

Warwick, on the banks of the Avon, named perhaps from some *limes*, or *border-station*.

33. Hoar Knap, or Rising.

Whor-Knap, at the verge of Wootton Wawen parish, co. Warwick, bordering on Oldborough and Morton. See Horelond.

34. Hoar Copp, Mound, or Hillock.

Warcop, co. Westmoreland, anciently Warthecoppe and Wardecop, abuts on Romaldkirk, in Yorkshire.

Horcop, in Huchingfield, co. Hereford. Charter of Free Warren, 37 Hen. III.

35. Hoar Don, or Hill.

Cheping *Wardon*, co. Northampton, joins Wardenton, in Oxfordshire.

Harrowdon, co. Northampton, in Domesday Haredon, is bounded on the south by Hardwick, and stands on the confines of Orlingbury.

Horton, co. Gloucester, in Domesday Horedon. There is another manor in the same parish, called Horewood. Bigland, ii. p. 105.

36. Hoar Grave, Trench, or Vallum.[m]

"And lang thære dic in *Here grafun*." Heming's Cartulary, boundaries of Witlinc, co. Worcester, pp. 171, 354. It appears to be the same place as *Hargraves*, in a survey of the limits of Hartlebury, about A. D. 1648. Nash, i. p. 570.

"On tha crundelas besuthan *Haran grafas*." Boundaries of land belonging to Abingdon abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius, B. vi. fol. 34 b.

"Of tham hlæwe to *Here grafe*." Ibid. fol. 37 b.

"Andlang richt gemæres on *Hærgraf*." Ibid. fol. 68.

"Fram bedewindan to *Haran grafan*." Ibid. fol. 77.

"Thonon to *Heregrœfen*." Ibid. fol. 82 b.

Nostell abbey, co. York, held lands in Rowell "inter *the Orgreve*, et magnam viam." Cotton. MS. Vespasian, E. xix. fol. 30.

"*Orgraves*, a boundary of the manor of Leeds, co. York." Thoresby, by Whitaker, p. 99.

Hargrave, co. Northampton, is bounded by Bedfordshire.

Hargrave, an estate in Bickenhill, co. Warwick, bordering on the parishes of Elmdon, and Hampton-in-Arden. It is called "*the Hargroves*" in a particular for sale, A. D. 1662.

Wargrave, co. Berks, bordering on Oxfordshire.

37. Hoar Law, or Mount.

A place called *Horelaw Head*, on the boundaries of Rossendale Forest, co. Lancaster. Whitaker's Whalley, third ed. p. 365.

Another *Horelowe*, marking the division between Great Harwood and Bilynton, 24 Edw. I. Ibid. p. 144 note.

The bounds of the Chase of Burton in Lonsdale, and also between the counties of York and Lancaster, are described in the Escheat Roll, 35

[m] Grave also signifies *a grove:* perhaps, in its primary application, one that was protected by *a graff*, or trench; as, I presume, a coppice derives its name from the *cops*, or mounds, enclosing it.

Edw. III. as running "from Caldeston to a certain place which is called *Harlaw*." Whitaker's Richmondshire, ii. p. 354.

Harelaw in Liddesdale, bordering on Cumberland.

Harlow Greave, a tumulus near Mayfield, co. Stafford. Shaw, i. General Hist. p. 33.

A castellum of the Roman wall is situate at *Harlow Hill*, co. Cumberland.

Harelow Hill, near Leeds. Thoresby, by Whitaker, p. 143.

Warlaw Bank, "part of a ridge, stretching from E. to W. through Coldingham and Bonkil," in Berwickshire. Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. p. 209 note.

Harelaw Cairn, near the S. W. boundaries of Berwickshire. Ibid. p. 405 note.

Harlow, co. Essex, bordering on Hertfordshire.

Warslow, co. Stafford, bordering on Derbyshire.

38. Hoar Bury, Borough, or Earth-work.

Arbury Hill, or *Arbury Bank*, co. Northampton, is "on the west boundary of Badby lordship." Baker, vol. i. p. 258.

An ancient mound forming one of the limits of King's Wood, co. Warwick, is called *Arborough Banks*.

The bounds of Cannock Chase are noted, 18 Edw. I. as "ascendendo le Blakestrete usque in *Orburiwell*." New Monast. vi. p. 1253. It is called *Orburie Well*, 3 Edw. IV. Shaw (unpublished), ii. part ii. p. 312.

In the Forest Roll, 29 Edw. I. the boundaries of Rokynham Forest are described as "sequendo le Harperesbrok — includend' dominicum boscum Domini Regis qui vocatur Kyngesgore, cum uno assarto quod vocatur *Harberwe*."

Lands at Barton, belonging to York abbey, lay "apud *Herber-pittes*." Harl. MS. 236. fol. 7 b.

"*Burrow-hill*, a spacious encampment in Leicestershire near the confines of Rutland, in ancient writings termed *Erdburg*." Nichols, ii. p. 524.

Harborough, co. Leicester, bordering on Northamptonshire.

Worbarrow, co. Dorset, "a little rocky hill, almost environed with the sea." Hutchins, i. pp. 333, 356.

39. Hoar Hill.

In Over Alderley, co. Chester, at the present boundary of Alderley and Presbury parishes, and near the ancient division of Hamestan and Bochelan Hundreds, is an estate called *the Harehills.* Ormerod, iii. p. 307.

Harthill parish, "the most southern point of the whole County of York." Hunter's Doncaster, i. p. 139.

Hare-hill, near the Roman wall, co. Cumberland. Horsley, p. 153.

Hare-hill, near Leeds, co. York. Thoresby, by Whitaker, p. 145.

Wornhill is a field in Radford Simely, co. Warwick, abutting on Offchurch.

40. Hoar Hope, or Height.

"Near the S. W. boundaries of Berwickshire, may be been several heights which are called *Harehope Cairn, Harelaw Cairn,*" &c. Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. p. 405, note.

41. Hoar Edge.

One of the summits of the Titterstone Clee Hill, near Ludlow, co. Salop, is called the *Whar Edge.*

42. Hoar Ridge.

Horridge is a hamlet in Corse, co. Gloucester, bordering on Worcestershire.

Horridge, co. Bucks, borders on Hertfordshire.

43. Hoar Cragg.

A boundary of Lartington in Richmondshire, was *Hare Cragg.* Whitaker, p. 139.

44. Hoar Cliff.

One of the bounds of Mendip Forest, co. Somerset, 26 Edw. I. was the *Horeclive.* Collinson, iii. p. 373.

"Partly within the parish of Barrow, and partly within that of Winford, co. Somerset, is a rock or cliff, called *Hare-Clive* or *Cliff.*" Ibid. ii. p. 279.

45. Hoar Rock.

It is probable "*le Hore Rok* in the wodd," as William de Worcestre calls Saint Michael's Mount in Cornwall, Itin. p. 102, received its name from some part of the bare rock rising prominently above the wood, in shape resembling a Hoar-stone. Leland notices an island in Torbay, co. Devon, of similar form and designation: "Ther is an other Rokky Isle far bigger then Isleston, and is caullid *Horestane*." Itin. iii. p. 31.

46. Hoar Torr.

Polwhele in his History of Devonshire, i. p. 46, speaking of torrs, or rude piles of stones, near Lidford, names one bearing the appellation of *Hare-Torr*.

47. Hoar Way.

"On there *Herewai* the schet suth." Boundaries of land belonging to Shaftesbury Abbey. Monast. Angl. i. p. 217.

"On than old *Herewey*." Boundaries of land belonging to Glastonbury Abbey. New Monast. i. p. 48.

48. Hoar Street.

The Church of Rochester had lands at Malling, co. Kent, described in the Textus Roffensis, p. 109, as abutting "on *Here Strœt*, and lang Stræt ofer lylle burnan."

49. Hoar Lane.

"In this neighbourhood [of Hare Cliff, dividing Barrow and Winford, co. Somerset] there is also a road called *Hare Lane*." Collinson, ii. p. 279. The author subsequently remarks that "this Cliff and this Lane are both seated on the important *boundary* of Wansdike," yet derives their appellation "from the Saxon *Here*, which signifies an army."

"*Hairlane*, otherwise Herlon, Harelane, and *Boundlane*," in the suburbs of Gloucester. Rudder, p. 205. Mr. Fosbroke, in his History of that City, p. 8, calls it "*Hare-lone*, Here-lone, i. e. *Army Lane*," without noticing it as *Bound Lane*, which is merely a translation of its ancient appellative.

"A stone set in a place called *Horlen.*" Survey of the bounds of Coventry, A. D. 1581, in the leet book of that City.

50. Hoar Path.

"Endlang *Herepathes* on thar weilete." Boundaries of land belonging to Glastonbury Abbey. New Monast. i, p. 58.

"Endlang *Here pathes* eft on Scherdanbourgh." Ibid. p. 61.

"Orientaliter per la hame, ultra pontem pedalem ligneum vocatum *Harepathe bruge*, per dictam semitam vocatam *Harepathe.*" Limits of Glaston Twelve Hides, 18 Hen. VII. in Hearne's Joh. Glaston. ii. p. 294.

"On thone wudu *Herpath*, ond long *Herpathes* on ciolan wey." Heming's Cartulary, boundaries of Clopton, co. Worcester, p. 135.

"On thone salt *Herpath*, and swa ond long thæs *Herpathes* that on soltere dene." Ibid. Wulfrintun, pp. 154, 359.

"On thone folc *Hearpath.*" Ibid. Grimley, pp. 148, 417.

"Upon thone ealdan *Hear path.*" Ibid. Bishop's Stoke, p. 122.

"On thone *Herpath* to Hindehlypan." Ibid. Wenderclife, p. 463. Somner, in the Monasticon, i. p. 124, renders it "*ad viam militarem;*" but on the same term occurring again, in the boundaries of some lands belonging to the Church of Winchester, i. p. 37, east to *Hearpath*, a marginal note explains it by "*altiorem semitam.*"

K. Alfred gave to the Church of Athelney, the manor of Long Sutton, co. Somerset, distinguished, *inter alia*, by the following boundaries:—"from Chelbroke up to *Harepath*, end elang *Harepath* to Merfronford, from Cuttleston unto *Herpath*, end elang *Herpath* unto Dyrston. Collinson, iii. p. 197.

"On thæm *Haran path.*" Boundaries of land given by K. Canute to a Monk named Ævic, at Niwanham. Cotton. MS. Augustus II.

"Of thare dic and lang *Herpathes.*" Boundaries of land belonging to Abingdon Abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius B. vi. fol. 16 b.

"Of thæm beorge on thone *Herepath.*" Ibid. fol. 21 b.

"Swa north to *Herpathe.*" Ibid. fol. 32. "To than *Hearpathe* north." Ibid. fol. 39 b.

"Andlang *Heorpathes.*" Ibid. fol. 40. "Andlang *Herpathes.*" Ibid. fol. 41.

"Andlang broces on *Herpath ford* on tame." Ibid. fol. 52 b.

"To than bradan *Herpathe*." Ibid. fol. 53 b. 100.

"Of thære æce on thene *Hearapod*." Ibid. fol. 63. "On thone *Herepath*, fol. 83 b.

"Hit cumth to tham *Herepath*." Boundaries of land belonging to Wilton Abbey. Harl. MS. 436, fol. 6, 9 b.

"And lang be tham yrthland oth cymth to tham wic *Herpath*." Ibid. fol. 22 b.

"And lang dic east on thone ealdan *Herpathe*." Ibid. fol. 25 b.

"And lang dic to langan beorge tha on thone *Herpath*." Ibid. fol. 26 b.

"On thæne *Herpæth*, and lang pathes on dyrebroc." Ibid. fol. 27.

"Of thære wyrthe to *Hearpathe*." Ibid. fol. 40.

"Of *Herepath* on rugan dic." Ibid. fol. 44. "Up to *Herpothe*." Ibid. fol. 49.

"Ærest of noddre and lang thes port *Her pathes*,—swa adune to tham port *Herpathe*." Ibid. fol. 46 b.

"And lang hriges swa se *Herepoth* sceat to tham beorge." Ibid. fol. 61.

"On thone *Herpath* to posses hlæwe." Ibid. fol. 72.

"And lang thaes frith *Herpathes* on sand beorh." Ibid. fol. 73.

"North ofer *Herpath*." Ibid. fol. 75. "On thone bradan *Herpath*." Ibid. fol. 79 b.

"To thæne theod *Herepath*." Ibid. fol. 79 b.

"To than *Herepath* at heafod stoccan." Ibid. fol. 84 b.

"Thon on thone *Herepath* west." Ibid. fol. 85.

"In the parish of Seaton, co. Devon, is an overland called *Harepath*; which is said to imply *the soldier's path*, '*here*' signifying in Saxon *exercitus, legio*. But this etymology appears to me frivolous. The place where the river is crossed in Antonine's Iter from Isca to Moridunum, seems to be *Harford*, probably derived from the British *nar fordh, trajectus aquæ*, which I prefer to *Here-ford, via militaris*." Polwhele, i. p. 183.

51. Hoar Gate, or Wicket.

Hare's Gate in the limits of Waterdown Forest, bordering on Kent and Sussex. This was a gate placed in the fence, as shown by Speed's Map of Kent.

52. Hoar Gate, or Road.

Dr. Stukeley mentions a Lincolnshire road, which he conjectures to be Roman, called Old Spalding Gate, but "in some places, as above Fleet, it retains the name of *Haregate*, which is equivalent to *via militaris* when spoken by our Saxon progenitors." Itin. Cur. Cent. i. p. 16.

Hargate Lane, in West Bromwich, co. Stafford.

53. Hoar Ford.

The township of *Horsford*, in Kirby's Inquest *Hereford*, is divided from Leeds by a small rivulet.

Horrickford, on the river Ribble near Clitheroe, co. Lancaster, bounding on Yorkshire.

"Ad fossatum de Hurpleya quod dominus rex Ricardus incipere fecit, et de fossato illo usque ad vadum de *Hareford*." Limits of lands in the New Forest, belonging to Beaulieu Abbey. Monast. Angl. i. p, 926.

Harford, co. Devon. See the extract from Polwhele, under Hoar Path.

54. Hoar Bridge.

"To *Orebrugge*." Perambulation of the New Forest, 8 Edw. I. It is now called Owre Bridge.

55. Hoar Weir.

"On tha *Harenwiren* on thene pulle." In the boundaries of land belonging to Glastonbury Abbey. New Monast. i. p. 56.

56. Hoar Cote.

Horcote, in Kempsford, co. Gloucester, bounding on Wiltshire.

57. Hoar House.

The boundaries of the County of the City of Lichfield go "to the top of Dean-slade, taking in all the *Hare-house* ground." Harwood, p. 358.

58. Hoar Hall.

A messuage called *Hoar Hall* stands near the same boundary line as Hoar Park and Hoar Grounds, in Bentley, co. Warwick.

War Hall, a farm-house in West Bromwich, co. Stafford, on the borders of Wednesbury.

Worminghall, co. Bucks, is contiguous to Oxfordshire.

59. Hoar By, or Village.

Hareby, co. Nottingham, bordering on Lincolnshire.

Harby, co. Leicester, bordering on Nottinghamshire.

60. Hoar Chester, or Camp.

Several barrows or cairns on the tops of hills in Northumberland, "amongst the rest some that are called *Harechesters*, or *Harechester Rings*." Horsley, Britannia Romana, p. 448.

61. Hoar Castle.

Harecastle, co. Stafford, borders on Cheshire.

62. Hoar Dyke.

Wardyke, one of the limits of the Warren at Castle Rising, co. Norfolk, 39 Eliz. Parkin, ix. p. 57.

"On tha dic, efter *Heredic* that on thes ford." Boundaries of land at Essington, co. Stafford. Monast. Angl. i. p. 990.

A boundary drain of some marsh land, belonging to Edmund's Bury Abbey, co. Suffolk, 13 Edw. II. was called *Oredich*. Harl. MS. 230, fol. 107.

A certain *Wardyke*, called Defdyke, near Wainfleet, co. Lincoln, mentioned 40 Edw. III. Dugdale's Imbanking, ed. 2, p. 157.

63. Hoar Sytch, Sike, or Watercourse.

Horsych, anciently a manor and hamlet in Cranbourne, on the N. E. confines of Dorsetshire. Hutchins, iii. p. 58.

Heron Sike, a boundary line of Lancashire and Westmoreland. Whitaker's Lonsdale, p. 301.

64. Hoar Bourn, or Rivulet.

The *Harbern*, a Devonshire stream, is described by Lysons as "rising on the *edge* of Dartmoor." Devonsh. p. cclv. It is called *Hareborne* in Speed's Map.

Harborne, in Domesday Horeborne, co. Stafford, bordering on Warwickshire and Worcestershire.

65. Hoar Wash, or Water.

Erwash is a boundary stream, between the counties of Nottingham and Derby.

66. Hoar Mouth, or Embouchure.

The limits of the Episcopal Barony of Chichester, 16 Hen. VIII. agreeing with the original donation of King Ceadwalla to the see of Selsey, are said to extend "to *Hormouth* haven, now called West Widdering." Dallaway, i. p. 3.

67. Hoar Mere.

"Of tham on tha ealdan dic on *Haran mœre*." Heming's Cartulary, boundaries of Bishop's Stoke, co. Worcester, p. 122.

"Thonan to *Haran mere*." Boundaries of land at Clofie, granted by King Ethelred. Cotton. MS. Augustus II.

68. Hoar Pool.

"Near Nantwich, co. Chester, we have *Warpoole*, or *Whorepoole*, in the Inquisitions *Horpoole*, situated near a brook, which has Worleston on the other side of it, and issues from Wardle or Wardale, at the division of Nantwich and Edisbury Hundreds." Information of George Ormerod, Esq. "All our Cheshire Warfords, Warminchams, Wartons, Hortons, Warburtons, &c. (adds Mr. O.) have limitary properties."

69. Hoar Pitt.

"Of than garan on *Horpyt*." Boundaries of land belonging to Burton

Abbey, co. Stafford, as described in a Charter of King Eadred. Monast. Angl. i. p. 256.

"Of sandune on *Hor pytte*." Heming's Cartulary, boundaries of Tidmin-ton, co. Worcester, pp. 192, 348

"And lang rices thæt cymth to thæm *Hor pytte*." Ibid. Longdon, p. 209.

"To than *Orputtan* to the ferist stone." Boundaries of land belonging to Glastonbury Abbey. New Monasticon, i. p. 59.

"Ond lang dic to *Horo pytte*." Boundaries of land belonging to Abing-don Abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius B. VI. fol. 45.

"And lang thære stræte in on *Hore pyt*." Ibid. fol. 56.

"Northward unto Riggate and to *Hurepitts*." Translated copy of an Inquisition respecting Sherwood Forest, co. Nottingham, 40 Hen. III. in the market and bounds of Kigill and Ravenshead.

70. Hoar Well.

"Hit cymeth to *Horwyll*." Heming's Cartulary, pp. 66, 380, boundaries of Water Eaton, co. Oxon.

A land boundary at Pershore, co. Worcester, is *Hor wyllan*. Cotton. MS. Augustus II. art. 6.

"Inde per Fulanbroc usque in *Harenwilles*." Boundaries at Evesham, co. Worcester. Monast. Angl. i. p. 145.

In "a speciall Survey of the boundes and meares which divide the libertie and countie of the cittie of Coventr' from the countie of Warr', A. D. 1581," in the Leet Book of that city, the following are noticed: "a little river called *Horwell Stream*, and so by that river or stream, leaving yt on the left hand, untill you come to the well called *Horwell*, and ther ys another merestone sett."

Horwell Field, in Chesterton, co Oxon. Dunkin, i. p. 271.

Harold, co. Bedford, in Domesday Harewelle, borders on Northamp-tonshire.

The site of Wherwell Abbey, co. Hants, is described by Will. of Malms-bury, as "in silvam *Warewelle*, quæ vocatur *Harewoode*." Monast. Angl. i. p. 256.

In Robert of Gloucester's account of the conflict between the scholars and

the citizens of Oxford, A. D. 1263, it is related that the Gownsmen broke down one of the gates, called Smith-gate, " and suththe thoru Beaumond to *Hare well* it bere." p. 540. On this passage Hearne observes, Pref. xlvi. " In those times, what we now call Walton Well, was styl'd *Harewell*, or *Horewell*, from its antiquity, (as Harwell, or Harewell, near Abbington, in Berks, was likewise so call'd upon the same account) *hare*, or *hore*, signifying *old*, which name it retained, among many, divers years after. I take it to be the oldest Well of note about Oxford." To this explanation, he adds in the Glossary, p. 654; " I am not ignorant, that others will make *hare* to signify the station of an army, as if this were the well of the army. But this I look upon as an absurd exposition."

The Rev. Mr. Leman, in Coxe's Monmouthshire, Introd. p. 14 note, observes, " It is a curious circumstance, that the drain called *Whore's Well*, and the little stream which runs near our Roman road [the Julia strata] form the *boundaries* of an insulated part of the hundred of Berkeley [co. Gloucester]: the name given to the drain was probably a corruption of *Hæduorum Vallum*."

The Forest of *Horwell*, co. Worcester, is included with another called Ambresle, in a charter of disafforestation, by King Henry III. wherein the boundaries of the former are set forth as going " ad boscum de la Mue, et deinde descendendo de aqua de Aven, *per horam ejusdem bosci*, excludendo eundem boscum de la Mue, recta linea usque Sabrinam." Dr. Nash, i. Introd. p. lxviii. gives an English translation only, rendering the words in italics, "by the *side* of the wood," which agrees with the French *Orée*,—bord ou lisiere d'un bois. *Hora* is evidently the aspirated *Ora*, applied in the sense of an extremity, margin, or border; as in Cicero de Finibus, Q. 31, quoted by Ainsworth, " regiones quarum nulla esset *ora*, nulla extremitas."

Thus we find *Hora*, the customary word for an *Hour*, made use of to denote the fence or verge of a wood, an application unusual even in that age of degenerate latinity; *Hora*, for *Ora*, not being noticed by Du Cange, Spelman, Cowel, Blount, or Kennett. It is, however, a member of the same numerous family of words, derived from one parent stock, which has been mentioned at the beginning of this section. And what is *an Hour* but *a Division*? A Division, not indeed of lands, but of a possession far more valuable, which if once lost can never be regained.

SECTION III.

A List of Hoar-stones, and places named from them.

"Condemn not this our diligence for needless curiosity, but know that every Meer-stone, that standeth for a land-mark, though in substance but a hard flint, or plain pibble, is a precious-stone in virtue, and is cordiall against dangerous controversies between party and party."

Fuller, Pisgah-sight of Palestine, B. ii. chap. 9.

ENGLAND.

Berkshire. "Of tham beorge west riht on thone *Haranstan.*" Cotton. MS. Claudius, B. vi. fol. 24 b. boundaries of land belonging to Abingdon Abbey, *viz.* Mete de Beohtwaldingtune.

"Ufewearde to than *Haran stan.*" Ibid. fol. 64 b. Mete de Wrthe.

"Of ruhanleah on thone *Haran stan.*" Ibid. fol. 66. Mete de Cumenora.

"Of nunnena pole on *Haran stan.*" Ibid. fol. 92. Mete de Cerne.

"Of then yate to then *Horeston.*" Boundaries of Ashdowne, co. Berks, in King Edred's charter to Glastonbury Abbey. Hearne's app. to Joh. Glaston, ii. p. 568.

Cheshire. "*Harestanes Field*, in Mere." Ormerod, i. p. 361, col. 1. Called Horestonesfield in the next column.

Cornwall. The Barton of *Tremenhere*, near Penzance. It is observed by Messrs. Lysons, in Cornwall, p. xcviii. that *Tre*, in the Cornish or British language, signified not only a town, village, or dwelling, but also the numeral *Thre;* which latter sense appears to have been adopted in the appropriation of family arms, *e. g.* "the three stone pillars [meini-hirion, or Hoar-stones,] in those of Tre-men-here;" or, as they are subsequently called, "three doric columns," p. cxvi.

Mr. Polwhele explains the name of this place differently, as "Tre-men-heer, menhir, *the long stone town*, or Tre-myn-hir, *the long passage;*" but when we learn that Mr. Polwhele's own name will admit of such various interpretations, as "the pool work—the top of the field—the miry work—or the top of the work," who dare rely on Cornish etymology? Cornwall, ii. pp. 39, 40, 56.

The *Hurlers.*

Derbyshire. *Horestone Castle.*

Devonshire. An island in Torbay, called *Horestane.* Leland, Itin. iii. 31.

Gloucestershire. The *Hoar Stone* at Duntesbourne Abbots. Engraved in the Archæologia, xvi. p. 362.

Land called *Horeston*, at Mickleton. Rudder, p. 547.

"A ground called *Horestones*," at Abston. Bigland, i. p. 39.

Herefordshire. The *Hoar-stone* at Tedstone Delamere. Duncumb, ii. p. 197.

Kent. *Herstone*, in the bounds of the Cinque-port's liberty at Ramsgate. Boys' Sandwich, p. 832.

Nennius, ed. Bertram, p. 127, describes the defeat of the Saxons by Vortimer, as having taken place "in campo *juxta lapidem tituli*," which Camden, ed. Gibson, col. 243, conjectures to have been at *Stonar*. Baxter, Gloss. p. 5, approves of this location, notwithstanding a different opinion entertained by Somner and Stillingfleet; adding, "Quid enim *Ston har*, Saxonibus, nisi *Lapis altus?*"

Boys, in Archæologia, xi. p. 44, considers this *Lapis tituli* to have been *a Boundary-stone*, within the area of Richborough, and not more than 260 rods from Stonar. Battely says, "*Lapides* vero *finales*, si inscriptum quid haberent, agrimensores *Titulos* appellabant." Antiquitates Rutupinæ, p. 19, where several authors are quoted to that effect. For *Titulus*, in the sense of an inscribed stone, see Horsley, Brit. Rom. p. 273.

Lancashire. *Whore-stones* in Pendle Forest, and *Hare-stones* near Cockerham. Yates's Map. The former are called *Hoare-stones* in Whitaker's Whalley, third edit. pp. 214, 216.

The *Wolf Stone*, a single merestone, one immense natural block, on Dr. Whitaker's own estate, marking the division of Cliviger and Stansfield townships, Whalley and Halifax Parishes, the Counties of York and Lancaster, Chester and York Dioceses, York and Canterbury Provinces (*viz.* when Chester was part of Lichfield), and according to Dr. W.'s theory, the boundary of Mercia and Deira. Whalley, ibid. p. 37.

Leicestershire. The *Holstone* in Humberston Field. Nichols, iii. part 2, p. 981.

Monmouthshire. "Per circuitum usque at *Horston*." Boundaries of land belonging to Tintern Abbey. Monast. Angl. i. p. 723.

Harold's Stones at Trelech. King, Munimenta Antiqua, i. p. 199. Also Coxe's Monmouthshire, ii. p. 332, where they are engraved, and called Druidical.

Northamptonshire. A rivulet dividing Nether Heyford from Bugbroke, is named *Horestone* and *Hoar-stone Brook*, from falling into the river Nen at Lower Hoar-stone, or Hoar-stone Meadow. Bridges, i. pp. 75, 87, 265, 519.

"That there was a battle betwixt the Saxons and Danes at Danesmore, the name of the place, and a constant tradition of the neighbourhood, may reasonably incline us to believe. The people there have a notable rhime, which they make the Danes to say upon the point of battle. 'T is this:

'If we can Pad-well overgoe, and *Horestone* we can see;
Then Lords of England we shall be.'

Pad-well is a noted flush spring in Edgcote grounds: *Horestone* a famous old stone on the borders of Warwickshire, in Wardlinton field, [co. Oxon]." Morton, p. 542.

Oxfordshire. The *War-stone* at Enstone. This conspicuous object is said, by the country-people, to have been set up *at a French wedding*; and in that tradition may, perhaps, be found some vestiges of truth; for the Saxons called the Norman settlers by the name of *Franks* or *French*, the Francigenæ of Domesday Book, and a wedding would be a likely cause for a division of property, either in frank-marriage or dower. A view and description of this stone are given in the Gentleman's Magazine for Feb. 1824, by Edward Rudge, Esq. who judiciously deems it to have been originally a *Cromlech*, supported after the manner of Kit's Coity-house, upon three stones of smaller dimensions, which are still remaining close to it. The tradition ascribing its erection to a French Wedding seems to point out the Norman era, for its appropriation *as a terminus*; when, forgotten in its primary character, though well known as a fixed and permanent block, it assumed its new office of marking the limits of some patrimonial acres. The stones at Stanton Drew, co. Somerset, are popularly called *the Wedding*, from a tradition that a bride going to be married was here turned

into stone, with all her company; and it is far from improbable (which is all that can be urged on such an obscure subject) that some real event, of a marriage portion including the site of the stones, or being bounded by them, might give rise to the marvellous legend. There are *Bride Stones* in several parts of the kingdom, those at Biddulph, co. Stafford, consist of eight upright stones, two of which stand within a semicircle formed by the other six. May not all these erections be indebted, for their *secondary character*, at least, to bridal dower, or other divisions of property? Before the use of deeds in writing, such stones were "the vouched signature and proof" [n] of some solemn covenant and agreement made on the spot.

In Madox's Formulare, No. DXXIV. is a grant of two turbaries to the Monks of Bruerne, "unam silicet sub *le Harestan*."

"The *Hore-stone furlong*, at Cleydon." Plot's Nat. Hist. p. 85.

Godstow Nunnery had "a pece of grownde called *Horestone*." New Monast. iv. p. 376.

SHROPSHIRE. The *Hoar Stone* in Hales Owen, dividing it from Northfield, co. Worcester.

The *Horreston* occurs in the Cartulary of Haghmon Abbey, in a deed of lands, s. d. at Aston, near Oswestry.

"Et sic directe usque *le Horeston* in Twychenylde Grene." Salop Forest Roll, 26 Edw. I. describing Bunde Foreste de Lythewod.

"Et sic descendendo usque *le Horeston* in Ardelestones Grene." Ibid. describing Bunde Haye de Welinton.

SOMERSETSHIRE. *Horestone Point*, an immense headland, terminating Porlock Bay on the North. Collinson, i. p. xi. In many Maps it is corrupted into *Horesdown*.

In the boundaries of Glaston Twelve Hides, "inter dominium de Andresey, et dominium de Stoke seu Draycote, usque ad *la Hore Stone*." Hearne's Joh. Glaston. p. 303.

"Of than zate to than *Horeston*." Boundaries of land at Ayshedowne, belonging to Glastonbury Abbey. New Monasticon, i. p. 52.

[n] King, Munimenta Antiqua, i. chap. 2.

"Inde usque ad *Harestana* inter pratum regis et pratum Malherbe." Monast. Angl. i. p. 959, describing lands belonging to Witham Friary.

A pasture called "*Whoreston* belonging to the Nunnery of St. Mary Magdalen at Bristol, lying on le Mighill hille," is mentioned 37 Hen. VIII. New Monasticon, iv. p. 590.

Staffordshire. A mass apparently of granite, in form somewhat of a truncated cone, stands as a land-mark between Envill and Bobbington, and is called the *Wore Stone*.

Land in Harborne called *Horestone*. Nash, Worcest. ii. app. p. xxxvi.

A pasture called *Whoreston*, in Little Wirley. Shaw, i. p. 314.

The *War Stone* at Trysull, called also the *Hoar Stone*. Ibid. ii. pp. 210, 278.

Land at Brewood, "in a place called the Thornes near *Horston*," mentioned A.D. 1279. Ibid. ii. p. 292 (unpublished).

In the time of Edw. IV. a rent was paid to the lord of Bishbury, "for the tenement of the *Whorstones*." Huntbach's MS. Collections.

"Descendendo usque *Horeston*." Monast. Angl. i. p. 942, describing the possessions of Hilton Abbey.

"On thane *Haran stan*." Ibid. p. 990. Lands at Hilton belonging to Wolverhampton. The same, doubtless, as marked by *Hoar Stones*, in Cary's Map of the County.

The limits of some land at Kaverswalle are given in a deed, s. d. as descending "per fossatum usque ad *le Horestones*."

"E pus deyes *le Horeston* sus le graunt Blakeleye." Staffordshire Forest Roll, 28 Edw. I. m. 18, describing "le bundes de Calonheth."

One of the boundaries of lands belonging to Sandwell Priory was "a place called *Horeston*," and in the survey of its possessions, temp. Hen. VIII. "the *Horeston* close" is mentioned. New Monasticon, iv. p. 191.

Warwickshire. "Juxta viam qua itur ad *Harestan*." Cartulary of Kenilworth Priory, describing boundaries of land at Rudfen. Harl. MS. 3650, p. 16.

Horeston Grange, a place on the borders of Leicestershire.

Horeston Ground, at Ladbroke, on the limits of the parish. Survey of Ladbroke, A.D. 1639. It is now corruptly called the *Wostings* Field.

The *Hoar Stone* at Whitley near Coventry.

Warstone Lane at Birmingham. The Stone itself is mentioned in deeds as late as A.D. 1676.

The *Wharstones*, a field at Erdington. The Hoar Stone between the parishes of Aston and Sutton Coldfield.

Another field called *Horestone* Close, lying at Moor End, in the same Manor of Erdington, occurs in ancient deeds.

The *Whorstone* at Castle Bromwich, still remaining in a field bordering on Little Bromwich, called "*le Horestonefeld*," in a deed temp. Edw. I.

The *Horestone* at Harbury is named in a deed 9 Hen. IV.

The Abbey of Combe had certain lands in Church Over, described in the Cartulary of that house as lying "juxta *Hareston*." Cotton. MS. Vitellius, A. 1, art. 6.

Wiltshire. "Usque Wolucrundle, videlicet usque *la Horestone*." Register of Malmsbury Abbey, Lansdown MS. 417, fol. 14 b. Termini de Ewlme.

Worcestershire. The *Hore-stone* in the Foreign of Kidderminster.

Horestone Field in Northfield, so called in a deed, A. D. 1687, though corrupted into the *Oar Stone* Field, in Particulars of Northfield Manor, &c. for sale, A.D. 1820.

Land called Hauxmore in Leigh, is described in a MS. survey of Malvern Chase, A.D. 1633, as "lying after the head waie from Cowley's oke towards the *Hoare Stone*."

Whorstone Field, partly in King's Norton, and partly in Cofton Hacket.

"*Horston* Field, in Feckenham." Letters Patent 37 Hen. VIII. in the possession of the late Christopher Hunt, Esq.

Whorston Grove Coppice, at Himbleton, mentioned on a tablet in the Church.

"De Apulthonesford usque *Horestan*." Survey of Bromsgrove, Norton, and Alvechurch, temp. Edw. III. Nash, i. p. 23.

"*Horestan* and *le Horeston*, in Bromsgrove." Testa de Nevill.

"Of reodmædwan on *Haranstan*." Heming's Cartulary, describing the boundaries of Tredington, p. 39.

"On thone *Haran stan*." Ibid. Cutsdean, pp. 167, 348.

"Of thone *Haran stan.*" Ibid. Clive, p. 245.

"Into cyles dene to tham *Haran stane.*" Ibid. Hallow, p. 339.

"On wene [thene] grene weie wat [that] on *Horeston.*" Ibid. Cutsdean, p. 433.

"Duo crofta voc' *Horestone* Crofts, jac' insimul inter regiam viam que ducit inter Sterbrigge et Worcester, ex parte orient', et parvum torrentem vocat' *Horestone* Broke, al' Holy Broke." Rental of Hagley, at Lord Lyttelton's, 23 Hen. VIII. Horestone Brook was "probably so denominated from a stone or rude pillar erected near it by the victorious Britons; it not being the practice of the Romans to erect such pillars." So says Dr. Nash, (from Bishop Lyttelton's MSS.) i. p. 486, where a farm called *Harborow*, with certain tumuli near it, is previously mentioned, (its name "being a Saxon compound of *Here*, exercitus, and *Berie*, campus,") as the supposed scene of an engagement, traditionally said to have taken place between the Romans and the Britons.

Yorkshire. The Abbey of St. Mary at York had a wood "quod vocatur Calengia," of which the boundaries were "ad *Haresteines* [misprinted Harestemes] et sic usque ad Depedale." Stevens's Monasticon, ii. App. lxx.

Gearstones near Ribble Head, on the borders of Craven. Whitaker's Map.

The Devil's *Arrows* near Boroughbridge. "Those famous pyramids call'd the Devil's Arrows (says the learned Roger Gale) stand near the Erming Street. If they were "Hermæ, *as I see no reason to doubt but they were*, they will be a strong argument that the *Erming Street* took its course that way, and no weak confirmation of the great Mr. Selden's conjecture, who derives that name from *Irmunsull.*" Essay on the Roman Ways, at the end of Leland. Itin. vi. p. 135.

"A piece of a rock called the *Hurkeling Stone*, which forms the boundary between Broomhead Moor and Agden." Archæologia, v. p. 93.

SCOTLAND.

The *Hare Stane* at Edinburgh. Marmion, notes to Canto iv. The following extract from Maitland's History of that City, p. 506, will show

this Stone in connection with the tenure of an estate: "The proprietor of the lands of Pennycuick is obliged, whenever the King comes into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to receive his Majesty at the *Harestone*, (now erected in the park-wall, almost opposite to the S. E. corner of the park-dike, at the end of Tipperlin Lone, near the Borough-moor head,) and standing thereon, give three blasts on a horn; whereby is held certain privileges belonging to the estate of Pennycuick."

"At *Hairstanes* in Kirkurd parish, Peeblis-shire, there are the remains of a Druid temple or oratory, consisting of a number of large stones, standing in a circular form. Tradition still speaks of the Hairstanes as a place of worship, rather than the scene of conflict." Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. p. 904.

WALES.

Anglesey. At Werthur, a farm in the parish of Amlwch, is a stone called *Maen-hir* Werthur.

A field near Brynshenkin, in Llanidan parish, is called *Maen-hir*.

Breconshire. A *Maen-hir* at Cwrt y gollen, near Crickhowel. "This stone (observes Mr. Jones, ii. part ii. p. 470.) appears to me to be set up by one of the princes of Gwent, and a prince or lord of Brecon, *to mark the boundary between the two counties*." It is wonderful that this opinion did not lead Mr. Jones to the true etymology of the word.

A *Maen-hir* between Penmiarth house and the river Usk. Ibid. p. 502.

A *Maen-hir* on Gilstone Farm at Llanfigan. Ibid. p. 593.

Carmarthenshire. *Meineu-gwyr*, on a mountain near Kil-y-maen lhwyd. Gibson's Camden.

Cardiganshire. *Meineu-hirion* near Neuodh. Ibid.

Carnarvonshire. *Meineu-hirion*, in the parish of Dwy Gyvylcheu. Ibid.

A *Maen-gwyr* near Capel Kirig. Ibid.

Glamorganshire. A *Maen-hir* on a mountain near Caerphily. Ibid.

Merionethshire. *Meineu-hirion* in Llanbedr parish.

The Cambrian Register for 1795, in a list of places in this county, p. 304, mentions "*Meini Gwyr* Ardudwy, the stones of the men of Ardudwy." Lhwyd in his communications to Gibson's Camden, col. 790, calls them

" Bed-*heu* Gwyr Ardudwy, *i. e.* the *graves* of the men of Ardudwy," and from his description it seems probable that they were early sepulchral monuments, though not less likely, on that account, to become the termini of later times; for the Hoar-stone at Duntesbourne, co. Gloucester, already mentioned, is fixed upon an ancient sepulchral tumulus; and a barrow in Norfolk " is actually the boundary mark of the three parishes of Aylsham, Burgh, and Tutington." Archæologia, xvi. p. 355. See also the previous remarks on Enstone War-stone in Oxfordshire.

Pembrokeshire. A *Maen-hir* near Fynnon Druidion. Fenton, p. 24.

Meini-hirion near Garnvawr. Ibid. p. 26.

A stone pitched on end on the farm of ***Haroldstone.*** Ibid. 158.

Mr. Fenton thinks it " rather remarkable that there should be so many places called Harold-stone, or at least with Harold prefixed, in this county."

" Beyond St. Dogwell's, turning north, the manor [of Renaston] extends to a great stone, called the ***Horestone.***" Ibid. p. 337.

An upright stone upon a tumulus " in a field on Stackpool demesne, known by the name of *Horestone* Park, perhaps a corruption of Haroldstone." Ibid. p. 417.

III. *Observations on the circumstances which occasioned the Death of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; in a Letter from* JOHN BRUCE, *Esq. F.S.A. to* THOMAS AMYOT, *Esq. F.R.S., Treasurer.*

Read 24th November, 1831.

Francis-street, Golden-square, September 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,

FEW men have suffered the extreme penalty of the law under circumstances more calculated to arouse general commiseration, than those which attended the death of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. It has nevertheless happened, that whilst the most trifling circumstances relating to his illustrious companion in misfortune have been dwelt upon with great minuteness, the fall of Fisher has not been investigated with any thing like a proportionable diligence. The chief reason for this marked difference may be found, I imagine, in the personal character of Sir Thomas More, compounded as it was of qualities more showy and attractive than the meek and Christian virtues of Bishop Fisher. The discrepancies and contradictions in the accounts of the proceedings against Fisher given by our best historians [a] are so numerous, that I have thought a careful statement of the circumstances which accompanied his fall, partly derived from MSS. which do not appear to have been printed, would probably be acceptable to

[a] The acts of parliament and other legal matters mixed up with the question seem to have confounded most of our historical writers. Many have shunned the question of Fisher's legal crime altogether; several have imagined that he was executed in pursuance of one of the acts of attainder against him, although they were merely for misprision of treason; and others have attributed his conviction to a refusal to take the oath of supremacy, which had no existence until the 1st year of Elizabeth. It would be an ungracious task to trace these errors home, or they might be assigned to names of considerable celebrity.

you, and if you think the matter of sufficient general interest to merit the attention of the Society of Antiquaries, you will oblige me by submitting the following remarks to their notice.

It is well known that Fisher was a zealous defender of the Roman Catholic Church against the attacks of the Lutherans. He wrote against the new opinions with spirit and acuteness, and backed his arguments with the weighty evidence of an irreproachable and untainted life. In an age by no means distinguished either for morality or learning, he was at once eminent for virtue and respectable as a scholar. That he was an encourager of learning in others is well proved by his patronage of Erasmus,[b] and his assiduity in the foundation of Christ's and St. John's Colleges in Cambridge, the Lady Margaret's professorships, and other scholastic endowments; and his personal affection for literature may be inferred from his collecting one of the best libraries in England,[c] and also from his undertaking the study of Greek when the knowledge of that language was revived in England, although he was then upwards of 60 years of age.[d]

His appointment to the Bishopric of Rochester arose out of some compunctious visitings of conscience in Henry VII. who, in writing to his mother the Countess of Richmond, confesses "that in his days he had promoted many a man unadvisedly," and "I wolde now," he proceeds, "make some recompencon to promote some good and vertuouse men;" and therefore he wishes to appoint her confessor Master Fisher "for non other cause but for the grate and singular virtue that I know and se in hym as well in conyng and natural wisdome, and specially for his good and vertuouse lyving."[e]

Fisher's reputation was equivalent to his merit. Henry VIII. held him in peculiar esteem, and inquired of Cardinal Pole whether in all his travels

b Butler's Life of Erasmus, pp. 65, 118. Erasmi Epist. p. 353. ed. Lond. 1642.

c Harl. MS. No. 7047, p. 17, "He had the notablest library of books in all England, two long galleries full. The books were sorted in stalls, and a register of the names of every book at the end of every stall."

d Erasmi Epist. 522, 526.

e See the Letter in the Appendix to "the Funeral Sermon of Margaret Countess of Richmond." Ed. 1708, p. 41.

he had ever found a prelate of equal worth and ability with the Bishop of Rochester.[f]

His friend and correspondent Erasmus makes frequent mention of him, and dwells with pleasure upon the blamelessness of his life, the peculiar kindness of his manners, his learning and noble-mindedness.[g]

If judged by modern taste his sermons will be found to contain little that is attractive; but his contemporaries appear to have held his pulpit eloquence in high estimation. He preached upon the interment of the Countess of Richmond and of her son Henry VII. He was appointed to preach before Henry VIII. upon receipt of tidings of the victory of Flodden;[h] he preached at St. Paul's Cross upon the public condemnation of Luther's doctrines, on the 12th May 1521,[i] and is mentioned as the preacher upon several other peculiar and solemn occasions.

It appears in the volume of State Papers lately published,[k] that upon the first whisper of the meditated divorce between Henry and Katherine, Fisher, although unwilling to interfere, was applied to by the Queen for advice. He was afterwards one of her counsellors upon the hearing before the Legate at Black Fryars,[l] and in that character first drew upon himself the displeasure of the King. The opposition, which there can be no doubt he offered conscientiously, against Henry's subsequent proceedings, not merely eradicated the King's former feeling of affection for him, but even increased his displeasure into dislike and hatred. In the convocation and afterwards in the parliament, although almost alone, Fisher was a strenuous opponent to every measure which tended "to break the bonds of Rome," and, notwithstanding his advanced age and infirm health, appears to have maintained the contest eloquently and with vigour.

Fisher's constant opposition must have rendered him exceedingly troublesome to a Court little accustomed to have its measures thwarted, and the case of Elizabeth Barton, the Nun or Maid of Kent, was laid hold of by the King's advisers as affording an opportunity at any event of silencing if not of crushing him.

[f] Apol. Pol. p. 95, quoted in Lingard's Hist. of England, vol. vi. p. 274. Second edit.
[g] Erasmi Epist. p. 96, 515, 516.
[h] Lord Herbert, p. 40.
[i] Cott. MS. Vitellius, B. iv. fol. 111.
[k] P. 198.
[l] Hall, p. 758, edit. 1809.

The crime of Elizabeth Barton consisted in assuming the character of a prophetess, and denouncing impending judgments against the King.[m] She declared that it had been revealed to her that the Almighty was displeased with the King, that if he proceeded with the divorce and married again he should be no longer King, that in the estimation of God he should not be King one hour, and that he should die a villain's death. Her prophetical career continued for several years, the exercise of her gift being by no means confined to political subjects, but extending to matters of a very miscellaneous and unimportant character. The paroxysm of a convulsive fit was the moment of her pretended inspiration, and she then uttered her insane predictions, sometimes in prose, sometimes in verse, and either in her own chamber with a few favoured hearers, or prostrate in a church before a multitude of eager listeners congregated together by previous appointment. Some ecclesiastics who found their account in her celebrity encouraged her in the opinion that she was divinely inspired, and sedulously extended her fame. Books were composed concerning her, a letter written in golden characters, which she was said to have received from Mary Magdalen, was exhibited to the faithful, and the Holy Maid of Kent, and the image of the Virgin in the Chapel of Court att Street, which she honoured with her peculiar regard, were objects of universal wonder and veneration.

In the opening of her prophetical career she was introduced to Wolsey and also to the King, and afterwards, when the divorce seemed determined upon, and the breach with Rome was becoming inevitable, her political prophesies were used for party purposes, and reported to Queen Katherine, to the Pope's envoys, and the heads of the Catholic party. Amongst others to whom they were communicated were Fisher and Sir Thomas More. We are so prone to forget that men's conduct should be estimated by the opinions and manners of their contemporaries, that we may feel surprise that men like these could ever have seriously listened to the delirious ravings of such a pretender to inspiration. It ought, however, to be borne in mind that a belief in extraordinary spiritual influences and revelations was then a

[m] Hall, p. 803. His account is taken from the Act of Parliament by which she was attainted.

portion of the general creed, and nothing proves the fact more clearly than that some of the wisest men of the time gave attention and credit to this poor half-witted woman. More addressed a letter to her,[n] in which he styled her "right dearly beloved sister in our Lord God," and in a letter to Cromwell, he admits that he had "a great good opinion" of her, and had her "in great estimation," although in the same letter he mentions that she told him that the devil haunted her in the shape of a bird, which, when caught, turned out to be, as might be expected, "a very strange ugly-fashioned bird," so that "they were all afraid and threw him out at a window."[o]

The prophesies of Barton were first taken notice of by the government in 1533, and after an investigation by Cranmer, Cromwell, and Hugh Latimer, then a priest, the Maid and her chief supporters were, in November, brought before "a very great assembly and Council of the Lords of the Realm," in the Star Chamber, and upon confession were sentenced[p] to "stand at Paules Crosse, wher thei with their awne handes should severally deliver, eche of them, to the preacher that should be appoynted, a bill declaring their subtle, craftie, and supersticious doynges. Which thyng the next Sondaie after they all above rehearsed, standyng on a stage at Paule's Crosse made for that purpose, did accomplishe." After this exhibition the culprits were conveyed to the Tower, and confined there without further proceedings until the next parliament.

The fact that Fisher and More had had some intercourse with the Maid having transpired, either upon the preliminary inquiry, or in the Star Chamber, Cromwell, at that time Secretary of State, dispatched Fisher's brother to him with a message of "heavy words" and "terrible threats" against him, advising him to write to the king a letter of submission, and crave pardon for his offences.

Instead of adopting this advice, Fisher wrote to Cromwell a letter, in which he justified his conduct, and declined to ask pardon for offences which he was ignorant of having committed. I am not aware that this letter is in

[n] Roper's More, Appendix, p. 106. Singer's edit.

[o] Ibid.

[p] Hall, p. 806.

existence, but its contents may be gathered from a long answer to it by Cromwell, which is printed by Burnet from a draft amongst the Cotton MSS.[q]

The accusations brought by Cromwell against Fisher were, that he had heard and concealed the Maid's pretended political prophesies, and had kept up an intercourse with her, by several times sending his chaplains to her. It is difficult to conceive what legal crime could be justly imputed to Fisher, even supposing these accusations were true. Elizabeth Barton's contemporaries allowed the possibility of such an inspiration as she laid claim to, and the duty of a good man was therefore confined to the satisfaction of his conscience, by an examination of the evidence upon which the possession of the gift was sought to be established. This is the rule by which to judge of Fisher's conduct, and by which he endeavoured to justify himself. He admitted that he had heard of her prophesies, that he put any faith in them does not appear, but it is sufficiently evident that he entertained a very favourable opinion of the Nun, and perhaps was inclined to attribute to her some supernatural power. The general opinion of her sanctity; a belief that the ecclesiastics by whom she was surrounded, and who spoke loudly of her great holiness, were learned and religious men; the representations of Archbishop Warham, who believed in her visions and had spoken to Fisher concerning them; her own conduct during Fisher's interviews with her; and her answers to the questions he propounded to her by way of trial and examination, were the foundations of his good opinion or belief, whichever of them it ought to be called. That his inquiries did not lead to a discovery of the alleged fraud, and were not such as Cromwell considered proper for ascertaining the truth, ought certainly not to be imputed to him as crimes. His own personal satisfaction was his object, and in such a pursuit the judgment of any other man ought not to be the standard of right and wrong.

The most serious accusation against Fisher was, that he concealed these prophesies from the King. His answer was, that the Nun told him that she had herself communicated to the King what had been revealed to her, which he, knowing she had been with the King, believed to be true, and which

[q] Cleop. E. IV. fol. 85*. Burnet's Appendix, vol. i. p. 123.

was not stated to be otherwise. He also alleged that she spoke not of any evil that was to befal the King, other than by the ordinary visitations of Providence. These two points seem satisfactorily to get rid of the anomalous charge of improperly concealing a prophesy, but it may fairly be questioned whether the prophesies were not matter of public notoriety, and therefore incapable of concealment. If they were to be used for political purposes a considerable degree of notoriety was necessary to secure their end, and the act of attainder of Elizabeth Barton[r] recites that Bocking and Dering "made, writ, and caused to be written, sondry books, bothe great and small, bothe printed and written," concerning Barton's revelations, and afterwards expressly states that the obnoxious revelations concerning the King were "written and expressed in the said bokes and volumes." How a charge could even be brought against Fisher for concealing that which was thus openly declared to the world, and above all, how such a charge could be introduced into an act of parliament which contains the statements I have quoted, seems not a little surprising.

The parliament met on the 15th January 1534, and it would seem that Fisher was particularly urged to attend by Cromwell, who in all probability informed him, that a bill was about to be introduced in which he would have a personal interest. Fisher was then at Rochester confined by illness, and on the 28th of January wrote to Cromwell a letter of excuse, which may be found amongst the Cotton MSS.[s] It does not appear to have been printed, and I shall therefore insert it in an Appendix.[t] It is couched in very humble terms, informs Cromwell that he was labouring under an illness which had then lasted six weeks, and assures him that, if he could see in what plight he was, he would have some pity upon him.[u]

This letter seems to have been answered very speedily, for on the 31st January there is another letter from Fisher to Cromwell, which not having been

r Stat. 25 Henry VIII. cap. 12.

s Vespasian, F. XIII. fol. 154 b.

t Appendix, I.

u The compiler of the Cott. Catalogue appears to have had some doubt as to this letter. I imagine it is indisputable that the signature is that of Fisher, and the body of the letter agrees in the character of the hand-writing with other documents signed by Fisher.

printed, I have also placed in the Appendix.[x] There is something very striking in the quiet, melancholy style in which this letter is written. He entreats that he may not be further called upon to answer Cromwell's letters, as he finds it altogether useless to do so, every thing he writes being attributed either to craft, or wilfulness, or to affection, or to unkindness against his sovereign. In allusion to some expressions in his former letter concerning the divorce, which had displeased the King, he says, " my study and purpose was specially to decline, that I should not be straited to offend his grace in that behalf, for then I must needs declare my conscience, the which, as then I wrote, I would be loth to do any more largely than I have done. Not that I condemn any other men's conscience, their conscience may save them, and mine must save me. Wherefore, good master Cromwell, I beseech you, for the love of God, be contented with this mine answer."

Cromwell's message to Fisher by his brother, and his subsequent letters, evince a very evident desire that Fisher should confess himself culpable, and submit to the mercy of the King, with an assurance of pardon if he would do so. Had he adopted this course it would have destroyed his freedom of action, and have rendered him incapable of offering any future opposition to the measures of the Court. It may be supposed that this was Cromwell's aim. Mr. Southey remarks[y] that "the Bishop's persistance in refusing to do this was plainly a matter of obstinacy, not of conscience." It is a pity that a doctrine so dangerous should have so able an advocate. Fisher's conscience does not appear to have been of the pliable character then fashionable at Court, but his life and death attest its power over him, and it is indeed an extraordinary assertion that a man is to be denounced as obstinate, because, at the summons of a Secretary of State, and upon a promise of pardon, he did not acknowledge himself guilty of an undefined offence, of the commission of which his own conscience did not accuse him.

On the 21st of February[z] a bill of attainder against Barton and her associates was introduced into the House of Lords. She and the Ecclesias-

[x] Cleopatra E. VI. fol. 161. Appendix, II.

[y] Book of the Church, vol. ii. p. 43.

[z] Lords' Journals, i. p. 68.

tics who had spread abroad her pretended prophesies, were by this bill proposed to be declared guilty of high treason; and Fisher, More, and the others who, having had "knowledge of the said revelations had made concealment thereof, and uttered not the same to the King nor any of his Council," were to be attainted of misprision of treason, to suffer imprisonment at the King's pleasure, and forfeit all their personals.

Fisher being still confined by illness wrote to the Lords an able letter of justification, recapitulating much of the matter he had stated to Cromwell, and appealing to them that "as he never gave her any counsel in the matter, nor knew of any forging or feigning thereof, their great wisdoms would not think any default in him." This letter remains in MS. and is printed, but in some passages erroneously, in Collier's Ecclesiastical History.[a]

The bill was read a first time on the 21st of February, the day of its introduction, and again a second time on the 26th of February.[b] On the 27th Fisher wrote to the King supplicating that he would "dismiss him from the trouble" which this bill occasioned to him. This letter is inserted in the Appendix,[c] and as a composition of considerable interest and merit will well repay the trouble of perusal. It forcibly brings before us the rough and overbearing manner in which Henry was accustomed to treat his counsellors. In connection with this very bill against Elizabeth Barton, and to persuade the King to withdraw the name of Sir Thomas More out of it, Cranmer, the Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, and Cromwell, were unable to succeed until "upon their knees most humbly they besought him;"[d] at an after period of his life, in reproving the Chancellor Wriothesley, he termed him "a knave, fool, and beast, and bade him get out of his sight;"[e] and this letter of Fisher, although it does not detail the particulars, proves that the "grievous letters and fearful words" which the King used towards Fisher when he had the honesty to express his opinion concerning the divorce, made no trifling impression upon the prelate.

[a] Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 166. Collier's Eccles. Hist. ii. p. 87.
[b] Lords' Journals, i. p. 69.
[c] Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 162. Appendix, III.
[d] Roper's More, p. 68.
[e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 345.

On the 6th of March the bill was read a third time.[f] More had in the mean time requested to be heard in his defence, and the Lords, out of respect to the man whose eloquence had so lately guided and enlightened them, directed inquiry to be made whether it squared with the King's mind that More and all those who were sought to be attainted of misprision of treason, should be examined in the Star Chamber to hear what they could say for themselves, with the exception of the Bishop of Rochester, whose answer had been received by letter. The particulars of what occurred may be seen in Roper's Life of More.[g] The only result of this honourable and uncourtly scruple was, that the name of More was withdrawn from the Bill, and on the 12th of March it was read a fourth time and passed by the Lords.[h] On the 17th March, having been expedited through the House of Commons, it was returned to the Lords. On the 20th it was delivered to the Chancellor, whether for engrossment or for what other purpose does not appear. He brought it back on the 21st, and I suppose the royal assent was given to it, according to the practice then usual, on the 30th March, when the King attended and put an end to the session. The Act is the 25th Henry VIII. cap. 12. It is needless to dwell upon the manifest injustice and breach of constitutional forms which distinguished the whole of this proceeding. It was the opening of a fearful tragedy, the turning of a page in our history which reflects equal disgrace upon the malignity of the King and the cold-hearted suppleness of his advisers. That the King could obliterate the memory of former kindness, and close his heart against the entreaties of an infirm man who had long served his father and himself, whose pretended fault had been committed without fraud, and was followed by no evil consequences, and who in his extreme age declares that he merely sought "to prepare his soul to God, and to make it ready against the coming of death, and no more to come abroad into the world,"[i] is a proof how rapidly he was descending into the state of ferocious tyranny which distinguished the after portion of his life.

[f] Lords' Journals, i. p. 72.

[g] P. 63, Singer's edit.

[h] Journals, i. p. 74, 76, 77, 78.

[i] Appendix, III.

The same parliament which passed this act of attainder distinguished itself by placing upon the Statute Book the first of those instances of legislative folly by which the succession of the Crown was endeavoured to be secured by the force of strange oaths and the creation of new treasons. By the Statute of 25 Henry VIII. cap. 22, it was enacted that the marriage of Henry and Katherine was against the law of God, and void; and that the process before Cranmer, and his sentence of separation were lawful, notwithstanding the Pope's dispensation for the marriage, which was declared void. It was also enacted that the marriage with Anne Boleyn was lawful, and that no one could dispense with God's laws so as to render marriages within the Levitical degrees valid. By the fourth section power was given to the Ecclesiastical Courts to dissolve all such marriages, notwithstanding they might have been sanctioned by the Pope's dispensation. The throne was then settled upon Henry and his issue by Anne, and, after many enactments equally repugnant to the feelings and consciences of the Catholics, it was in conclusion enacted that every person by the commandment of the King should make an oath 'to maintain that act,' and all who refused to take such an oath should be held guilty of misprision of treason. When the King went to prorogue the parliament the Lords and Commons then present "most lovingly accepted and took such oath as was then devised,"[k] and a commission was directed to the Chancellor, Cranmer, and the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, empowering them to administer the oath to all other persons, according to a form then prescribed, and which was annexed to the commission. The oath thus prescribed, it may be remarked, goes very far beyond the direction of the Statute, which seems to authorize a mere general oath to maintain the objects of the Act, whereas the form entered in the Journals enbraces a variety of particulars as to the succession to the throne.

Soon after the close of the session the Commissioners required Fisher and many other ecclesiastics, together with Sir Thomas More, to appear before them and take the oath. The place appointed was the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth, and there on the 13th of April, 1534, they appeared.[l] They

[k] Stat. 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 2. Lords' Journals, i. 82.

[l] Strype's Cranmer, p. 26. Roper's More, p. 122.

were called in before the Commissioners singly, and all we know of the interview, as far as Fisher is concerned, is its result. Fisher and More refused to take the oath tendered to them, and which was probably the same as was taken by the parliament; but both offered to swear to such portion of it as concerned the succession. They admitted that the parliament had a right to make such alterations in the descent of the Crown as were thought proper; but neither of them would allow the invalidity of the King's first marriage, the legality of the divorce, or of his marriage with Anne Boleyn. Their refusal appears to have been unanticipated; and, in order to obtain time to consider, and perhaps to consult with the King as to what course should be adopted, the Commissioners remanded them for four days. More was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster; Fisher's place of detention does not appear. The 17th of April was the day appointed for their re-appearance, and on that day we find Cranmer writing to Cromwell from Croydon, referring to what had taken place on the former meeting, and urging the propriety of accepting their qualified oath.[m] When Cranmer's advice was on the side of mercy it was often its fate to be unsuccessful, and it was so on the present occasion. The prisoners persisted in their refusal, and were both committed to the Tower.

On the next day Rowland Lee, then Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, visited Fisher in the Tower, and on quitting him wrote a hasty note to Cromwell, which is printed in Strype's Cranmer.[n] It shows the nature of the concessions Fisher was willing to make, and presents a striking picture of the condition of the man who was thus suddenly doomed to a rigorous imprisonment. "He is," says Lee, "as ye left him, ready to take the oath for the succession, and to swear never to meddle more in disputation of the validity of the matrimony, or invalidity, with the Lady Dowager, but that utterly to refuse. For as for the case of the prohibition Levitical, his conscience is so knit that he cannot send it off from him whatsoever betide him. And yet he will and doth profess his allegiance to our Sovereign Lord the King during his life." Such were his opinions; now mark how worthy a

[m] Cleopatra, E. VI. fol. 181. Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, p. 14.

[n] Cleopatra, E. VI. fol. 165. Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, p. 13.

victim these lenient men had selected: "truly the man is nigh going, and doubtless cannot continue unless the King and his Council be merciful unto him. For the body cannot bear the clothes on his back, as God knoweth!" Fisher's bodily strength disappointed the expectation of his enemies. Sickness and age appear to have relaxed their virulence, and resigned the old man to the more certain vengeance of his persecutors.

The Statute of 25 Henry VIII. c. 22, in describing the nature of the oath to be taken by the people, enacted, that it should be an oath "truly, firmly, and constantly, without fraud or guile, to observe, fulfill, maintain, defend, and keep, to their cunning, wit, and uttermost of their powers, the whole effects and contents of that act." The Lord Chancellor and Mr. Cromwell, however, says Roper,[o] "did of their own heads add more words unto it, to make it appear to the King's ears more pleasant and plausible, and that oath so amplified caused they to be administered to Sir Thomas More, and to all other throughout the realm." A proceeding more palpably illegal can scarcely be imagined; but Roper's account is borne out by indisputable authority. One result of this amplification was, that the imprisonment of More and Fisher, so far as it depended upon their refusal to take the amplified oath, was of course altogether illegal. The penalty inflicted by the Statute attached upon the refusal to take an oath of a particular description; the amplified oath was not such an oath, and therefore that penalty did not attach upon the refusal to take it. An objection so entirely technical, one would have thought beneath the notice of the King's unscrupulous advisers, but they seem to have been influenced by the common weakness of endeavouring to give their injustice the sanction of legal forms, and as soon as the Parliament assembled, a bill was passed to remedy the defect.[p] After reciting the former statute, and that the Lords and Commons upon the last prorogation had taken, not the oath directed by the statute, but "such oath as was then devised," it was declared, that they meant and intended, that all the King's subjects should be bound to accept the same oath, "the tenour" of which, but not a copy of it, was then given in the form of an oath, and it was enacted that this new oath should be adjudged

[o] Roper's More, p. 74.

[p] 26 Henry VIII. cap. 2.

to be the very oath that the Parliament meant and intended should be taken, and, upon the refusal to take which, the penalties denounced by the former act accrued. A more atrocious and blundering instance of *ex post facto* legislation than this can scarcely be pointed out. Here are three oaths, one described by the former statute; a second, which was taken by the Parliament at its prorogation; and a third contained in this last act of Parliament. All three oaths are different, and yet it is declared that the Parliament meant the second when they legislated concerning the first; that they meant the third when they took the second; and it is enacted that penalties imposed for not taking the first have been incurred by refusing to take the third. In this manner it was imagined that an appearance of legality was given to the confinement of Fisher and his fellow-prisoner. It seems probable, however, that the second oath was the one tendered to them, and if so the Statute after all left their case untouched.

We are indebted to the same wise Parliament which passed this Statute for many other legislative curiosities. Their first act[q] declared that the King was the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and "for increase of virtue in Christ's religion" it was enacted that he should have "as well the title and style thereof," as all privileges "to the said dignity belonging."

The thirteenth act[r] of the same session enacted that if any person, after the first day of February next coming, should maliciously wish, will, or desire, by words or writing, or by craft imagine, invent, practise, or attempt, any bodily harm to the King, Queen, or heir-apparent, or to deprive them of the dignity, title, or name of their royal estates, every such person should be guilty of high treason. It is to the credit of the House of Commons that, pliant as they had hitherto shown themselves, they were in some degree roused by the proposition of this enactment. We learn from a document, which I have given in the Appendix,[s] a fact which I think has not hitherto been noticed, that "when this act was in hand in the Common House, because it was thought by divers of the said House that no man lightly might beware of the penaltie of the said Statute, therefore there was much sticking at the same in the Common House," and the act was not allowed to pass until it was added that the said words should be spoken "maliciously."

[q] 26 Henry VIII. cap. 1. [r] Ibid. cap. 13. [s] Appendix, VI.

The chicanery of the judges rendered the humanity of the Commons unavailable, by declaring when, upon the trials of Fisher and More, they came to construe the Statute, that the word "maliciously" was but a superfluous and void word, "for," said these sages, "if a man speak against the King's Supremacy by any manner of means, that speaking is to be understood and taken in law as maliciously." [t] The infamy of this construction is aggravated a hundredfold by a knowledge of the intention of the Commons.

The 22d act [u] of this same Parliament is a second attainder against Fisher, passed without hearing him in his defence, and possibly even without his knowledge. It recites that the oath directed to be taken by the Statute of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22 was tendered to Fisher since the 1st of May then last, and that he refused to take it, and enacts that he should be therefore attainted of misprision of treason, with forfeiture of his effects from the 1st day of March then last, and that the see of Rochester should be held vacant from the 2d day of January then next.

Notwithstanding the wisdom of punishing an offence committed on the 1st of May by a forfeiture from the 1st of March preceding, this Statute certainly gave a legislative sanction to the imprisonment of Fisher, and by depriving him of his property and his Bishopric placed him altogether at the mercy of the Court. It might have been expected that the King would have been satisfied with his humiliation, the extinction of his political power, and his confinement during pleasure. But the anger of Henry VIII. was seldom appeased by anything but blood. If the misery of his victim could have sufficed, his satisfaction would in Fisher's case have been ample, for a more pitiable picture than is presented of his condition in a letter written to Cromwell a few days before Christmas 1534, can scarcely be imagined. Part of this letter was published by Strype,[x] and a further part of it may be found in Bayley's History of the Tower,[y] and in the Biographia Brit. art. Fisher, but as all these publications are in some degree inaccurate, and the entire letter has not perhaps been published, I have placed it in the Appendix.[z]

[t] Howell's State Trials, vol. i. p. 401.
[u] Authentic edit. of the Stats. vol. iii. p. 527.
[x] Strype's Cranmer, p. 13, Appendix.
[y] Bayley's Hist. Tower, vol. i. p. 136.
[z] Appendix, IV.

Fisher was confined in the Tower for fourteen months, and received the severe treatment which was then the common lot of state prisoners. The Lieutenant's charge for his maintenance was twenty shillings per week,[a] but the diet with which he was provided was, as he terms it, "so slender," that, having no means himself, his brother supplied the deficiency "out of his own purse," and "to his great hindrance."[b] About the commencement of 1535 his brother died, and then Fisher, being "in great need," was indebted to the bounty of his friends at Cambridge and elsewhere. The description which he gives[c] of his ragged and rent clothes, which he says he would not have complained of if they would have protected him from the cold, has been often quoted. In the same letter he humbly entreated, but probably without success, to be allowed a priest to hear his confession, and also to be permitted to borrow some religious books. Bad as his treatment was, it does not seem to have been worse than ordinary; the charge for his board, indeed, however slenderly he was provided, was as much as that for any one of the prisoners mentioned in the paper from which I have obtained the information, and far more than for most of them,[d] and in other respects his usage was quite in keeping with that of More and the Duke of Norfolk, the latter of whom gave a description of his confinement in a paper to be found in Lord Herbert.[e] Fisher, however, was a man upon whom imprisonment was likely to produce its worst effects. His life had been one of constant and considerable occupation and activity, and a fondness for field sports, or at any event for coursing, is noticed amongst his peculiarities.[f] The pleasures of the table were not much considered by him, but with a view to the preservation of health he had been accustomed to a spare and regular diet. "He never sat fully one hour to dinner."[g] In eating or drinking he limited himself to some precise quantities, which were measured and weighed out for him. He was punctual in taking his

[a] Cott. MSS. Titus, B. 1. fol. 155. [b] Appendix, IV. [c] Ibid.

[d] The charge for the "bord-wages" of Sir Thomas More and his Servant was fifteen shillings per week, to pay which his wife states, in a letter to Cromwell, that she had been "compelled of verey necessyte to sell part of her apparell for lack of other substance to make money of." Howard's Collection of Letters, 4to. 1753, p. 271.

[e] Herbert's Henry VIII. p. 566. [f] Harl. MS. No. 7047, p. 207. [g] Ibid. p. 16.

meals at certain particular hours, so that in travelling from Rochester to London, "because the time of his refection was come, he took his dinner upon the top of Shooter's Hill, his servants standing round about him."[h] Doubtless these peculiar habits were little regarded during his confinement, and their interruption was certainly calculated to aggravate his maladies; at any event he was ill almost all the time he was in the Tower: and notwithstanding Henry, with a strange affectation of humanity, caused him to be attended by his own physician at an expense it is said of forty pounds,[i] he was so weakly at the period of his execution as scarcely to be able to crawl from his prison in the Bell Tower to Tower Hill, so that a chair was carried at his side on which he rested thrice on the way.[k]

During his imprisonment he was permitted to receive a letter from his friend Erasmus[l] after it had been inspected by Cromwell, and he also found means, through a servant of the Lieutenant of the Tower named George, to communicate with Sir Thomas More. It seems not unlikely that George was a mere spy, at any event the passing of these letters became known to the government, and excited considerable attention. They have also been lately alluded to by Mr. Turner,[m] and made a groundwork of the theory by which he seeks to palliate the deaths of Fisher and More. More's statement of the contents of these letters given on his trial is already known,[n] and in one of the papers in my Appendix[o] will be found Fisher's account of them upon oath. Between the two it pretty clearly appears how much treason they contained. They seem to have been mere letters of inquiry, each of them wishing to know the answers which the other had made to the council; Fisher, indeed, went a little further, and with a kindly feeling communicated to More the account he had heard of the insertion of the word "maliciously" in the Statute. The writing of these letters appears to have been made an article of charge against More, but as to Fisher I think I can show pretty clearly it was not so.

h Harl. MS. No. 7047, p. 17. i Ibid. p. 21. k Ibid. p. 15 b. Appendix, VI. m Hist. of Henry VIII. vol. ii. p. 382, 390.

n Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog. vol. ii. p. 204. More's Life of More, Hunter's edit. p. 260. State Papers, vol. i. p. 434. o Appendix, VI.

For the credit of St. John's College, Cambridge, it ought not to be unnoticed, that in this time of danger they were mindful of the benefits Fisher had conferred upon them. During his imprisonment the Master and some of the Fellows are said to have waited upon him several times, and Baker, the Cambridge Antiquary, tells us that "several things" are entered upon the College Books for his use and service.[p] There is also amongst the Baker MSS. a copy[q] of what Baker very justly terms "a noble letter" transmitted to Fisher by the College, in which, after acknowledging that they were indebted to him for maintenance, for learning, and for every good they possessed or knew, they besought him to use whatever they had as his own, and proceeded in a strain of strong and highly honourable feeling, "Tuum est eritque quicquid possumus. Tui omnes sumus erimusque toti. Tu nostrum es 'decus e t presidium,' tu nostrum es caput ut necessario quæcunque te mala attingant ea nobis veluti membris subjectis acerbitatem inferant."

I now arrive at the concluding and most important portion of my subject. By the Act of 25th Henry VIII. cap. 12, Fisher was attainted of misprision of treason, and subjected to a forfeiture of his personal estate, and imprisonment for life, for his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's prophecies; on the 13th April 1534 he was committed to custody for refusing to take the oath to the succession tendered to him at Lambeth; on the 17th of April, upon a repetition of his refusal, he was committed to the Tower; and by the 26th of Henry VIII. cap. 22, his refusal was punished by a second attainder of misprision of treason and a deprival of his bishopric. Hitherto the proceedings against him had not affected his life; we are now to consider what was the subsequent crime which brought to the scaffold an old man already bowed down by infirmities, a prisoner for life, stripped of his property, and deprived of the episcopal dignity, which gave him consideration in the State, and an opportunity of opposing the measures of the Court in the House of Lords.

During Fisher's confinement in the Tower he was visited several times by

[p] Harl. MS. No. 7028, p. 111.

[q] Ibid. No. 7030, p. 230.

the Lords of the Council. Their first visit occurred after he had been but a few weeks in the Tower, and was made apparently for the purpose of giving him an opportunity of recanting his refusal to take the oath to the succession. I imagine this visit to have taken place about the 1st of May 1534, the day after which, according to the second act of attainder against him, the oath to the succession was tendered to him for the last time. In the interval between this and their next visit, which occurred on the 30th of April 1535, there had been the session of Parliament of the 26th of Henry VIII. during which were passed the statute which conferred upon Henry the title of Supreme Head of the Church, and that "which made words treason." Upon their second visit, we are told, the Lords of the Council "were sent to know his opinion touching the Statute of Supreme Head;" a sending which, it is not unimportant to remark, was entirely gratuitous, inasmuch as nothing in any act of Parliament authorised the Lords of the Council to inquire into the opinions of any one upon that subject. It seems that when these Lords began to interrogate Fisher as to the Supremacy, he, having heard "the act which made words treason" read over "once or twice," by his servant Wilson, immediately suspected that they had come for the purpose of entrapping him into some avowal which might be the occasion of further trouble to him. With that view he told them, that "the Statute did not compel any man to answer, and besought that he should not be constrained to make further or other answer than the Statute did bind him to make." A few days afterwards the Council were a third time at the Tower, and probably he was a second time interrogated with respect to his opinion upon the Statute of Supreme Head. I infer this from the circumstance, that Sir Thomas More, who was examined as well as Fisher upon the previous days, was examined a third time about the 4th of May 1535. Upon all these occasions both Fisher and More declined giving any opinion as to the Supremacy, and Fisher imagined that by this course he should escape the snare laid for him. On the 2d of June 1535, however, a special commission was issued for his trial on a charge of high treason. After the issuing of the commission, on the 12th of June, and again on the 14th, he was visited by some of the members of the Council, and subjected to further examinations upon interrogatories. The proceedings upon the

12th of June are to be found in the Appendix;[r] those on the 14th may be seen in the volume of State Papers lately published.[s] On both these days he guardedly maintained his determination to abstain from answering any questions whereby, as he expressed it, "he might fall into the dangers of the Statutes."[t] His conduct on these occasions would seem to intimate that he was ignorant of the manner in which he had already made himself amenable to the Statutes, and of the determination to try him. The real objects of these last two examinations are not clear to me, but such inquisitorial proceedings were so totally opposed to the spirit of the English Law, that it is scarcely possible to reason with certainty concerning them; every step in these proceedings led their originators further from the forms as well as from the substance of justice. I can only suppose that these examinations were had recourse to for one of the following reasons; either to give Fisher a final chance of escape by submission; or to get from him some evidence to confirm the testimony against him; or to obtain information which might be used as evidence against others. It is not improbable that the portion of his examination, which related to the letters which passed between Sir Thomas More and himself, was used against Sir Thomas on his trial.

In the course of three days after his last examination he was placed upon his trial; found guilty of treason; and was executed on the 22d of June 1535. This extraordinary proceeding against a man already deprived of every thing but life, was apparently one of such gratuitous cruelty, that, in

[r] Appendix, No. VI. This document is copied from the original in the handwriting of John Ap Rice, the notary who was present at the examination. It is signed by Fisher at the bottom of every page, and it will be remarked that he still used his episcopal title, although by the Act of the 26th Henry VIII. cap. 22, he had been deprived of his see from the 2d of January preceding. This examination is a document of some interest, and will be found to be my authority for many of the facts I have stated. Annexed to one of Fisher's Letters (Cleopatra, E. VI. p. 172) is a series of answers to another set of interrogatories, all written by the Bishop himself in Latin. They seem to have reference chiefly to the authorship of some works respecting the divorce; the handwriting, however, is to me so nearly illegible, that I have been able to acquire but a scanty knowledge of their contents. In early life Fisher was noted for the neatness of his writing, and some of his later letters are intelligible enough; but this document was written, I suppose, during his sickness and imprisonment, which may account for its illegibility.

[s] P. 431.

[t] Ibid. p. 432.

the absence of all documents respecting the trial, and all authentic information as to the evidence against him, historians, who hold themselves bound to explain every thing, have suggested various reasons for its adoption. Those of the older authors, who trouble themselves with the causes of events, state distinctly, that Fisher's crime consisted in the denial of the supremacy, but without informing us how or when that denial took place. Dr. Baily, or rather Dr. Hall, is the only one who gives any thing like a detailed account of the transaction ; and his violent partizanship has thrown a doubt around every thing he wrote. In his Life of Fisher he relates, that the Lords of the Council, having determined to release him from his " cold and painful imprisonment," and yet finding themselves unable to draw from him any opinion upon which to found a new accusation, employed Mr. Robert Rich, then lately Solicitor-general, and afterwards Lord Chancellor, to inveigle him into a conversation upon the subject of the Supremacy, under pretence that he was sent privately by the King, and for his especial information. The Bishop, or rather Dr. Fisher, for he was a Bishop no longer, could baffle a direct question, but was not proof against artifice. He incautiously declared that, in his opinion, the King, as a layman, neither was, nor rightfully could be, the Head of the Church ; and for this avowal thus made, and, according to the statement of Dr. Hall, for no other cause, Fisher was brought to the scaffold upon the evidence of Rich. Hall's Life of Fisher is undoubtedly a book of no very great authority, and without some confirmatory testimony is not conclusive upon any point. I think, in this instance, Dr. Hall's authority may be corroborated by a good deal of collateral evidence, and that his book does not therefore deserve to be so entirely disregarded as it has been by some later authors. It seems clear that Rich was at the Tower about the day on which this conversation is stated to have taken place, being at that time sent to take away Sir Thomas More's books from him.[u] The infamy of the conduct imputed to Rich does not afford any sufficient reason for supposing him incapable of it ; he was a man of bad

[u] Roper, p. 80. Roper does not mention the precise day ; but it is clear that it was immediately after the second visit of the Lords of the Council to examine Fisher and More as to the Supremacy ; and that appears, from Letters XI. and XII. in Roper's Appendix, to have been two or three days after the 4th of May.

character, and it is indisputable that a fraud of the same description was practised against Sir Thomas More by this very Rich, upon the occasion of this very same visit to the Tower. Again, the account is supported as to the words alleged to have been used, by the only document relative to the trial known to exist, and also by Lord Herbert. There is nothing certainly known from which we may infer whether Rich was employed by the Government to entrap Fisher and More, or not; it is not unlikely, that being sent to the Tower by the Council to take away More's books, he entered into conversation with both the prisoners, and afterwards communicated to the Council their confidential disclosures—if, indeed, More used the words attributed to him by Rich, which is very doubtful. The Council took advantage of Rich's baseness, and may therefore, with very little injustice, be suspected of having prompted it.

Some modern authors, who have written with a friendly feeling towards Henry, relying upon the absence of the documents relating to Fisher's trial, and choosing to disregard Dr. Hall's statement, have inferred that there must have existed some other reason for Fisher's "hard measure," than "the mere theoretical refusal to acknowledge the ecclesiastical chieftainship,"[x] and that he and More must have suffered upon accusations and convictions, of being abettors or participators in treasonable conspiracies. In support of these conjectures, advantage has been taken of a phrase of Lord Herbert's, that Fisher was put upon his trial "for divers points;"[y] but without sufficiently noticing that his Lordship, as if desirous that no one should build a theory upon his words, honestly adds, "the particulars of which I have not seen, but only that on the 7th of May last, in the Tower of London, before divers persons, he had falsely, maliciously, and traitorously said, 'the King is not Supreme Head of the Church of England.'" In alluding to the "divers points," Lord Herbert was therefore merely repeating the common rumour upon the subject; a rumour contradicted by the only document to which he had access.

Upon this point I am desirous of drawing attention to a MS. which is probably the very document Lord Herbert saw, but which since his time

[x] Turner's Henry VIII. vol. ii. p. 387, 2d. edit.

[y] Lord Herbert, p. 392.

has not been sufficiently noticed. It occurs amongst the Cotton MSS. and is described in the Catalogue as "a censure of Bishop Fisher for not acknowledging the King's Supremacy;" but is in fact a copy of all the important part of his indictment; that part, namely, which charges the criminal conduct for which he was put upon his trial. It is written in the old Court hand, and seems as if it had been fairly copied from the indictment itself, by some person sufficiently acquainted with the nature of such a proceeding, to be able to extract merely its sum and substance, unburthened by the recitals of the acts of 26 Henry VIII. cap. 1, and 26 Henry VIII. cap. 13. These statutes were evidently contained in the original, and must have made it, what it is described to have been, "very long, and full of words." The only offence here charged is, that of having, in the Tower of London, on the 7th of May 1535, spoken the following words: "The King, our Sovereign Lord, is not Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England." In stating the offence which the speaking of these words constituted, all the verbiage of the Statute of 26 Henry VIII. cap. 13, is employed, and the crime is alleged to consist in their evidencing that the prisoner "falsely, maliciously, and traitorously wished, willed, and desired, and by craft imagined, invented, practised, and attempted, to deprive the King of the dignity, title, and name of his royal Estate, viz. of his dignity, title, and name of Supreme Head of the Church."

If this document is what I have described and believe it to be, the question, as to the legal crime for which Fisher suffered death, may be considered settled. Disgraceful as the fact is, I cannot see how we can escape from the persuasion, that the mere denial of the Supremacy, into which he was probably inveigled, and not any participation in treasonable plots or conspiracies, was the legal pretence for Fisher's execution. The document referred to is printed in the Appendix.[z]

The act of Parliament upon which this indictment was principally founded, is certainly of a most atrocious character, and evidences a state of society but little removed from actual barbarism; but the construction, by which the mere expression of an opinion upon a disputed point in theology,

[z] No. V.

was held to amount to a malicious and treasonable attempt to deprive the King of his title of Supreme Head, is, if possible, even more iniquitous than the Statute itself. Every principle of legislation was violated by the lawmakers, who created a treason out of men's wishes and desires, and not less violence was done to all rules of construction, by stretching the latitude of this highly penal Statute, so that not merely wishes and desires, but even opinions were comprehended within its fatal enactments. Every thing relating to the criminal proceedings of this period was so irregular; humanity and even honesty were so frequently absent from the judicial seats; the influence of the Monarch was so openly thrown into the scale by Judges who were the mere delegates of his vindictive spirit; there was so much anxiety to obtain a conviction, at whatever cost and by whatever means—that those who infer that Fisher could not have been convicted for the mere utterance of an opinion, because such a conviction would have been tyrannical and unjust, shew, I fear, a disposition to judge of the legal proceedings of the reign of Henry VIII. by the example of our own times, rather than by that which they themselves exhibit.

Many collateral arguments might be adduced in support of the authenticity of this extract from Fisher's indictment, but I will merely remark the confirmation it receives from another document in the same volume of Cotton MSS.[a] This is a parchment erroneously described in the Catalogue as "a bill found against Bishop Fisher and James Whalworth for denying the King's Supremacy." It has in truth no other connection with Bishop Fisher than this, that it is a true bill found by a Grand Jury against John Rochester and James Whalworth, Carthusian Monks, for the very identical offence which, in the extract from the indictment against Fisher, is made the subject of charge against him. The denial of the Supremacy, and that alone, was the charge against these Monks, and if an extract were taken from their indictment of the part corresponding with the portion contained in the extract from Fisher's, the two would be found to agree in every essential particular. It is futile then to contend that there must have been other charges against Fisher, because "the single act of not acknow-

[a] Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 204.

ledging the King's Supremacy was not high treason."[b] The "not acknowledging" the Supremacy was not the charge against Fisher; but we have seen in what manner the expression of an opinion against the Supremacy could be distorted into high treason, and we here find a complete indictment for the very same offence, and in which this very denial constitutes the only charge. Upon the trial of More the doctrine was actually carried to the extent denied to be law by Mr. Turner; for in his indictment it was one of the charges against him from which treason was to be inferred, that, when interrogated respecting the Supremacy, "he maliciously held his tongue." [c]

A reason for the harsh proceedings against Fisher, which has been very commonly insisted upon, is that his injudicious appointment by the Pope to the dignity of the purple, "alarmed the government" and awakened the sleeping vengeance of the King, who instantly determined to put him upon his trial. Fisher's appointment as Cardinal took place on the 21st of May,[d] and the commission to try him was dated on the 2d of June,[e] before the news of the appointment at Rome could have been received in London. This seems to prove that the determination to bring him to trial must have preceded his appointment. Indeed, no one who considers the manner in which he was first tempted by the Council, and afterwards betrayed by Rich, into the declaration which was fatal to him, can think that it had not for some time been determined to put him upon his trial. Whether the appointment did not hasten his execution is another question upon which some persons may doubt. In Fisher's instance I can find nothing but what seems to mark a leisurely proceeding in a settled and determined course. His appointment to the purple was on the 21st of May, the commission to try him was on the 2d of June, the news of his appointment reached London several days before the 12th of June,[f] but he was not tried until the 17th, and then, to the general surprise, five days elapsed before the order arrived for his execution. I cannot here trace the hurry of alarm which some writers have imagined. Such transactions were often dispatched in

[b] Turner's Henry VIII vol. ii. p. 387, 2d edition.
[c] Herbert, p. 393.
[d] Wharton's Anglia Sac. vol. i. p. 383.
[e] Harl. MS. No. 7047, p. 21.
[f] It was known before the date of the document VI. in the Appendix.

the reign of Henry VIII. in a far shorter time, and would have been got through more quickly in Fisher's instance, if the arrival of the Cardinal's hat in England in time to be placed upon its owner's living head, had been a subject of alarm. Indeed, if it can be considered settled that the determination to put him upon his trial, or in other words, if the desire to get rid of him, existed before the English Court were aware he had been appointed a Cardinal, the other question is of minor importance, since it would have been a solecism in the unrelenting character of Henry VIII. if he had paused between the wish to destroy and its accomplishment.

There are various statements of the feelings with which Fisher himself viewed his appointment; but there can be no reason to doubt his own account upon oath, which will be found in the Appendix,[f] that when the news was told him he declared "that if the Cardinal's hat were layed at his feet he would not stoop to take it up, he did set so little by it."

The harsh treatment of Fisher does not seem to have terminated with his existence. If the Roman Catholic writers are to be credited, his lifeless body was treated with most scandalous indignity. Much of Dr. Hall's account of this transaction is told in a very simple and credible manner; but, for the sake of humanity, it is to be hoped that other portions of his narrative partake largely of that spirit of romance which may be traced throughout his work. Hall, the chronicler, records merely that Fisher was beheaded and his head set upon London Bridge.[h] Cardinal Pole remarks, that the lifeless body was treated with every description of contumely, and, by direction of the King, was exposed entirely naked at the place of execution as a sight for the rabble to gaze at. He adds that so great was the popular dread of Henry, that no one approached the body except those who came for the sake of treating it with indignity, and the persons who stripped it of its clothes.[i] This is sufficiently horrible; but Dr. Hall's minute account is still more so. "Then," he says, "the executioner stripping the body of his shirt and all his clothes, he departed thence, leaving the headless carcase naked upon the scaffold, where it remained after that sort for the most part of that day, saving that one, for pity and humanity sake, cast a little straw over it; and about eight of the clock in the evening, com-

[f] Appendix VI. [h] p. 817, edit. 1809. [i] Poli Apolog. ad Carolum, p. 96.

mandment came from the King's Commissioners to such as watched about the dead body (for it was still watched with many halberds and weapons) that they should cause it to be buried. Whereupon two of the watchers took it upon a halberd between them, and so carried it to a churchyard there hard by, called All Hallows Barkin, where, on the northside of the churchyard, hard by the wall, they digged a grave with their halberds, and therein without any reverence tumbled the body of this holy prelate, all naked and flat upon his belly, without either shirt or other accustomed thing belonging to a Christian man's burial, and so covered it quickly with earth."[k] I fear it is but too probable that some indignities were practised; but I doubt whether Hall's account is any thing more than a mere imaginary amplification of the statement of Pole, whose warm feelings probably led him into some exaggeration. Such excessive and disgusting cruelty is almost incredible; and "seeing," as Fuller remarks,[1] "the King vouchsafed him the Tower—a noble prison, and beheading—an honourable death, it is improbable he should deny him a necessary equipage for a plain and private burial." It is certain that the corpse was first interred in the churchyard of All Hallows Barking, and afterwards, but at what distance of time does not appear, removed to the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower,[m] and deposited there, near the remains of Sir Thomas More. If Hall's account were true, the body would soon have been in such a state of decomposition as to render a removal scarcely possible—at any event he does not appear to have been aware of the removal, for he remarks that it was observed by foreigners resident in London, that for seven years "there grew neither leaf nor grass upon his grave, but the earth still remained as bare as though it had been constantly occupied and trodden."[n] If Hall had known that the removal took place within seven years, he probably might have thought it proper to abridge the duration of this miracle.

After an exposure of fourteen days upon London Bridge, the head was taken down and thrown into the Thames, in consequence of "a report," says Dodd,[o] "that rays of light were observed to shine around it." I know not where Dodd obtained his account of the rays of light; Hall merely says,

k Life of Fisher, p. 210. 1 Fuller's Church History, p. 205.
m Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 529. n Life of Fisher, p. 213.
o Dodd's Church History, vol. i. p. 161.

that the face was observed to become "fresher and more comely day by day," and that such was the concourse of people who assembled to look at it, that "almost neither cart nor horse could pass."[p]

Such are the particulars which I have been able to glean respecting Bishop Fisher. The subject will be thought by many not to be of sufficient interest to merit so much attention. It seems to me that every particular relative to a condemnation so iniquitous as Fisher's, deserves to be accurately known, and although Henry VIII. strove to obliterate him from the general recollection by prohibiting the perusal of his works,[q] and effacing his arms which were carved upon the stalls in the Chapel of St. John's, and upon a tomb he had there prepared for himself,[r] we ought to pay the justice to his memory which was then refused. It is a shame to our biographers that there does not at this time exist a life of Bishop Fisher of any value or authority. Dr. Fiddes, Lewis the biographer of Caxton, and Mr. Alban Butler, were all engaged upon the subject, but without any profitable result. Of Fiddes's collections I know nothing, he had the loan of the Baker MSS. which I have consulted; Mr. Lewis's work was some time since in the hands of the Rev. Theodore Williams; and Mr. Alban Butler's collections were in the possession of Mr. Charles Butler, but have been destroyed. In the meantime Dr. Bailey's, or rather Dr. Hall's Life of Fisher, printed in 1655, and now seldom met with, is the only book upon the subject. I have abstained as much as possible from having recourse to Hall's work, because I was desirous of ascertaining how much might be gathered from other sources either to corroborate or contradict his statements. The result is in most instances favourable to his correctness, although many things in his volume are clearly fabulous. His account of the trial and execution of Fisher, which is copied into our State Trials, appears to me to be written in a style so plain and simple, and with such an air of truth, that if considered merely as a composition it ought to render the book of considerable value.

I am, my dear Sir, your very faithful, humble servant,

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. &c &c. &c. JOHN BRUCE.

p Life of Fisher, p. 212. q Cott. MS. Titus, B. 1. fol. 535. r Harl. MS. No. 7047, p. 16 b.

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

No. I.

Cott. MSS. Vespasian, F. XIII. *fol.* 154 *b.*

Master Cromwell, after my right humble comendations I beseiche you to have some pytye of me, considry'g the case and condition that I ame in; and I dowt not but yf ye myght see in what plyte that I ame ye woulde have some pyte uppon me, for in goodfaythe now almoste this six weekys I have hadde a grevous cowighe w^{t} a fever in the bigynnynge thereof, as dyvers other heare in this countre hathe hadde, and dyvers have dyed thereof. And now the mattyer is fallen downe in to my leggis and feit, w^{t} suche swellinge and aiche that I maye nother ryde nor goo, for the whiche I beseiche you eftsonys to have some pyte uppon me and to spare me for a season, to thene the swellinge and aiche of my leggis and feit maye swaige and abait, and then by the grace of o^{r} Lorde I shall w^{t} all speide obeye yo^{r} co̅maundement. Thus fare ye weall, at Rochestre the xxviij daye of Januarij,

By yo^{r} faythefull Beadman,

Jo. Roffs.

No. II.

Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, E. VI. *fol.* 161.

Aftir my right humble co̅endations I most intierly beseche you that I no farther be moved to mak awnswere unto yo^{r} letters, for I se that myn awnswere most rather growe in to a greate booke or els be insufficient, so that ye shall still thereby tak occasion to be offendid, and I nothing proffitt. For I perceyve that every thinge that I writte is ascrybed either to craft, or to willfullnes, or to affection, or to unkyndnes agaynst my soveraigne, so that my writinge rather provokithe you to displeasur than it forderithe me in any poynt concernyng yo^{r} favo^{r}, whiche I most affectually coveyte. Nothinge

I redd in all your longe letters that I tak eny comfort of but the oonely subscription, wher in it pleaside you to call you my frende, whiche undoubtydly was a worde of moche consolation unto me, and therefor I beseeche you so to contynew, and so to shew yo^{r}self unto me at this tyme. In ij poyntes of my writinge me thought ye were most offendide, and boithe concernyd the Kinges grace. That oone was where I excusyd my self by the displeasur that his highnes tok w^{t} me when I spake oons or twyse untill hyme of lyk matters. That other was where I towchide his great mattier. And as to the furst, me think it veary harde that I myght not signyfye unto you suche things secreatly as myght be most affectuall for myn excuse; and as to the seconde my study and purpose was specially to declyne that I shoulde not be straytede to offende his grace in that behalf, for thene I most nedis declare my conscyence, the whiche as thane I wrote I wulde be lothe to doo any more largely than I have doone; not that I condeme any other menys conscyence, there conscyence maye save theme, and myne must save me. Wherefor, good master Cromewell, I beseche you, for the love of God, be contented w^{t} this myne awnswere, and to give creadence unto my brother in suche thingis as he hathe to saye unto you. Thus fare ye weeale, at Rochestre the xxxj daye of Januarij, by yo^{r} faithefull Beadman,

Jo. Roffs.

No. III.

Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, E. VI. *fol.* 162.

Please it yo^{r} most graciouse hyghenes benignely to heare this my most humble sute which I have to make unto yo^{r} grace att this tyme, and to pardone me that I come nott myself unto yo^{r} grace for the same, for in good faith I have hadde so meny periculouse diseases oone after an other, which beganne with me before Advent, and so by long continuaunce hath now brought my bodie in that weakenesse that withouten perill of destruction of the same, which I darr saye yo^{r} grace for yo^{r} soveraigne goodnes wold not, I maye not as yett take any travayling upon me; and soo I wrote to Maister Cromewell, yo^{r} most trustie counsaillo^{r}, besechying him to obtayne yo^{r} graciouse licence for me to be absent from this pliament for that same cause, and he putt me in comforthe soo to doo. Now thus it is, most

graciouse Soveraigne Lorde, that in yo^{r} moost highe Court of Parliament is put in a bill agaynest me concernyng the Nuñe of Cant^{r}burye, and intendyinge my condempnation for not revelyng of such wordes as she hadde unto me towchyng yo^{r} highnes, wherein I most humblie beseche youre grace that withowten your displeaso^{r} I maye shewe unto yow the consideration that moved me soo to doo, whiche when youre moost excellente wisdome hath deaplye considered I trust assuredly that yo^{r} charitable goodnes will not impute any blame to me therefore.

A trowth it is this Nuñe was [with] me thries in comyng from London by Rochester, as I wrote to maister Cromwell, and shewed unto hym the occasions of her coñyng and of my sendynges untill her agayne.

The first time she came unto my howse, unsent for of my partye, and than she told me that she hadde bene with yo^{r} grace, and that she had shewed unto yow a Revelation whiche she hadde from Allmighty God; yo^{r} grace I trust will not be displeased with this my rehearsall therof. She said that if yo^{r} grace went forth with the purpose that ye entended, ye should not be Kynge of Englande vij monethes after.

I conceaved not by theis wordes, I take it upon my sowle, that any malice or evill was entended or ment unto yo^{r} highenes by any mortall man, butt oonly that thei were the threattes of God, as she then did afferme.

And thoughe thei were feaned, that (as I wold be saved) was to me unknowen. I nev̄ counsailled her unto that feanynge, nor was pryvaye thereunto, nor to any such purposes as it now is sayd thei went abowte.

Neverthelesse, if she hadde told me this Revelation, and hadde not alsoo tolde me that she hadde reported the same unto youre grace, I had bene verylie farre to blame and worthy extreame punyshement, for not disclosyng the same unto your highenes or elles to some of yo^{r} Counsaill. But sithen she did assure me therwith that she hadde playnelye told unto yo^{r} grace the same thynge, I thought dowtlesse that your grace wold have suspected me that I hadde comyn to renewe her tale agayne unto you, rather for the cõfyrmyng of myn opinion than for any other cause.

I beseche yo^{r} highnes to take no displeaso^{r} with me for this that I will saye. It stykketh yet, moost graciouse Soveraigne Lorde, in my hart to my no little hevynesse, youre greviouse lr̃es, and after that yo^{r} moche fearfull

wordes, that yo^{r} grace hadde unto me for shewyng unto yow my mynde and opinion in the same matter, notwithstandyng that yo^{r} highenes hadde soo often and soo straytly co$\tilde{m}$anded me to serch for the same before, and for this cause I was right loth to have co$\tilde{m}$yn unto your grace agayne with such a tale $\tilde{p}$taynyng to that matter.

Meny other considerations I hadde, but this was the very cause why that I came not unto yo^{r} grace; for in good faithe I dradde lest I shold therby have provoked yo^{r} grace to farther displeaso^{r} agaynst me.

My lorde of Cant^{r}bury also, which was yo^{r} greate Counsaillo^{r}, told me that she hadde bene with yo^{r} grace and hadde shewed yow this same matter, and of hym (as I will answere before God) I learned greatter thynges of hir $\tilde{p}$tensed visions than she tolde me hirself. And at that tyme I shewede unto hym that she hadde bene with me and told me as I have writen before.

I trust now that yo^{r} excellent wisdome and learnynge seeth ther is in me no defawte for not revelynge of her wordes unto yo^{r} grace, when she herself did affirme unto me that she hadde soo done, and my Lord of Cant^{r}bury that then was, c$\tilde{o}$fermed also the same.

Wherfore, most graciouse Soveraigne Lorde, in my most humblie wise, I besech yo^{r} highnes to dimisse me of this trooble, wherby I shall the more quietly serve God and the more effectuelly pray for yo^{r} grace.

This if ther were a right greate offense in me shold be to yo^{r} merite to pardon, butt moch rather takyng the case as it is I trust verily ye will soo doo. Now my body is moch weakened with meny diseases and infirmities, and my sowle is moch inquieted by this trooble, so that my harte is more withdrawen from God and fro the devotion of prayer than I wold. And veryly I thinke that my lyve maye not long c$\tilde{o}$tenue; wherefo^{r} eftsoones I besech yo^{r} moost graciouse highnes that by yo^{r} charytable goodnes I maye be deli$\tilde{v}$ed of this besynesse, and onely to $\tilde{p}$paire my sowle to God and to make itt ready agaynest the comyng of death and no moore to come abroode in the worlde. This, mooste graciouse Soveraigne Lorde, I beseche yo^{r} highnes by all the singuler and excellent endowementes of yo^{r} most noble bodie and sowle, and for the love of Christ Jh$\tilde{u}$, that soo dearly with his moost $\tilde{p}$ciouse bloode redeamed yo^{r} sowle and myn, and duryng my lyve I shall not cease (as I am bownden), and yet now the more entearly, to make

my prayer to God for the p̃servation of yo^{r} most royal Majestie. Att Rochester the xxvijth daye of Februaŕ.

Yo^{r} most hum̃yl beadman and subject,

Jo. Roffs.

No. IV.

Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, E. VI. *fol.* 172.—*Autograph.*

After my most humbyl comendacions, wher ass ye be content that I shold wryte unto the Kings hyghness, in gude fathe I dread me that I kan not be soo circonspect in my wryteng but that sume worde shal escape me wher with his grace shal be moved to sum farther displeasure againste me, whereof I wold be veray sorry; for ass I wyll answer byfor God, I wold not in any maner of poynt offend his grace, my deuty saved unto God, whom I muste in every thyng prefer; and for this consideracion I am full loth and full of fear to wryte unto his hyghnes in this matter. Nevertheless, sythen I conceyve that itt is yo^{r} mynde that I shal so doo, I wyl endeavo^{r} me to the best that I kan.

But first hear I must beseche you, gode M^{r}. Secretary, to call to yo^{r} rememberance that att my last beyng befor yow and the other Com̃yssionars for takyng of the othe cõcernyng the Kyngs most noble succession, I was content to be sworn unto that parcell cõcernyng the succession; and there I did rehears this reason which I sade moved me, I dowted nott but that the prynce of eny realme, with the assent of his nobles and com̃ons, myght appoynte for his succession Royal such an order ass was seen unto his wysdom most accordyng; and for this reason I sade that I was content to be sworn unto that part of the othe ass concernyng the succession. This is a veray trowth, ass God help my sowl att my most neede. All be itt I refused to swear to sum other parcels, bycause that my conscience wold not serve me so to doo.

Forthermo^{r} I byseche yow to be gode M^{r}. unto me in my necessite, for I have nather shert nor shete nor yett other clothes that ar necessary for me to wear but that be ragged and rent to shamefully. Nothwithstandyng I myght easyly suffer that if thei wold keep my body warm. Butt my dyet

allso God knows how sclendar itt is att meny tymes. And now in myn age my sthomak may not awaye but with a few kynd of meatts, which if I want I decaye forthwith, and fall in to coafes and disseasis of my bodye, and kan not keep myself in health.

And ass o^{r} Lord knoweth, I have no thyng laft unto me for to provyde eny better, but ass my brother of his own purs layeth out for me to his great hynderance.

Wherfore, gode M^{r}. Secretarye, eftsones I bysech yow to have sum pittie uppon me, and latt me have such thyngs ass ar necessary for me in myn age, and specially for my health. And allso that itt may pleas you by yo^{r} hygh wysdom to move the Kyng's hyghness to take me unto his graciouss favo^{r} agane, and to restoor me unto my lyberty owt of this cold and paynefull emprysonment, whearby ye shall bynd me to be yo^{r} pore beadsman for ever unto Allmyghty God, who ever have yow in his protection and custody.

Other twayne thyngs I must all so desyer uppon yow; thattoon is that it may pleas yow that I may take sum preest with in the Tower by the assygment of M^{r} Levetenant, to hear my confession againste this hooly tyme; that other is that I may borow sum books to styr my devotion mor effectually thes hooly dayes for the comforth of my sowl. This I beseche yow to grant me of yo^{r} charitie, and thus o^{r} Lord send you a mery Chrystenmass and a comforthable to yo^{r} harts desyer. At the Tower the xxii day of December,

Yo^{r} pore beadsman,

Jo. Roffs.

No. V.

Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, E. VI. *fol.* 178 *b.*

Quidm̃ tamen Johẽs Fyssher nup̄ de Civitate Roffens. in Com. Kanc. Cl̈icus alias dn̄s Johẽs Fyssher nup̄ de Rofeñ Epũs, Deum pre oculis non ḧens sed instigatione diabolica seductus, false maliciose et proditorie optans volens et desiderans ac arte imaginans inventans practicans et attemptans serenissimũ dn̄m nr̄m Henricum octavũ, Dei grã Anglĩ et Ffranc. Regem Fidei Defensorem et Dnũ Hiȳn. atq̄ in terra supremũ caput Eccl̈ie Angli-

canæ, de dignitate titulo et nõie status sui Regalis, videlit de dignitate titulo et nõie suis in ẽra sup̃m̃ Capitis Anglicanæ Eccl̃ie, ꝺte imperiali Corone sue ut p̃mittr annexis et vinctis, deprivare, septimo die Maii Anno regni ejusdem Dñi Regis vicessimo septimo apud Turrim London. in Com. Midd. contra legiancie sue debitũ hec v̄ba Anglicana sequen. diu̅sis dc̃i Dñi Regis veris subditis, false maliciose et proditorie loquebatr et ꝑpalabat, videlit, "The Kyng owre So̅vaign Lord is not sup̃me hedd yn erthe of the Cherche of Englande," in ꝺti ꝺni Regis injuriũ despect. et vilipendiũ manifestũ ac in ꝺtor. dignitatis tit̃li et nõis status sui regalis derogacoc̃m et p̃juꝺm non modicum, et contra formã dicti alt̃ius actus p̃dicto Anno xxvj edit. et p̃iũs ac contra pacem p̃fati dñi Regis, etc.

No. VI.

Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, E. VI. *fol.* 169.

The Answeres made by Mr. John Fissher, Doctor of Divinitie, to the Interrogatorys mñstered unto hym the xijth daye of June, ao. ri. h. viii. xxviio, within the Towre of London. Examined thereupon by Mr. Thomas Bedyll and Mr. Richard Layton, clerke of the Kings Counsaill, in the ꝑsence of Sr Edmonde Walsynghm̃, knyght, Lieutenant of the said Towre, Henry Polstede, John Whalley, and me John ap Rice, Notarie underwriter, and sworne in v̄bo sacerdotis, that he wolde truly answere to the said Interrogatories, and to every ꝑte of the same, as ferre as he knoweth or remc̃breth.

To the first Interrogatorie he saith, That whan thacte by the which wordes are made Treason was a making, Robert Fissher his brother came to hym to the Towre, and said that there was an acte in hande in the com̃on house by the which speking of certain words against the kyng shulde be made treason; and because it was thought by divers of the said house, that no man lightly coulde beware of the penaltie of the said statute, therefor there was moche sticking at the same in the coc̃n house; and unlesse there were added in the same that the said wordes sholde be spoken maliciouslie, he thought the same shulde not passe. And then this rñdent asked hy̆ whether men shulde

be bounde to make any answere to any poynte upon an othe by the vertue of the same acte, like as they were by the tother acte of Succession. And he said nae. And no other coñation had this depo^{t} with hym to hys reñberance at any time touching the said acts or any of theym.

To the second Interrogatorie he hath answered afore, and no other answere can he make to the same, as he saith.

To the iijth, he dothe not remẽbre that ever he had such coĩcation with his brother.

To the iiijth, he answereth as afore, and no otherwise can he answere.

To the vth Interrogatorie this exa^{d} answered, that there hath bẽn lr̃es sent betwene hym and M^{r}. More to and fro. Upon a iiij or thereabouts frõ either of theym to other sen they came to the Towre, touching the matiers specified in this Interrogatorie. And declaring the cõtents and effect of the same as ferre as he can remẽbre, saith that he remẽbreth not theffect of any of the letters that either he sent to M^{r}. More, or that he receaved of M^{r}. More, before the first being of the counsaill here with this exam^{t}, but he doth well remẽbre that there were lr̃es sent to and frõ betwene hym and M^{r}. More before that tyme; and the firste occasion of writing betwene theym ꝑceded first of M^{r}. More; and nowe being better remẽbred saith that theffect of the first lr̃e that M^{r}. More did write unto hym after they cam to the Towre, was to knowe theffect of this depo^{ts} answere, which he had made to the counsaill in the matier for the which he was first comitted to the Towre; and then the rñdent signified unto hym by his lr̃es what answere he had made theym. Exañed whether he doth remẽbre theffect of any other lr̃es that went betwene hym and M^{r}. More before the first being of the consaill with theym, saith no. And further exam^{d} what lr̃es went betwene theym syns that time, saieth that sone after that the consaill had bene here firste to examyne this rẽdent, George, M^{r}. Lieutenant's s̃vant, shewed this exa^{d} a lr̃e which M^{r}. More had directed to his daughter Maistres Roꝑ; theffect whereof was this, that whan the consaill had purposed unto hym the mateer for the which they cam for, he said that he wold not dispute the King's title, and that M^{r}. Secretarie gave hym good words at his depture; and that is all that he can reñbre of theffect of the same lr̃e; and by the occasion of that lr̃e this rñdent wrote to M^{r}. More a lr̃e to knowe a more cleareness of

his answere therin, which ŧre he dyd sende hym by the said George. And therupon he receaved a ŧre agein frõ the said Mr. More by the hand of the said George, concerning his answere, but what the same was he saith he hath not in his remẽbrance. And after a deliberate tyme, about thre or iiij daies, this rẽdent calling to his remẽbrance the wordes that his brother Robert Fissher had spoken unto hym long before, viz. howe that the cõens did stik and woll not suffre the said statute to passe, onlesse this worde maliciouslie were putt in it, wrote a ŧre cõteyning the same wordes in effecte to Mr. More, adding this, that yf this worde maliciouslie were putt in the saide statute, he thought it shulde be no daunger yf a man did answere to the question that was purposed unto hym by the counsaill after hys owne mynde, so that he did not the same maliciouslie. But he saith he nothing required or demanded in the said ŧres the advyse or counsaill of Mr. More therein, as he is sure that the same Mr. More hymself wolde testifie yf he be exam̃ed. And therupon (as this deponẽt thinketh) Mr. More supposing that this rũdents answere and his shulde be v̄y nyghe and like, and that the counsaill therby wolde thinke that the tone of theym had taken light of the tother, wolde that the same suspicion shulde be avoyded. And therupon wrote a ŧre to this rũdent accordinglie.

Further examd whether any other ŧres or intelligence were betwene theym, saith, that soone after the last being of the counsaill in the Towre, and after the taking away of Mr. More's bokes frõ hym, the said George cam to this depot, and told hym that Mr. More was in a pecke of troubles, and that he desired to have either by writing or by worde of mouthe certain knowlege what answere this rẽdent had made to the counsaill. And therupon this rẽdent wrote unto hym a ŧre that he had made hys answere according to the statute, which cõdempneth no man but hym that speketh maliciouslie against the king's title, and that the statute did cõpelle no man to answere to the question that was purposed hym, and that he besought theym that he shulde not be cõstrayned to make further or other answere than the said statute did binde hym, but wolde suffre hym to enjoye the benefite of the same statute, which was all theffect of the said ŧre as ferre as this depot doth rem̃bre.

And saith further, that he doth not rem̃bre any other ŧres or message sent frõ hym to Mr. More, or frõ Mr. More to hym syns that tyme, nor theffect

of any other, or message going betwene theym at any tyme other than are before exp̃ssed.

To the vj. vij. viij. ix. x. xj. xij. xiij. xiv. xv. xvj. and xvij. in^{ts} he hath answered before, and otherwise he can not answere to the same, as he saith.

To the xviijth he saith, and answered, No; he knoweth where none is.

To the xixth he saith, that they were all brent as soone as he hadde redde theym. And to thintent that theffect therof shulde have bẽn kept secrete yf it mought be; ffor he was lothe to be reꝑved of his ꝑmise made to M^{r}. Liewtenante that he wolde not doo that thing for the which he might be putt in blame. Albeit yf that there were more in the said t̄res than is before touched, he is sure it was nothing els but exhortacions either of other to take patience in their adversite, and to call [upon] God for Gc̃e and p̃yng for their enemies, and nothing els that shulde herte or offende any man erthely, as he saith.

To the xxth he answereth, that he receaved no other t̄res than afore touched.

To the xxith int. he saith, that he receaved the same boke fr̃o Edwarde White by thande of the said George, in the tyme spc̃fied in this Interrogatorie.

To the xxijth int̃ he saith that he remẽbreth no cõication betwene hym and Edwarde White, but he saieth that there was certain cõication betwene Wilson and hym about the tyme that they redde the saide statutes, and saith that he threppened upon this rẽdent that the counsaill had purposed unto this rẽdent ij poyntes, and this rẽdent sayd that he rem̃bred not there was but one, which was this, howe the counsaill were sente hether to knowe his opinion towching the statute of Sup̃eme hedde, and no other did he rem̃bre that they shulde purpose unto hym; and said further, that Wilson said that he stode behinde the doore and harde ꝑtely what this rẽdent did answere unto theym; and howe he harde M^{r}. Bedyll's reasons that he made than; and saith that after that the said Wilson had redd the said statutes to this rẽdent ones or twyes, this rẽdent caused theym to be brende because he thought that yf M^{r}. Lieuetenant had founde them with this exam^{t} he wolde have made moche busyness therupon.

To the xxiijth int̃ he saith that he doth not remẽbre that ever he declared

to Wilson or to any man what answere he was disposed to make, what soever cõication were betwene theym thereof.

To the xxiiij he saith that he received no such ŧres to his knowlege or remẽbrance, but one that Erasmus dyd sende unto hym, which this rẽdent's brother Rob^{t} Fissher showed first to M^{r}. Secretarie or it cam to hym.

To the xxv and xxvith he saieth that George aforenamed brought hym worde sen the last sitting of the counsaill here, that he harde saye of Maistres Roƿ that this rẽdent was made a Cardinall; and than this rẽdent said in the ƿsence of the said George and Wilson, that yf the Cardinall's hatt were layed at his feete he wolde not stoupe to take it up, he did set so little by it.

To the xxvijth he saieth that he receaved no other ŧres touching the said busynes.

To the xxviijth inť he saieth that he receaved no suche ŧres nor message to his knowlege or his reṁbrance.

To the xxixth he saith that he wrote oftentymes ŧres touching his diett to him that ƿvided his diett, as to Rob^{t} Fissher while he lived, and to Edward White; and a ŧre to my Lady of Oxford for her cõforte; and ŧres of request to certain of his frends that he might paye Mr. Lieuetenant for his diet, to whome he was in g̃te dett, and he was in g̃te nede.

To the xxxth he receaved certain money of eche of theym according to his request, and no other answere as he saith.

Reexam^{d} whether there were any suche cõfederacie or cõpaction betwene this rẽdent and his s̃vant Wilson and the said George, that the saied cõveying of ŧres and messages to and fro shulde be kept close yf they were exaṁed therof; saith they were agreyed so together to kepe the same as secrete as they might.

Jo. Roffs.

IV. *Copies of Original Papers, illustrative of the Management of Literature by Printers and Stationers in the middle of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: communicated by* HENRY ELLIS, *Esq. F.R.S., Secretary, in a Letter to the Right Honourable the* EARL OF ABERDEEN, *K. T., President.*

Read 31st May, 1832.

MY LORD,

AMONGST the Documents, Letters, and Records of different kinds, presented to Queen Elizabeth's favourite Minister, Lord Burghley, and now preserved in the British Museum, there are a few, chiefly in the form of Memorials and Petitions, which throw some partial light upon the History of the Literature of that period; at least upon the mechanical management of it among the Printers of the day.

Two or three of these Documents, in the absence of any more interesting Communication, I have much pleasure in placing before your Lordship and the Society.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

The first Document is a Memorial from the Company of Stationers, complaining of the opposition met with in making their search in the printing-house of one Ward, "who printed all kinds of Books at his pleasure." It is without date, but is indorsed, as having come to Lord Burghley's hand, in October 1582.

The second relates to Privileges granted by Queen Elizabeth "under her Great Seal," and is dated externally in the same year.

The third Document, of the same year, is in the hand-writing of Christopher Barker. It is a Note of the state of the Stationers' Company, followed by what is called "a Valuation also of the Letters Patents concerning Printing."

[MS. Lansd. 48, art. 77.]

To the ryght honorable our singuler and especiall good Lorde the Lorde Highe Treasurer of Englande.

Most humble sheweth unto your Honour the Wardens of the poore Companye of the Stacioners that where as on Thursdaye laste beinge the xxv of this Monethe of October vppon occasion of distruste of the contemptuous dealings of certeine lude Prynters against her Majesties Letters Pattentes, as otherwyse againste all good Orders of our poore Companye, we caused a searche and viewe to be made by tow discrete persones in everye Pryntinge house, thereby to understand and take notice what everye Printer had in workinge accordinge to a laudable use warranted by a Charter to our saide Companye under her Highnesse greate seale of Englande. But so it is, righte honorable and our singuler good Lorde, that comminge to the house of one Roger Warde, a man who of late hathe shewed himselfe very contemptuous againste her Majesty's high prerogative, and offering to come into his pryntinge house to take notice what he did, the saide Roger Ward faininge himselfe to be absente, hys wyfe and servants keepeth the dore shutt againste them, and saide that none shulde come there to searche, neither woulde in any wyse suffer any man to enter into the house; by lykelyhoode wherof, and of tow good proofe, he printeth what he lysteth, and persisteth in the same behaviour tyll your Honowre of your singuler goodnesse vouchsafe to take order to the contrarye, as we hope of your vertuous inclination to justice you will as well againste the saide Roger Warde as other moste presumptuous and insolent persons, of whom the right Honorable M^{r}. Secretarye Walsingame can further informe your Lordshipe. Thus most humble

commendinge the redresse of the foresaide disorders unto your noble wysdome we shall continually praye unto th' Almightie for your Honoures helthe and prosperitye longe to endure.

Your Honours moste humble at commandemente,

CHR. BARKER,
FRANCIS COLDOCKE.

[MS. Lansd. 48. No. 78.]

The Privilidges latelie graunted by her Majestie under her Highnes great seale of England to the persons hereunder written, conserninge the Arte of Printing of Bookes, hath and will be the over throwe of the Printers and Stacioners within this Cittie, beinge in noumber 175, besides their wyves, childrene, apprentizes, and families, and thereby th' excessive prices of Bookes prejudicialle to the state of the whole Realme, besides the false printinge of the same.

Johne Jugge, besides the beinge her Majesties printer, hathe gottene the privilidge for the printing of Bibles and Testamentes, the which was common to all the Printers.

Richard Tothill the printinge of all kindes of Lawe Bookes, which was common to all Printers, who selleth the same bookes at excessive prices to the hinderance of a greate nombere of pore studentes.

Johne Daye the printinge of A. B. C. and Cathechismes, with the sole selling of theme by the collour of a Commission. These bookes weare the onelie releif of the porest sort of that Companie.

James Robertes and Richard Watkyns the printinge of all Alminackes and Pronosticaciouns, the whiche was the onelie releif of the most porest of the Printers.

Thomas Marshe hathe a great licence for Lattene bookes used in the Grammer Scoles of Englande, the whiche was the generall livinge of the whole Companie of Stacioners.

Thomas Vautrolle, a stranger, hathe the sole printinge of other Lattene bookes, as the Newe Testament and others.

One Byrde a Singingman, hathe a licence for printinge of all Musicke Bookes, and by that meanes he clameth the printing of ruled paper.

William Seres hath privilidge for the printinge of all Psalters, all manner of Prymers Englishe or Latten, and all manner of Prayer Bookes, with the Revercione of the same to his sonne, who giveth not himself to our trade.

Fraunces Flower a gentleman, beinge none of our Companye, hathe privilidg for printinge the Gramer and other thinges, and hathe farmed it oute to somme of the Companie for one hundred poundes by the yere, which C^{li}. is raised in the inhaunsinge of the prices above th'accustomed order.

The Names of all suche Stacyoners and Printers as are hindred by resoun of the foresaid Privilidges :

Johne Walley.
Johne Judson.
William Nortone.
Humfrey Toye.
Johne Harrison.
Luke Harrisone.
George Bisshopp.
Thomas Hackett.
Gerrarde Dewes.
Richard Watkyns.
Fraunces Coldock.
Rafe Neweberie.
Dunstane Whaplett.
Henrie Denhame.
William Howe.
Johne Jugg.
Robert Holder.
Henrie Suttone.
Hugh Shingletone.
Nicholas Clifton.
Johne Aldye.
Johne Awdley.
Johne Hynde.
Thomas Cademan.
Frauncis Godleigh.
Thomas Omble.
Dyones Erneley.
Augustyne Lawtone.
Thomas Brightwelle.
Thomas Este.
Johne Cuthbertt.
Henry Bynneman.
Henrie Midleton.
Peter Benson.
Johne Arnolde.

With the nomber of 140 that have byne made free of the Stacyoners since the begynnynge of the Quenes Majestie's reigne that nowe is, besides a great nombere of apprenticez.

The Names of all suche as do lyve by booke sellyng being free of other Companies and also hindered by the said Privilidges :

Johne Wight.	Nicholas Wyer.
Abraham Veale.	Richard Brett.
Johne Kingstone.	Richard Smithe.
Anthonie Kidsone.	James Rowbothome.
Christofer Barker.	Anthonie Harris.

besides a nombere of Jorneymen and Apprentices of theiris.

[MS. Lansd. 48. No. 82.]

A Note of the State of the Company of Printers, Bookesellers, and Bookebynders comprehended under the name of Stacioners, with a Valuation also of all the Lettres patentes concerning Printing.

In the tyme of King Henry the Eighte, there were but fewe Printers, and those of good credit and compotent wealth, at whiche tyme and before there was an other sort of men, that were writers, lymners of Bookes and dyverse thinges for the Church and other uses, called Stacioners; which have, and partly to this daye do use to buy their bookes in grosse of the saide Printers, to bynde them up, and sell them in their shops, whereby they well mayntayned their families.

In King Edward the sixt his dayes, Printers and Printing began greatly to increase : but the provision of letter, and many other thinges belonging to Printing, was so exceeding chargeable, that most of those Printers were dryven throughe necessitie to compound before with the Bookesellers at so lowe value, as the Printers themselves were most tymes small gayners, and often loosers.

In the tyme of Q. Marie the Company procured a Charter for the establishing of a Corporation ; in the which the Queene gyveth aucthoritie to all Stacioners, and none other, to print all laufull bookes, excepting suche as had ben before graunted, or should by speciall licence be after graunted to

any person (Therein lacked this word Printers-Stacioners) so that printing is free to bookesellers, bookebinders, Joyners, Chaundlers, and all other being Freemen of the said Corporation under the name of the Stacioners, whether they be Masters or Journemen.

This Charter was ratified and confirmed by our Sovereigne Lady the Queene's Ma^tie^ that nowe is, so that the Bookesellers, being growen the greater and wealthier nomber, have nowe many of the best Copies and keepe no printing howse, neither beare any charge of letter, or other furniture, but onlie paye for the workmanship, and have the benefit both of the imprinting and the sale of all Commentaries of the Scriptures, and (till of late yeres of all Schoole bookes, Dictionaries, Chronicles, Histories,) Bookes of Phisick, and infinite others; most whereof are generally free to all: so that the artificer printer, growing every daye more and more unable to provide letter and other furniture requisite for the execution of any good worke, or to gyve mayntenaunce to any suche learned Correctours as are behovefull, will in tyme be an occasion of great discredit to the professors of the arte, and in myne opinion prejudiciall to the Common Wealth.

These counsiderations have enforced Printers to procure grauntes from Her Majestie of somme certayne Copies, for the better mayntenaunce of furniture, Correctours, and other workmen who cannot suddaynely be provided, nor suddenlye put awaye; and if they should must of necessitie either wantt necessarie lyving, or print Bookes, Pamphlettes, and other trifles, more daungerous then profitable. I speake not this (thoughe it be very true) as wishing any restraynt to Bookesellers, or Bookebinders, but that they may print and have printed for them such good bookes, as they can orderly procure; for even somme of them, though their skill be little or nothing in the execution of the art, have more judgement to governe and order matters of printing, then somme Printers themselves. But unlesse somme fewe Printers be well mayntayned, it will bring both the one and the other to confusion and extreme povertye.

Item, a Note of the Offices and other speciall Licenses for Printing, graunted by Her Ma^tie^ to diverse persons, with a Conjecture of the Valuation.

MR. FLOWER.

First, Her Ma^ties^ Printer for the Latin tongue hath among other things the Grammar and Accidens for the instruction of youth, which, being but a small Booke, and occupied by children, is greatlie spent; and therefore the most profitable Copie in the Realm for the quantitie, which is yet so muche the more gaynefull, for that the Printer, with some greater charge at the first for furniture of letter, hath the most part of it always ready set: otherwise it would not yeeld the annewitie which is paid therefore. And I have heard those fyve men say that occupie the same, that they would willingly geve two, or three hundred pound, to be rid thereof. But if any intrusion should be made, by compiling and publishing any other but the same, (as it happeneth often in other cases) they should suffer extreame losse, or els M^r^. Flower must loose his Annewity.

CHRISTOFER BARKER.

Myne owne office of her Ma^ties^ Printer of the English tongue gyven to M^r^. Wilkes, is abbridged of the cheefest comodities belonging to the office, as shall hereafter appeare in the Patents of M^r^. Seres and M^r^. Daye: but as it is I have the printing of the Olde and New Testament, the Statutes of the Realme, Proclamations, and the Booke of Common Prayer by name, and in generall words all matters for the Churche. The benefit of the Booke of Common Prayer is very small, by reason of M^r^. Seres his patent, as will appeare in the same. The Statutes of the Realme wholy as they were enacted in the Parliament, are alreadye printed by dyvers my predicessors, in so great nombers that there need be no more printed these twentye yeres or more; so that when Her Ma^tie^ is to be served of them in any Her Highnes Courts or otherwise, I am dryven to buy them of other. The abridgement of the Statutes (by reason of a Contract made by M^r^. Jugge unto M^r^. Tottle) I am awarded by the Company to have but half the benefitt during his lief, though they be printed in my name only. Proclamations come on the suddayne, and must be returned printed in hast. Wherefore by breaking of

greater worke I loose oftentymes more by one Proclamacon than I gayne by sixe, before my servants can come in trayne of their worke agayne, and in many yeres there hapeneth not a Proclamation of any benefit at all. The Paraphrasis of Erasmus upon the Epistles and Gospells, with the booke of Homilies, I offer to as many as will print them, geving me good assuraunce for the true imprinting thereof, that I may be blamelesse. Testaments alone are not greatly commodious, by reason the prices are so small as will scarcely beare the charges. The whole Bible together requireth so great a some of money to be employed in the imprinting thereof, as Mr. Jugge kept the Realme twelve yere withoute before he durst adventure to print one impression: but I, considering the great some I paide to Mr. Wilkes, did (as some have termed it since) gyve a desperate adventure to imprint fower sundry impressions for all ages, wherein I employed to the value of three thousande pounds in the terme of one yere and an halfe, or thereaboute, in which tyme if I had died, my wife and children had been utterlie undone, and many of my friends greatlie hindered by disbursing round somes of money for me, by suertiship and other meanes, as my late good Mr. Master Secretary for one: so that nowe this gappe being stopped, I have little or uothing to doe, but adventure a needlesse charge, to keepe many Journemen in worke, most of them servaunts to my predecessors.

Mr. Daye.

In the priviledge, or private licence graunted to Mr. Daye, are among other things the Psalmes in meeter, with Notes to singe them in the Churches, as well in fowre parts as in playne songe, which being a parcell of the Church service properly belongeth to me. This booke being occupied of all sortes of men, women, and children, and requiring no great stock for the furnyshing thereof, is therefore gaynefull. The small Catechisme alone, taught to all lyttle children of this Realme, is taken oute of the Booke of Common Prayer, and belongeth to me also with Mr. Jugge, solde to Mr. Daye, and is likewise included in this Patent procured by the right honorable the Earle of Leicester, and therefore for duties sake I hold myself content therwith. This is also a profitable Copie, for that it is generall and not greatlie chargeable.

Mr. Seres.

Mr. Seres hath the Psalter of David, the Primer for little children, with the same Catechisme, and all bookes of private prayer whatsoever in Latin and Englyshe: he also encrocheth farther to take oute of the booke of Common prayer, the morning and evening prayer, wth the Collect, the Letany and other things, framyng as it were a booke of coñon prayer to himself. This Psalter is likewise a part of the Church service, belonging to me, and is aucthorised by Parliament as the booke of coñon prayer.

The Primer for children likewise consisteth of the Catechisme, and certayne select Psalmes of Davide. How I am hindred by this Psalter, it happeneth thus, that where I sell one booke of Coñon prayer, wch few or none do buye except the minister, he furnysheth ye whole parishes throughoute the Realme, wch are comonly an hundred for one. This patent being procured by yor honor to that vertuous honest man yor Lordships late seuant William Seres the elder, and his sonne, I ever did, and do willingly holde my self content, for reverend dutie to yor honor: yet yor Lordship may perceave, that in these two patents lieth the greatest coñoditie of my office.

Towching the generalitie of all bookes of pryvate prayers graunted to the said Seres, they are in trueth of no suche value as they seeme: but rather do kepe back the infinite nomber of vnfrutefull prayer bookes, wch vnskilfull persons do contynually offer to make: and these wrangling persons that so contemptuouslye disobey her Maties graunts and coñaundements, do not offer to print any prayers included in the generall words, but the Psalter with the morning prayer, and the primer wth the Catechisme aforesaid, and other bookes, what like them best, of all mens priuileges, and so arrogate to them selves a priviledge of priuiledges: yea, they get into their hands, by what meanes they care not, great quantitie of paper for that purpose, printing them most falsely, and selling so cheap,[a] as, if they had bin men of reasonable wealth before, they must nedes be vtterlie vndoñe, and vndoe the Patentees also; and by their great disorder, turne the whole Companye to losse and hinderaunce in their occupying: among whome one Roger Ward doth alreadye pretend at the least to be a prysoner of Ludgate, to defraude men of their right, and to avoide his due deserts, and yet con-

[a] Cheaper then they can aforde, because they cannot avowch the sale thereof.

tynueth printing by his servaunts, and suche evell disposed persons as will work w^th^ hym ; an other lieth in prison by yo^r^ hono^rs co̅maundement of her ma^ties^ pryvie Counsell, and doth the like, who (no doubt) will in the ende exclayme, saying they are vndone by preuiledged men, whereas the contrarye is manifest to yo^r^ Hono^r^. This Patent is executed by Henry Denham.

Mr. Tottle.

The patent of the Co̅mon Lawe hath ben very beneficiall, and hath had a tyme, the circomstaunces how are to long to troble yo^r^ Hono^r^ w^th^, but nowe it is of much lesse value then before, and is like yet to be rather worse then better, except a man should with exceading charge take another course therein then hetherto hath ben observed, and as these dayes requier.

Mr. Bynneman.

In this patent is conteyned all Dictionaries in all tongues, all Chronicles and Histories whatsoever. This generality carieth a great shewe, and in deed to be executed w^th^ co̅mendacon doth requyer a stock of ten thowsand pounde at the least. But if the printer should print many of the said volumes, he must needes stande betwixt two extremes, that is, if he print competent nombers of each to mayntayne his charges, all England, Scotland, and much more, were not able to vtter them : and if he should print but a few of each volume, the prices should be exceading greate, and he in more daunger to be vndo̅ne, then likely to gayne; the provision of varietie of letter and other thinge would be so chargeable : ffor even my poore printing house, w^ch^ is but onlye for the Englishe, and so̅me Hebrew, Greeke, and Latin letter, if any suche work happen, hath cost me w^th^in these few yeres twelve hundred pound. Wherefore this Patent in my mynde maye be more daungerous to the Patentee, then profitable : for if any intrusion should happen to be made vppon him, he were easely vndone, and never able to recover it : and if I shoulde haue my choyse of it, and the least that is already graunted to any of o^r^ Company, I would chuse the lesse : yea even these bad men that pretend to be hindered greatlie by this generalitye would print few or none of these if they might. Notwithstanding, the generalitie of this patent and Seres his also (the hono^r^ of her Ma^ies^ graunte reserved) is offred to be qualified at the discretion of the auncients of the Companye.

TH. MARSHE.

This Patent includeth a nomber of the most vsuall Schoole bookes in Latin, w^ch^ (no doubt) would be a beneficiall patent to him that could well vse it, yea, great service to the comon wealth might a carefull man do therein: but in myne opinion he that hath it is the vnfittest man in England, in deed neither profiting himself nor the realme.

R. WATKINS.

This patent conteyneth all Almanackes and Prognostications, w^ch^ by reason a few persons and a small stock will suffice to the execution thereof, is a prety comoditie toward an honest mans lyving.

MR. BIRDE and MR. TALLIS of her Ma^ties^ Chappell.

In this patent are included all Musicke bookes whatsoeu, and the printing of all ruled paper, for the pricking of any songe to the lute, virginals or other instrumente. The paper is somewhat beneficiall. As for the musick bookes, I would not provide necessarie furniture to haue them. This patent is executed by Henry Binneman also.

T. VAUTROVILLERE.

Hath the printing of Tullie, Ovid, and diuerse other great workes in Latin. He doth yet neither great good nor great harme w^th^ all. This patent, if it were fully executed, it were verie doubtfull whether the Printer should be a gayner or a looser. He hath other small things wherew^th^ he keepeth his presses on work, and also worketh for bookesellers of the Company, who kepe no presses.

Thus (right honorable and my very good Lord) I haue gone through all her Maiesties grauntes concerning printing, and haue faythfully yelded myne opinion, even as I would be credited of yo^r^ hono^r^, w^ch^ I ought not a little to esteeme: and I protest before God that if I could see how it might tende to the hono^r^ of this Realme, or to the credit of the profesSo^r^s of that science, or might be any way beneficiall to the comon wealth, that priviledges were dissolved, I would yeeld myne opinion so: but I haue alwayes wished that more power might be geven, yea and strict comaunde-

ment also, to the M^r^. the Wardens and Assistants of the Stacioners, to oversee and correct the negligence, as well of printers priuiledged, as not priuiledged, who by false printing, evell paper, evell workemanship, and such like faultes abuse her ma^ties^ subiects, and procure the infamye of Barbarisme to the whole Companye.

There are 22 printing howses in London, where 8 or 10 at the most would suffise for all England, yea and Scotland too. But if no man were allowed to be a M^r^ Printer, but such whose behavio^r^ were well knowne, and auctorised by warrant from her Ma^tie^, the arte would be most excellently executed in England, and many frivolous and vnfruitfull Copies kepte back, w^ch^ are dayly thrust oute in prynt, greatly corrupting the youth, and preiudiciall to the Comon wealth manye wayes.

There hath ben soñe negligence heretofore partlie growen by the disordred behavio^r^ of Journemen, that men have taken to themselves too many apprentizes, whereby the multitude hath greatlie increased, for the arte of necessitie requireth the help of many persons, and therefore there must nedes be Journemen, of whome the nomber is nowe aboute threescore; who do both knowe and confesse that if priviledges were dissolved they were vtterlie vndoñe, having no other qualitie to get their lyving; whereas Bookesellers, bookebinders, and makers of writing tables, all w^ch^ are of oure Company, haue dyvers other meanes to lyve. But we have taken order for this, so that any man not being of the lyvery can hereafter haue but one apprentize, being of the lyvery but twoe, and having ben M^r^ or Vpper Warden but three at the most; except the Queenes Printer, who is lymitted as the occasion of her Highnes service shall requier; so as thereby the increase is stayed, and everye man w^th^ good order maye be well employed.

These persons (my lord) that are the cause of troubling yo^r^ Hono^r^ so oft (of whose behavio^r^ I am loath to speake, but that this occasion enforceth me therevnto) are for the most part idle, vndiscrete, and vnthriftie persons, pretending suche skill in lawe, as to discourse what the Prince by her Highnes kingly office may doe, what other magistrates ought to doe, and in the meane tyme forgett their owne dutie toward God, toward their Prince, and their neighbo^r^. Of w^ch^ company being fyve in nomber, one John Wolfe nowe prysoner in the Clinck is the cheif, who after many loose points of behaviour,

obtayned his freedome of the ffishmonḡs, by what meanes I knowe not; after w^ch^ he sued for a priuiledge w^ch^ was thought vnreasonable by soṁe serving her Ma^tie^: w^ch^ when he coulde not obtayne, began of his owne aucthoritie to print of all mens priuiledges what liked him best: but being somewhat gaynesaid therein, fell to impugning and deniyng her Highnes whole graunt, and for mayntenu^a^ce of his insolent attempte gathered diuerse Conventicles in his howse, in Churches, and other places, seducing and perswading as manye as he could allure, to contemne her Ma^ties^ said graunts: yea, incensed the whole Citie, saying their auncient lib'ties were thereby infringed. And one Ffranck Adams, and Will^a^m Lobley, of great Counsell w^th^ hym, made collections of money among poore men, to retayne Lawyers to furder their purpose, promising ten for one, if they had not good successe, vnto Wolfe; yet still, being in pryson, (as I heare saye,) there is contynuall accesse by soṁe of the saide parties, and also by one sometyme a Scrivener, pretending skill in Lawe, who doth much seduce these indiscrete fellowes to spend their money, and aggrauate the trouble, of whome, soṁe when they are charitably demaunded what they should gayne if all were in coṁon, and made havock for one man to vndoe another? they aunswere, we should make them beggers like to o^r^selves: meaning those that haue Patents. By their aunswere yo^r^ Hono^r^ maye ꝑceyve what they be, and by yo^r^ wisedome remeadye the outerage. It doth not becoṁe me to offer vnto yo^r^ Hono^r^ a meane of redresse; but if it please yo^r^ Lordship to coṁaund me that service, I will most willingly set downe my simple opinion for yo^r^ Hono^r^ to consider of. Whome I beseech the Lord to his pleasure long to ꝑserve.

Indorsed.

" Decemb. 1582.
Writt by Christopher Barker,
to the L. Trẽr."

V. *Notices of the Palace of Whitehall; in a Letter from* Sydney Smirke, *Esq. F.S.A., addressed to* Henry Ellis, *Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 26th January, 1832.

Regent Street, 23d January, 1832.

DEAR SIR,

It appears to come so peculiarly within the scope and intention of the Society of Antiquaries, to receive from its Members notices of such subjects of antiquarian or historical interest as circumstances may have given them advantageous opportunities of examining, that I make no apology for now sending you some Drawings which represent almost the only remaining fragment of a Palace which was the principal residence of the English Court for more than a century and a half, during a brilliant and important period of English History: I allude to the ancient Palace of Whitehall.

It is very probable that, conversant as all the Members of this Society necessarily are with the antiquities of London, many may have yet to learn that some not insignificant traces of that splendid edifice yet remain. The relic to which I have the pleasure of directing your attention is the Basement of a house at Whitehall-yard, commonly called Cromwell House, which Basement may, I think, with some confidence be pronounced the work of Cardinal Wolsey.

That every writer (as far as I am aware) who has undertaken to describe the Antiquities of London, should have been wholly silent on the subject of this interesting fragment is not a little remarkable: indeed, its very ex-

istence would have been unknown to me, had it not become my professional duty to examine Cromwell House.

I will not detain you with any account of this Palace, the history of which is sufficiently known: originally the residence of the Earls of Kent, it became in the middle of the thirteenth century attached by purchase to the see of York, and so continued until the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, when with all its splendid furniture it became confiscated to the Crown. Henry the Eighth subsequently obtained an Act of Parliament to authorise the taking of this Palace into the bounds of the Royal Palace of Westminster, the latter having fallen, as the preamble of the Act expresses it, "into utter ruin and decay."

Wolsey no doubt had built extensively at Whitehall: it is not to be supposed that the ancient residence of his simpler predecessors would satisfy the love of pomp, or even the bare wants of that Prelate and his splendid establishment; but that Henry, who followed him, built most extensive and magnificent additions, is abundantly proved by the preamble to the above mentioned Act of Parliament. The Palace that resulted from the architectural efforts of these great builders, appears to have been surprisingly extensive. A Plan of it is engraved by Vertue, from a survey made in 1680 by one Fisher, and the space it there covers, including of course many court-yards and areas, is upwards of twenty-three acres. A more distinct idea may be formed of this extent by comparing it with that of other known buildings. The King of Naples' Palace at Caserta covers about twelve or thirteen acres; Hampton Court Palace about eight or nine; St. James's Palace about four; Buckingham Palace between two and a half. The new Palace designed by Inigo Jones to be built at Whitehall, would have covered nearly twenty-four acres.

During the long period of its occupancy by the Archbishops, this Palace was known as York Place, but Henry changed its name to Whitehall, possibly from some new buildings having been constructed by him of stone, at a time when bricks and timber were the materials in more general use; but "the White Hall" was a name not unfrequently given by our ancestors to the festive halls of their habitations; there was a Whitehall at Kenilworth, and the Hall now used by the Peers as their place of assembling in Parliament, was

the "Whitehall" of the Royal Palace of Westminster, and is so called by Stow.

The exact period of the above change in the designation of the Palace in question, is pointed out with happy precision in the following passage from Shakespeare's Play of "Henry the Eighth:"

3d Gentleman. —— "So she parted,
And with the same full state paced back again
To York Place, where the feast is held."
1st Gentleman. —— "Sir, you
Must no more call it York Place, that is past;
For since the Cardinal fell, that title's lost,
'T is now the King's—and called Whitehall."
3d Gentleman. —— "I know it,
But 't is so lately altered, that the old name
Is fresh about me."

Act IV. Scene 1.

The fires in 1691 and 1698, and the gradual inroads of improvement, have nearly obliterated this regal structure. Of the more modern part the only remnant is, as every one knows, the admired work of Inigo Jones; but of the ancient Palace, the subject of my present Letter is the only important vestige.

This structure consists of an extensive apartment, groined in a massy and substantial style, and built of solid masonry, and now forms the basement story of the house above designated, in which have recently been deposited certain records of the Exchequer Court, as well as other legal documents. That it was included in that part of the Palace which was appropriated to Cromwell may be readily inferred from its present name; but that it was not built by him is rendered perfectly obvious by its style of design, which is very distinctly that Gothic which is usually, and perhaps with propriety, called the Tudor style.

On the Plan referred to, of the Palace in Charles the Second's time, I find this building coincides exactly with what is there termed the "Wine Cellar," and closely adjoins the old Hall; its ample dimensions fully confirm the accounts that are handed down to us of the profuse magnificence of the

Cardinal's domestic establishment. The vaulted ceiling must have supported the floor of some state apartment of considerable size in connection with the Great Hall.

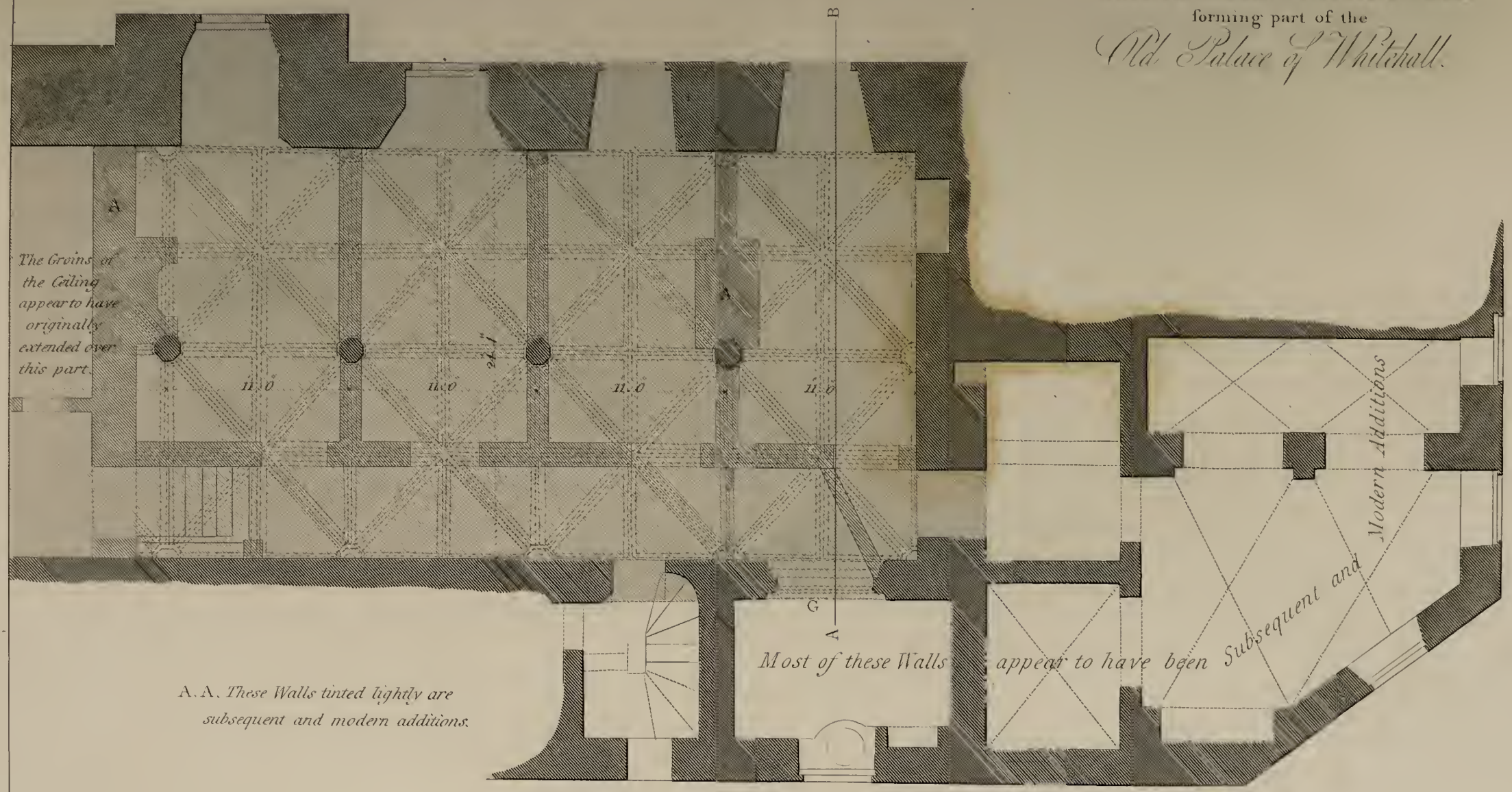
I herewith send you a correct Plan (Drawing, No. 1.) of the Structure in question,[a] and on Drawing, No. 2, I have shewn a section through it,[b] by which it appears that the present pavement is upwards of five feet above the original level, as I have ascertained by excavation. This alteration no doubt had been found necessary on converting the ancient structure to its present purpose of servants' offices; for the floor is even now scarcely out of the reach of spring tides, and would therefore at its former level have frequently been under water, a liability which must indeed have rendered it but an indifferent place of deposit for wine.

I may here add, that the dampness in the foundations of all the houses about Whitehall is no new complaint. Pepys in his Memoirs alludes to a high tide in 1663 having "drowned" the whole Palace; indeed, from the following passage in Charles's speech, delivered when he received the Lords and Commons in the Banqueting Hall, on his restoration, we may infer that the river was then far less restrained in its course than at present: "The mention of my wife's arrival puts me in mind to desire you to put that compliment upon her that her entrance into the town may be with more decency than the ways will now suffer it to be: and to that purpose I pray you would quickly pass such laws as are before you, in order to the mending those ways, and *that she may not find Whitehall surrounded with water.*"

I have now to invite your attention to Drawing, No. 3,[c] representing a Doorway in good preservation, which was the principal entrance into this cellar, and which appears, by the above cited Plan, to have led into it from a passage intervening between the cellar and hall. I at first imagined that this doorway might have been a river entrance into the Palace, and that these vaulted cellars were originally a hall of entrance, under the principal apartments, but the discovery that the original floor of the cellars was so much below the threshold of this doorway, makes the supposition inadmissible.

[a] Plate IV. [b] Plate V. [c] Plate VI.

Plan of some
STONE GROINED CELLARS,
forming part of the
Old Palace of Whitehall.



A. A. *These Walls tinted lightly are subsequent and modern additions.*

Scale of 10 5 0 10 20 30 *feet.*

Sydney Smirke. delt 1832

J^s Basire. Sc^t

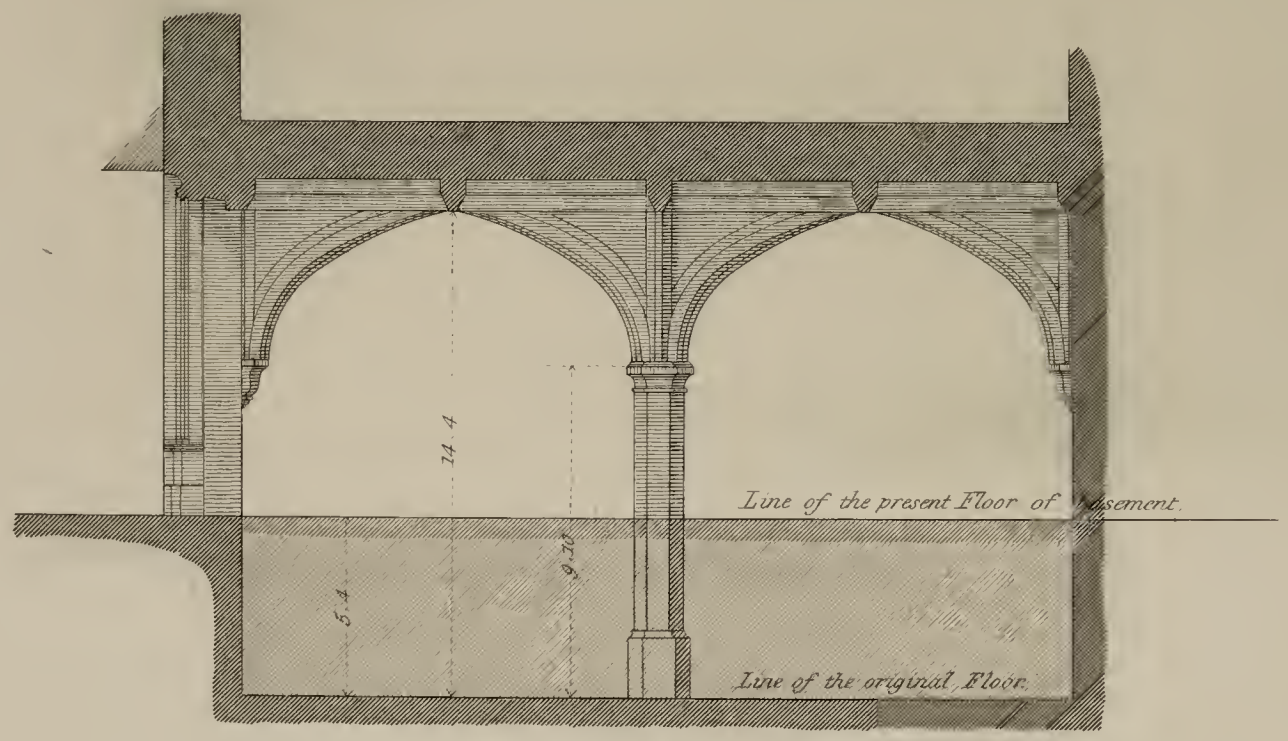
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 23^rd 1833.

Capital of one of the Octagon Piers.

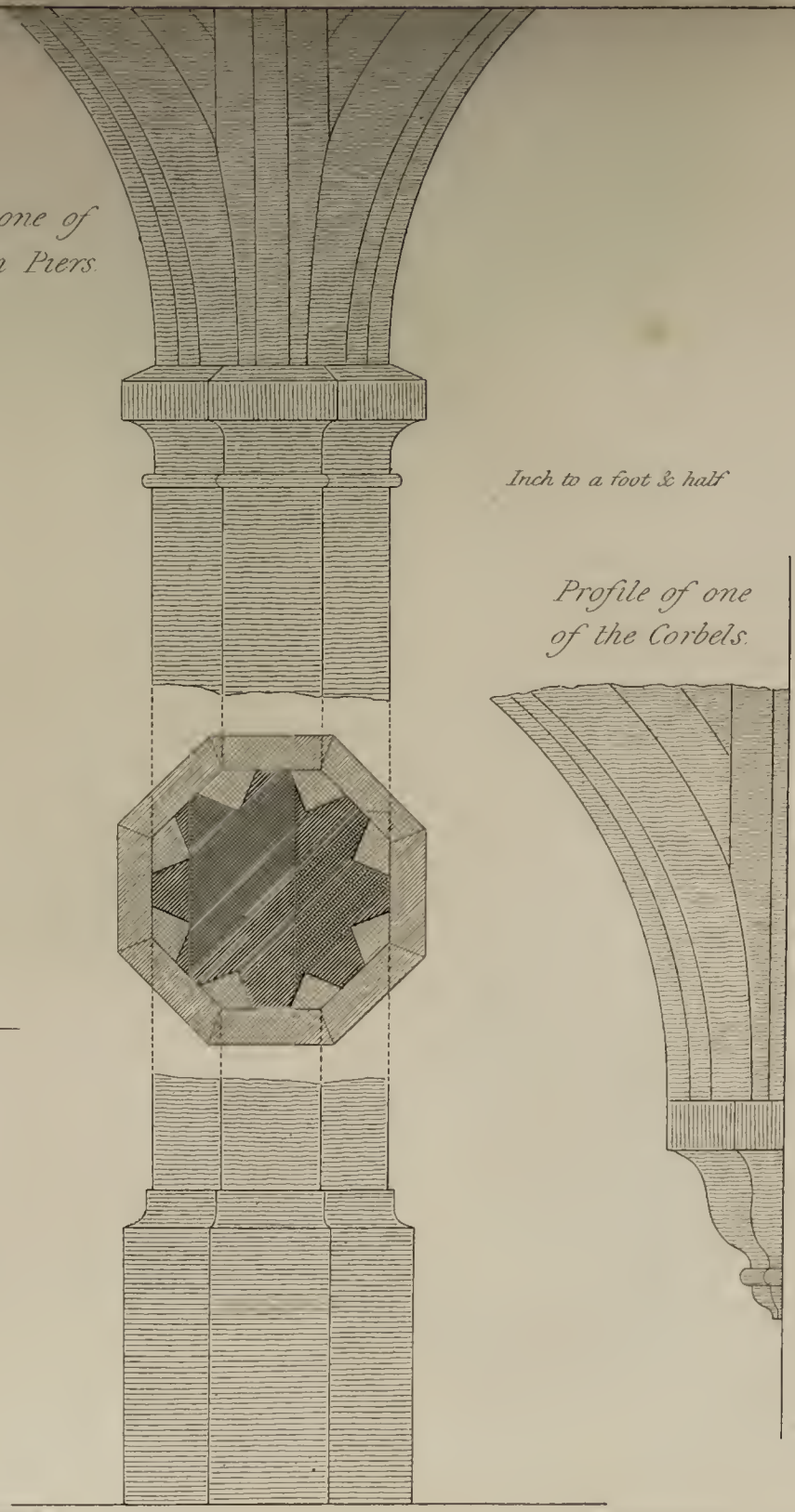
Section on the Line A B *on the Plan.*

Inch to a foot & half

Profile of one of the Corbels.



Scale of 0 5 10 15 20 feet.

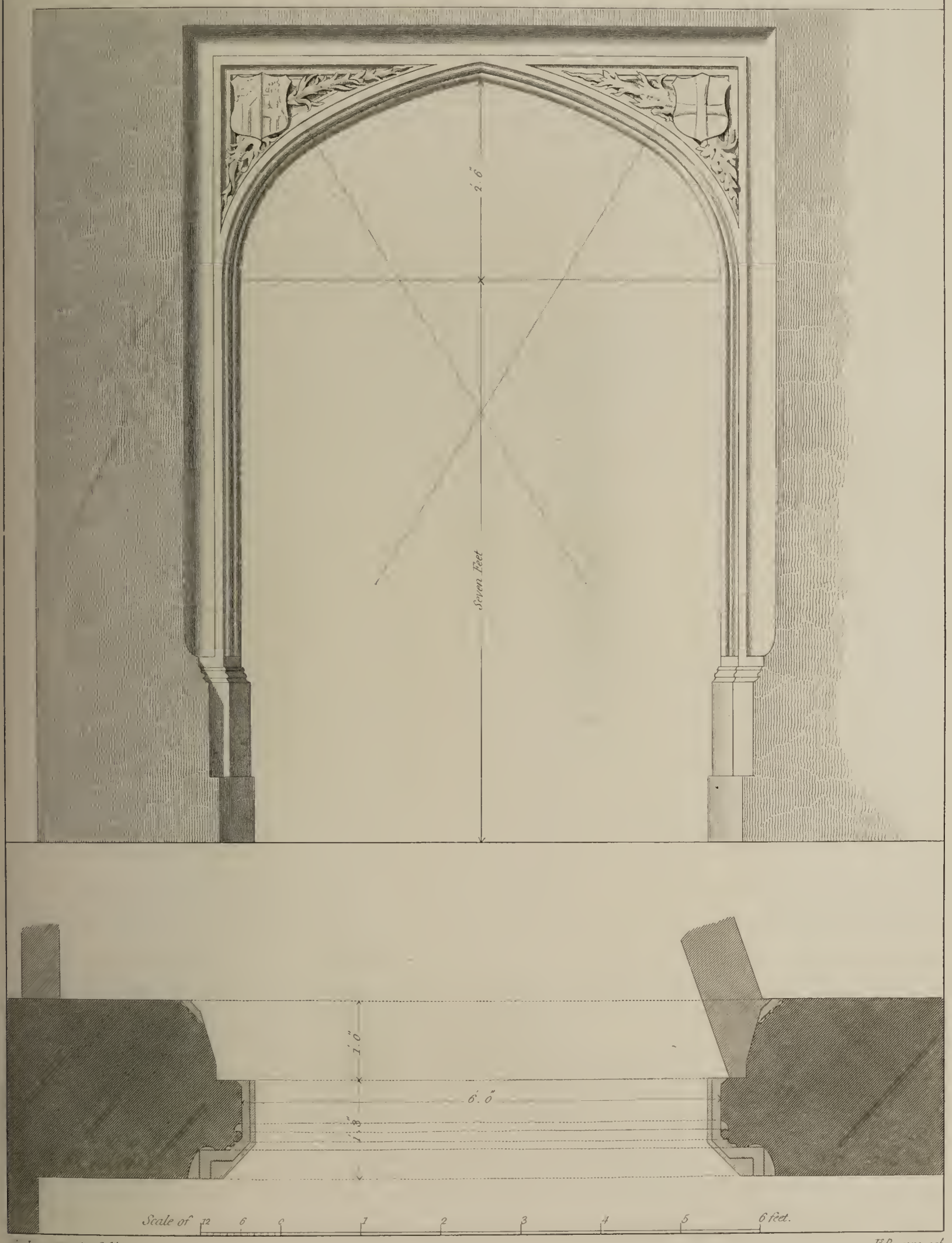


Sydney Smirke del.

J.s Basire. sc.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 23rd 1833.

Elevation of the Gateway at G *on the Plan.*



Sydney Smirke. del.t

F. Basire sc.t

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 23rd 1833.

This arched doorway has all the characters of the Tudor period: the arch is flat, and contained within a square architrave formed chiefly of a large bold hollow: in the spandrels are shields, that on the left bears a simple cross, with the ends slightly diverging; the other, on the right, is much effaced by time, having been executed in a soft sandstone, but after repeated and close examinations, I am much inclined to believe that it bore the arms of the see of York, impaled with those of Wolsey.

I subjoin a blazon of this shield [d] by a heraldic artist of well known skill (Mr. Willement); and from the same authority I learn, that on one of the bosses of the vaulting to the archway of Christchurch gate, Canterbury, is a shield with exactly the same arms impaled.

I fear that those who may take the trouble to examine this shield may be disposed to think it necessary to draw largely on the imagination before they can arrive at my conclusion; but I have only to say, that in antiquarian pursuits, much feebler indications have often led to much less probable conclusions.

I will not detain you longer except to add, that the only other remains of this Palace, that I am acquainted with are a part of the river wall, in which some of the circular bastions are distinguishable; a few fragments of other walls of no importance, and a more considerable fragment, in which occur two stone mullioned windows of Tudor architecture, at the back of the Almonry office: this wall coincides, I think, with the back wall of the apartments of the "Yeomen of the Wood-yard," as shown on Fisher's plan: I should also add, that some old walls, forming at present part of the Treasury Buildings, are no doubt the remains of some of Henry's additions to this Palace.

Before concluding, I should mention that some years ago many bones were dug up in Whitehall-yard, and the belief was then prevalent that a

d Per pale, 1st, Azure, an episcopal staff erect, ensigned with a cross pattée, Or; surmounted by a pall Argent, charged with four crosses patée fitchée Sable, edged and fringed of the Second (being the arms formerly used as those of the See of York.)

2d, Sable, on a cross engrailed Argent, a lion passant, Gules between four leopards' heads Azure; on a chief Or, a rose of the Second, between two Cornish choughs Proper (being the private arms of Cardinal Wolsey).

murdered body had been found; but the bones were, I am informed, too numerous to admit of such a supposition. The Chapel appears by Fisher's Plan to have been very near the spot where these bones were found, it is therefore highly probable that they had been duly deposited in sacred ground, although time has now obliterated all record of its sanctity.

I feel great satisfaction in being able to draw your attention, and that of the Society, to these few relics of a building so full of historical interest: no one shall say how soon every stone of them may be swept away, although it is an act of justice to add, that his Majesty's present Surveyor General has ever shewn a degree of anxiety to rescue and preserve the remains of venerable art, which deserves the warmest thanks of every artist and antiquary.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

SYDNEY SMIRKE.

Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary,
&c. &c. &c.

VI. *Proclamation of Henry the Eighth on his Marriage with Queen Anne Boleyn; in the possession of the Corporation of Norwich: Communicated by* Hudson Gurney, *Esq. V.P., in a Letter to* Henry Ellis, *Esq., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 29th March, 1832.

Keswick, January 21, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,

I INCLOSE you a Copy of Henry the Eighth's Proclamation on his Divorce from Katherine and his Marriage with Anne Boleyn, which is in the possession of the Corporation of Norwich.

I am yours truly,

HUDSON GURNEY.

Henry Ellis, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

A Proclamacion devised by the Kynges Hygnes with the advyse of his Counsayle, that his subjectes be warned to avoyde (in some cases) the daunger and penaltie of the Statute of Provision and Premunire.

For as moche as the unlawful matrimonie betwene the Kynges Hyghness and the Lady Katherine, Princes Dowager, late wife to Prince Arthure, by just wayes and meanes is lawfully dissolved, and a Divorse and Separation had and done betwene his sayde Hyghnes and the said Lady Katherine by the Moste Reverende father in God the Archbishop of Canturbury, Legate and Primate of al England, and Metropolitane of the same: and thereupon

the Kynges Majestie hath lawfully maried and taken to his wife, after the Lawes of the Church, the Ryght High and excellent Princes Lady Anne now Quene of England, and she solemptneley crowned and anoynted as appertayneth to the laude, prayse, and honour of Almightie God, the suretie of the Kynges Succession and posterite, and to the great joy, comfort, and contentation of all the subjectes of this Realme. All whiche premisses have groundely proceded and taken their effectes, as well by the cõmen assent of the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall and the Cõmens of this Realme, by auctorite of Parlyament, as also by the assent and determinations of the Hole Clergie in their severall convocations holden and kepte in bothe Provinces of this Realme, and for perfayte and sure establyshment thereof it is enacted amonge other thynges, that whatsoever person or persons of what estate, degree, or cõdition they be of, doe attempt or procure any maner proces, or do or move any acte or actes to the lette or derogation of any such procedynges, sentances, and determynations as is and have been done and hadde, as well in and about the said Divorse, as in the solempnisation of the lawful Matrimonie had and concluded betwene the Kynges Hyghnesse and the sayde Quene Anne, shall incurre and rounne in the peynes and penalities comprised in the Statute of Provision and Premunire made in the sixteenth yere of the late Kynge Richarde the Seconde, whiche is no lesse peyne than the offenders to be out of the Kynges protection, and their goodes and landes to be forfayted, and their bodies imprisoned at the Kynges wyll as by the sayde Acte more at large is expressed: By reason wherof and for as moche as the sayde Divorse and Separation is now had and done, and the Kynges Highnesse lawfully maryed, as is before rehersed, it is therefore evident and manifeste that the sayde Lady Katherine shulde not from hensforthe have or use the name, style, title, or dignitie of Quene of this Realme, nor be in any wyse reputed, taken, accepted, or written, by the name of Quene of this Realme, but by the name, style, title and dignitie of Princes Dowager, which name she ought to have, because she was lawfully and perfectly maried and accoupled with the sayd Prince Arthure. And what so ever officers, ministers, bayliffes, recevours, fermours, servãtis, kepers of parkes or chaces of the sayde Princes Dowager, or any other person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition they be of, contrary to the premissis, do name, repute, accept, and write, or in any wise obey the

sayd Lady Katheryn, by vertu of any maner of warrãt or writing to them directed by the name of Quene, or attempte, do, or move any other acte or actes, thynge or thynges to the lette or derogation of such doinges and procedynges as is determined and accomplyshed, as well for the dissolution of the sayd unlauful mariage as for the solempnisation and confirmation of the said lauful matrimonie justly finyshed and concluded, as is above rehersed, shall and dothe playnely and manifestly incurre and renne in the sayd great daungers and peynes comprised and specified in the sayde acte. In consideration wherof, all be it that the kynge our most dradde Soveraygne Lorde nothynge mystrusteth his lovynge subjectes for any attempt, acte, or actes, or any thynge to be done moved or spoken by them contrarye to the true meanynge of the sayde acte, and the due execution and procedynges in the premisses; yet, never the lesse, to thentent that his sayd humble and lovynge subjectes shall have playne, open and manifest notice of the greatte perylles, daungers, and penalities comprised and specyfyed in the sayde acte, wherby they maye eschewe the daungers therof: His Majestie therefore, of his mooste gratious and benigne goodnesse, more covaytynge and desirynge the good obediences and conformities of his sayde subjectis, than to be avaunced and enryched by theyr offences or contemptes, by the advyse of his sayde counsayle, hath caused this Proclamation to be made for a playne overture and publication of the premyssis: wherby, as well all and every his lovynge subjectes as others may (if they wyll) avoyde and eschewe the sayde greatte peynes, daungers, and penalties above especified—Wherunto his Gracis pleasure and high commaundment is, that every person from hens forth take good hede and respecte at theyr perylles.

And yet, never the lesse, the Kynges most gratious pleasure is, that the sayde Ladye Katheryne shall be welle used, obeyed, and intreted, according to her honour and noble parentage, by the name, tytle, state, and stile of Princes Dowager, as well by al hir officers, servantes, and ministers, as also by others his humble and lovynge subjectes in all hir lauful busynesses and affaires: So it extende not in any wyse contrary to this Proclamation.

God save the Kynge.

W. Berthelet, Regius impressor, excudebat.

Cum Privilegio.

VII. *Description of the sepulchral Effigy of John de Sheppy, Bishop of Rochester, discovered in Rochester Cathedral, A. D.* 1825, *with illustrative Drawings: communicated by* Alfred John Kempe, *Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to* Henry Ellis, *Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 3rd May, 1832.

Rodney Buildings, New Kent Road,
April 4th, 1832.

DEAR SIR,

I BEG to submit to the inspection of the Society of Antiquaries, the Drawings which I caused to be made in August last, by Mr. John Swaine junior, student of the Royal Academy, from the Effigy of John de Sheppy, Bishop of Rochester, which was discovered in the year 1825, during the repairs which took place in Rochester Cathedral, under the superintendance of Mr. Cottingham the architect.

It was found walled up in the easternmost arch of the north side of the choir, and covered with more than two cart-loads of chalk.

The figure was lying on an altar tomb, over which is a double curved Gothic arch, as seen in Plate VII.

Intermixed with the superincumbent rubbish were found various beautiful, but sadly mutilated portions of the decorations connected with John de Sheppy's tomb, as figures of the Virgin and the infant Jesus, of the prophet Moses, portions of other small statues, branches of the vine, clusters of grapes, crockets, pinnacles, &c. all elegantly carved, painted, and gilt.

The Drawing, N°. 2 (Plate VIII.) represents the effigy of the Bishop (cut out of a single stone) as he appeared when attired in the pontifical ornaments. He wears a costly mitre, a cope, painted to represent rich embroidery, dalmatic



Elevation and Details of the Monument of John de Sheppy.



Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 23rd 1833.



Effigy of John de Sheppy Bishop of Rochester.

Drawn & Engraved by J B. Swaine

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 23rd 1833.

or alb, and tunic. Against his left shoulder rests a pastoral staff, swathed with a white bandage; the head of the staff is broken off. On his hands are jewelled gloves, and on the fourth finger of the right hand is a ring, in which a ruby is represented to be set; at his feet are two dogs, having collars encircled with small bells. These animals, so often represented on tombs, were (like hawks) the accompaniments of rank. He wears boots, on which are painted the bands of the ancient sandals which they had superseded; the "caligæ cum sandaliis" of the Romish pontificals. Over the left arm is a rich maniple, decorated with lozenge-shaped compartments, ornamentally painted, and covered with pieces of crystal, or white transparent glass. The details of the ornaments on the Bishop's vestments are given in Plate VII.

We learn from the ancient formularies, that the *regalia* of the episcopal office (if they may be so termed) were imposed with considerable solemnity. The Bishop elect, before his consecration, retired to a side chapel, where he put on the amictus or amice; the *alb*, which, notwithstanding the name, was not always necessarily *white*, nor was it invariably made of linen cloth—the alb was confined to the body by the cingulum or girdle. The stole, a narrow slip of cloth, was thrown over the head and hung down above the alb on either side to the knees. The maniple or fanon, a napkin for removing any impurity from the sacramental cup, was placed on the arm, and over the whole was worn the chasuble[a] or cope. Sometimes, like the surcoat of the military order, copes were adorned with the armorial bearings of the Bishop to whom they belonged; thus, in the thirteenth century we find Dean Geoffrey de Lucy's red velvet cope embroidered with luces or pikes, his family cognizance, and with a representation of the root of Jesse.[b]

The Bishop elect then offered at the high altar two lighted torches and two barrels of wine. The pastoral staff, being previously blessed, was then delivered to him, with the words "Accipe baculum pastoralis officii et sis in corrigendis vitiis piè sæviens," &c.

The ring, being also blessed, was next placed on his finger, in token of

[a] Chasuble, "quasi parva casa," from the protection against the weather which it afforded to the wearer; from the same reason it was also called the *Pluvial.*

[b] See Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. iii. p. 309.

his spiritual representation of the Church, the spouse of Christ. The officiating Bishop saying, " Accipe annulum fidei, scilicet signaculum quatenus sponsam Dei," &c.

The Gospels were then delivered to him, and he took the Sacrament.

The mitre, having been duly blessed, was now put upon his head; as the champion of God invested with the helmet of salvation; for such are the expressions of the formulary: " Imponimus, Domine, capiti hujus antistitis et agonistæ tui, galeam munitionis et salutis."

The gloves were then blessed. The ring being taken off, they were placed on his hands; they were *white*, as an emblem of the purity of the new man, and made of the skin of the *kid*, because Jacob obtained his father's blessing by placing " the skins of the kids of the goats" upon his hands when he personated his brother Esau.[c]

" Circunda, Domine, manus hujus ministri tui munditiâ novi hominis, qui de cœlo descendit, utque admòdum Jacob dilectus tuus *pelliculis hedorum* co-opertis manibus, paternam benedictionem oblato patri cibo potumque gratissimo impetravit," are the words of the ritual. The ring was then again replaced, but on the *outside* of the glove, as it appears on the original figure [d] which this paper describes.

Having digressed thus far on the subject of the imposition of the episcopal vestments, of which de Sheppy's Effigy affords so splendid an illustration, I return to the personal subject of that piece of sculpture.

John de Sheppy was originally a monk in the priory of St. Andrew's, Rochester; he was educated and patronised by his predecessor in that see, Haymo de Hethe, Confessor to Edward the Second. In 1352 he was himself elected to the see of Rochester, and consecrated Bishop the 10th of March in that year, by William Edendon, Bishop of Winchester, in the church of St. Mary Overy (now St. Saviour's) Southwark, no doubt with the ceremonies which have been recited.

He must have been a man of considerable ability and general attainments, for he was appointed Chancellor of the Realm, A. D. 1356, the 30th of Edward III., and Treasurer in 1358. Some sermons of his composition

[c] Genesis, chap. xxvii. v. 23.

[d] The ring being on the right hand does not appear in the drawing.

are said to be still extant at New College, Oxford. He died 19th October, 1360, at his house in Lambeth, called la Place, leaving one hundred marks (a large sum for the time) to defray his funeral expences, and was buried at Rochester in a chantry of his own foundation, where he had erected an altar to St. John the Baptist, and where he directed a mass to be daily sung for the soul of his royal master the third Edward, for his own, and for the souls of all the faithful defunct.

He endowed this chapel with certain lands and tenements for the support of a chantry priest, and appointed as trustees of the endowment, the Chancellor of England, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Master of the Rolls (Clericus Rotulorum) for the time being, in perpetuo. From the revenues of the endowment the chaplain was to present the Chancellor yearly with three quarters of oats, the Chief Justice and the Master of the Rolls with two quarters each for their trouble. These oats might be considered as a *dole* for their lordships' horses, when they might themselves journey to Rochester to inspect the chantry estates and audit its accounts.

From a deed, extant in the Textus Roffensis, of John Cardon, Prior of Rochester in the time of Henry the Sixth, we find the receipts of the priest from the chantry estates commuted for an annual stipend of fourteen marks. The poet Chaucer has censured, in his day, those ecclesiastical pluralists who sought to ensure an augmentation of their worldly revenue, by obtaining, in addition to their livings, one or two of these chantry endowments. He says of his parish priest, that

> —— he sette not his benefice to hire,
> And left his sheep incumbered in the mire,
> And ran not unto London, to Seint Poules,
> To seeken him a *Chantry for soules.*

That is, he did not abandon the spiritual instruction of his flock, to become a stipendiary drone, for the performance of a duty, nominal perhaps in many cases, or at best (as the poet, whose mind was remarkably unshackled by the superstitions of his age, conceived) absurd and useless.

John de Sheppy was buried either under the identical arch where his effigy now lies, or in some similar position between the chantry which he

had founded and the body of the Cathedral Church. The remarkable variation in the inscription, on either side of the slab on which his effigy rests, proves this circumstance. When in the chantry chapel the spectator reads, "hic jacet dñs johañs de schepeie epũs istius eccliẽ," Bishop of *that* church. When in the choir of the Cathedral, as before, with the alteration "episcopus *hujus* ecclesie," Bishop of *this* church.

Weever no doubt alludes to this identical effigy, when he says, Bishop John de Sheppy's portraiture is *in* the wall over his place of burial:[e] precisely in such a situation was it found. The preposition *in*, which has been erroneously transcribed by the compiler of the History of Rochester *on*, shews that Weever in his description of the tomb means an *effigy* not a picture, and that this costly memorial was visible about 1631, when he published his "Funeral Monuments."

No doubt the mutilations which it has undergone were perpetrated by the soldiers of the Parliament army, whose buff coats and bandaliers remaining in the cathedral at this day, attest their having desecrated it as a military barrack. Indeed, we find the Warden and Scholars of Merton College, Oxford, recording precisely the same cause for the mutilation of the monument of their founder,[f] which is placed but a few yards north-west of John de Sheppy's, and which they renewed in the year 1662.

We may conjecture that the effigy of de Sheppy was concealed during the troublesome times (with a view to the re-edification of his tomb at some future period) by the care of the pious John Warner, who was Bishop of Rochester from 1637 to 1666, a period which embraces the democratic and fanatical fury of the great Rebellion, so destructive of the memorials of the piety and taste of our ancestors.

I remain, dear Sir,

very sincerely yours,

ALFRED JOHN KEMPE.

Henry Ellis, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

[e] Fun. Monum. p. 314.

[f] See Inscription on the tomb of Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, transcribed in Thorpe's Regist. Roffens.

VIII. *Observations to prove Filey Bay, in Yorkshire, the Portus Felix, or Sinus Salutaris; and Flamborough Head, the Ocellum Promontorium, of the Romans; by* John Walker, *Esq. of Malton.*

Read 17th May, 1832.

In the year 1821 a respectable gentleman, Thomas Thompson, Esq. of Cottingham Castle, published "Ocellum Promontorium, or short Observations on the ancient state of Holderness." In page 8 of those Observations he says, "in Horsley's Map of Ptolemy's Geography, in which are inserted the names of the British tribes, we find marked on the *promontory Ocellum*, the name *Parisi*, and there is no doubt that such was the name of the inhabitants of that promontory at the invasion of the Romans," and for his authority quotes Whitaker's History of Manchester.

In page 9, he says, "it is equally certain that *Ocellum* was the name of the district called *Holderness*. The name *from its derivation*, may fairly mean the *Eye*, or exploring place; and *Baxter* agrees with *Camden* that *Ocellum* means *Spurn Head*, or *Protensum Caput* in Parisis, the projecting head in Parisi;" also on the same page he gives the following quotation from Richard of Cirencester, whose Itinera are well known to Antiquaries: "Ad septentrionalem hujus regionis plagam oceano occurrit fluvius Abus, quondam terminorum *provinciæ Maximæ* unus, uti alter *Seteja*. Dicta quoque hæc provincia fuit Brigantiæ Regnum, scilicet ejusdem nominis regionem complexa, tribusque habitata nationibus. In extrema orientali plaga, ubi promontoria Oxellum et Brigantum extrema in mare procurrent, habitant Parisii, quorum urbes Petuaria et Portus Felix."

Having before the year 1821 offered to the public in a periodical paper, some remarks on the *Ocellum Promontorium*, very opposite to the "Observations" of Mr. Thompson, I am induced to reconsider, strengthen, and repeat my arguments in examining the "Observations" I have quoted above.

The reader of Mr. Thompson's pamphlet may perhaps suppose that either Camden, Baxter, or Mr. Thompson himself, had the opinion that "the name (Ocellum) from its *derivation* may fairly mean the *Eye* or exploring place;" therefore I will quote both *Camden* and *Baxter* to show *their* ideas of the "*derivation*," and afterwards give the conjecture of the historian *Drake*, with whom that derivation originated.

Gibson's Camden, edit. 1772, vol. ii. p. 109. "On the very tip of this promontory, where it draws most to a point, and is called *Spurnhead*, stands the little village *Kellnsey*; which name shows plainly that this is the *Ocellum* in *Ptolemy*, for as Kellnsey comes from Ocellum, so without doubt Ocellum is derived from *Y-kill*, which signifies in British a promontory or narrow slip of ground."

I will also here give a further extract from Camden relating to the "*Portuosus Sinus*," as I shall contend against the opinion of that eminent Antiquary, that not *Burlington* but *Filey Bay* has the best claim to that title. "Here (Skipsea) the shore begins again to shoot into the sea, and makes that bay which is called in Ptolemy Ευλιμενον Gabrantovicorum, and which some Latin translators render *Portuosus Sinus*, and others *Salutaris*. Neither of them expresses the sense of the Greek word better than that little town in the return of it, called *Suerby*. There is no reason, therefore, why we should question whether this was the very Ευλιμενον of the Gabrantovici, a people that lived in this neighbourhood." "But why this little people were called Gabrantovici I dare not so much as conjecture, unless perhaps the name was taken from goats, which the Britons called Gaffran, and of which there are not greater numbers in any part of Britain than in this place."

Baxter, p. 186, says, "Ocelum Promontorium quod apud Ptolemæum est, recte videtur Camdeno collocandum ad *Spurn Head*, sive Protensum Caput

in Parisis. Est autem Ocelum de Britannorum *Ychel*, Antiquis forsan *Ochel*, quod est *Excelsum*." In these extracts we do not find the little *Eye*.

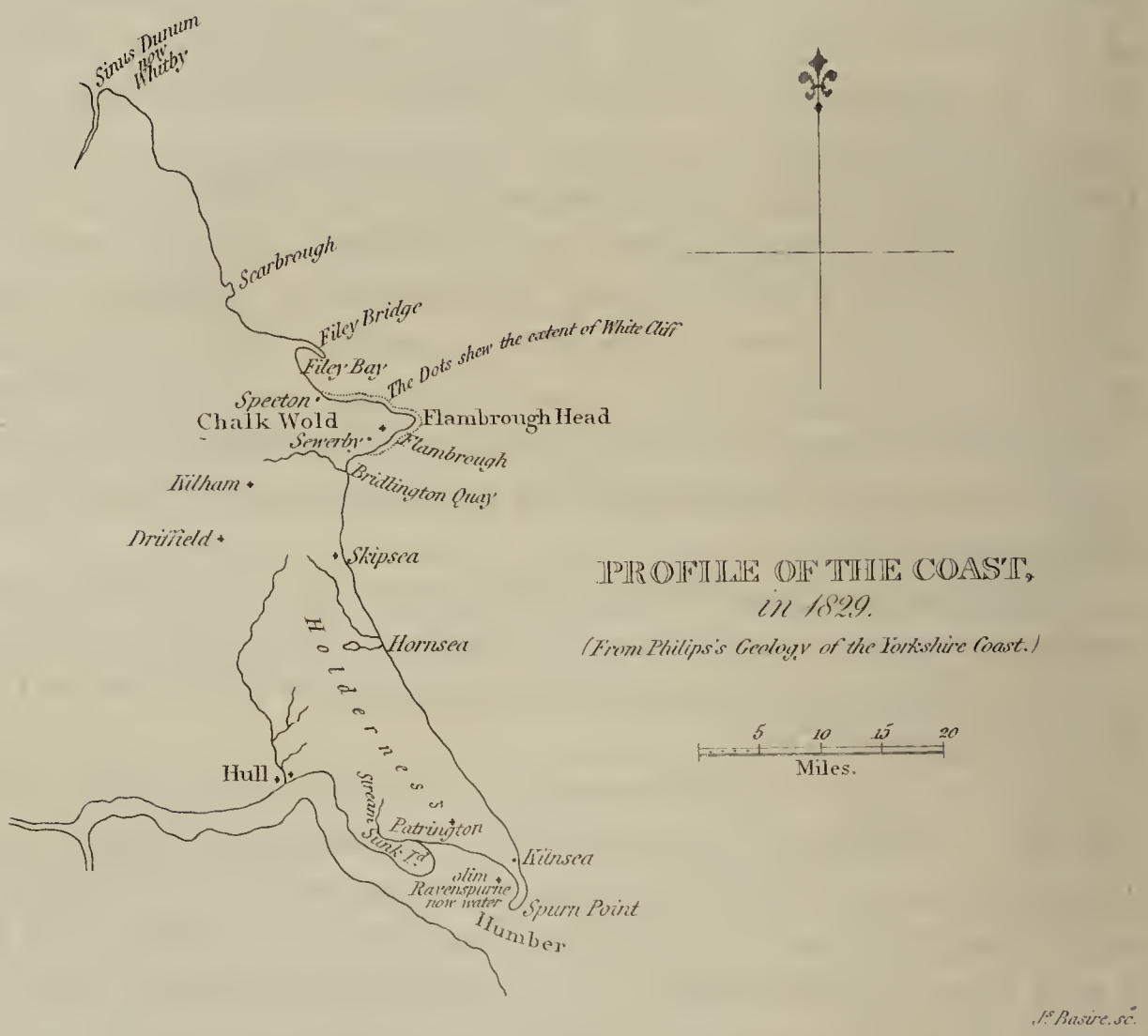
Baxter, p. 124. "Gabrantuic*on* Portus, de commoditate sua Ptolemæo Ευλιμενος Κόλπος appellatus, Latinoque interpreti *Portuosus Sinus;* unde, prodente Camdeno et vicinus Viculus hodie dictus est de securitate loci *Sureby* sive *Securus vicus*, qui in Sinu est Burlington; quem quidem Sinum ille mecum habet pro Gabrantuicon Portu. Quid autem Gabrantuicon Britannis nisi *Gavr ant* (vel gant) *üigon*, quod Capella est ex adversum maris fluctibus? Fluctus enim maris veteribus Britannis et Uigon erat et Uion uti et Saxonibus de motu pæzen, Anglisque *waves* vel *waven*. Kent etiam hodie Corinaviis et Aremoricis pro *Ante* est, de *Kent*, *Caput;* sicuti et nostratibus Gan vel Gant, apud est: *Gavr*, etiam *Capra* est. Fuerit igitur Gavr-ant-üigon Insigne alicujus ad hunc Portum noti Hospitii publici, sicuti et sequens Gabrocentum etiam hodie Gateshead, sive *ad Caprina Capita*. Falsus est igitur Camdenus cum de Gabrantuicon genitivum fecerit pluralem, cum nullus fuerit ejus nominis popellus. Adde quod in nonnullis melioris notæ Ptolemæi libris Γαβραντούικον legatur, non vero Γαβραντουίκων. Quid quod vel ipsum nomen Burlintun (nonnullis vitiose Bridlington) ibridâ dicatur compositione pro *Büch ar lin*, quod caper est ad marinum liquorem? Quid apertius?"

The learned reader will see from the preceding extracts—first, what derivation Camden and Baxter gave to *Ocelum*,—and secondly, their opinions of Portus Felix; and from the following, that the *little Eye* was a conceit of the historian of York.

Drake, p. 30. "To the name of Promontorium in Ptolemy is joined Ocellum; which is the diminutive from *Oculus, a little Eye*. This agrees well with the site of the place, and no doubt in the time of the Romans a watch tower was built here, not only to overlook the mouth of the Humber but as a guard to these coasts. The present name of Spurnhead, called in our English Chronicles Spurenhead, is certainly derived from the Saxon word Spyrian or Spyrizean, exquirere, scrutari, explorare, &c. to look out, watch, or explore. So remarkable a point of land as this was, might serve for the same purpose in their time as well as the former. Here was also formerly a remarkable sea-port town called Ravensburgh. I shall not

descant upon the name of this town, which carries an indelible mark of antiquity along with it."

To the preceding evidences on the question of the real site of *Ocelum* and *Portus Felix* I will place here the following sketches, that the reader may more readily examine and appreciate their testimony. The first object to which I beg attention is the profile of the coast as correctly drawn from the latest survey ;



having passed an eye along that line I will ask, if it was possible for any geographer or hydrographer (supposing the features of the coast to have been in his day nearly, if not exactly, the same in the prominences of the rocks as they are now) to overlook the striking and

extensive Promontory of Flamborough, — a promontory of white chalk, exhibiting for twelve miles in length (by projecting on the north side seven miles, and on the south five into the ocean) a bare perpendicular surface of the same white rock; in the highest part exceeding 300 feet, and surmounted in its western direction by a high earthy ridge, visible from the sea at a distance of thirty miles in sailing along the coast, either from the east, the north, or the south,—and after passing in full view this *Promontory*, without any notice in his survey, to mark, in his description of the same coast, a low, dark, clay bank, not projecting into the sea, but running parallel with it, and call it (erroneously) *a Promontory?* The answer must be that no common sailor, much less a celebrated geographer, could commit such a mistake.

When I add to the preceding extracts, the longitudes and latitudes from Ptolemy, I shall have given all that has been recorded in, or quoted from, ancient authorities on the subject, for the formation of a correct opinion on the real site of *Ocellum Promontorium* and *Portus Felix*, or *Sinus Salutaris*.

Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes:

Abi fluv. Ostia . .	56°	30′	—	21°	0′	east
Ocelum Promontorium	56	40	—	21	15	east
Portuosus Sinus . .	57	0	—	21	0	east
Dunum Sinus . . .	57	30	—	20	45	east

The above are all the places on the coast, now Yorkshire, which Ptolemy has mentioned, and it will be observed, that from Dunum Sinus to Abi fluv. Ostia only *one* promontory is named, although Richard of Cirencester, in a preceding extract, mentions *two*: "Promontoria Oxellum et Brigantum extrema, *in mare* procurrent."

Notwithstanding the incorrectness of Ptolemy's astronomical calculations of the Latitudes and Longitudes, the details appear sufficient for ascertaining the *relative* positions of *Latitude;* and, so far as *England* extends, of *Longitude* also; which the Editors of the Edinburgh Gazetteer have thus remarked: "*England* and *Ireland* (in Ptolemy's Geography) appear correct in their outline, and even the details of the Scottish coast are given with tolerable accuracy." Ptolemy has assigned *different Latitudes* to *Abi fluv.*

Ostia, now *Spurn point*, and *Ocelum Promontorium*; therefore we may conclude without doubt, that *he* did not place *Ocelum* at the *Spurn*:—Abi fluv. 56° 30′, and Ocelum 56° 40′. This difference will not carry Ocelum so far to the north as Flamborough; yet that must have been the *Promontory* intended, for the coast from Ostia Abi to Flamborough is low, very low, therefore Ocelum, the Romanised British word for *high*, (as the Ochel hills and other heights, named Ochel, Uchel, and Uxel, sufficiently testify,) must have meant Flamborough; which being also the only *projection into the sea*, in that distance, no other place can agree with "*in mare procurrent.*" Another confirmation that Ptolemy applied *Promontorium* to *heights*, is derived from the fact that he has given that title to thirteen other places on the British coast, all of which are *High Cliffs*.

By the Longitudes of Ptolemy, *viz.*—Abi fluv. Ostia 21°, and Ocelum Promontorium 21° 15′, we have the confirmation of "in extrema *orientali* plaga;" for, fixing Ocelum at Flamborough, as it must be to agree with Richard of Cirencester's Map, according to Sketch No. 2; it will there be seen, that "*in extrema orientali plaga*" is not placed at the Abi Ostia, or the Spurn, but some distance to the north of it, and there (in extrema orientali) Richard of Cirencester says, that two Promontories existed. It is evident from this observation alone, that Ptolemy and Richard did not, in either of their Maps, place Ocelum Promontorium at the *Spurn* or "Abi Ostia."

It is true that the *Spurn* point which is at "Abi Ostia," is "in extrema *orientali* plaga," as *now* laid down in the charts of the coast, but that does not invalidate the argument that Flamborough Head was, according to Ptolemy, the Ocelum Promontorium. His Longitudes were wrong, but he thought them right, and formed his Map accordingly: and it is *his* intention that is to be established, that is, what place or site he named Ocelum Promontorium.

When Camden was caught by the sound of a name, as he appears to have been by "Killnsea," he imagined that name might be derived from "Y-kill," but, from the meaning he gives to the name, it is clear that he was ignorant that the site of Kilnsea was on a low sea bank, and far from corresponding to the derivation of Y-chil or Ochel; if he had ever seen the place,

doubtless he would have looked for another site entitled to the distinction of a *Promontory*, and would not have derived Kilnsea from Y-kill. Examining that name further, he might have found its derivation in *Ravenchill.* By Domesday book it is shewn that the owner of territory here and at Redmere, a place adjoining, or very near, but long since destroyed by the sea, was one Ravenchill, who probably derived his name from the place, like the well known origin of many other names of the lords or owners of the sites. It is rather remarkable that Baxter should coincide with Camden in the derivation of Killnsea, for he has given us the meaning of *Chil* or *Kil*, but he too cannot have been aware that the site did not agree with the British "Ochel." According to Baxter, *Chil or Kil* means a *recess* or *sinus;* and *Raven* is derived by two[a] eminent etymologists from the same root as *Rain*, and implies *Sea.* *Ravenchill* and *Killnsea* are therefore synonymous, and agree with the feature of the place.

Both the antiquaries, Camden and Baxter, must have known that *Ocellus* was Latin for a *little Eye*, yet *they* did not attempt to fix a Roman watch tower at the Humber mouth from such a name. That the Romans built watch towers on the coast of Britain, they as well as Ptolemy must have known, and had such a tower existed in his time at Abi fluv. Ostia, that geographer would not have overlooked it, but certainly he would not have designated a watch tower by Ocellum ; no such name for a watch tower, I believe, is to be found in any Roman author or historian. Besides, Ocellum is the accusative of Ocellus, and not for that reason appropriate as a name. That the Romans gave a Latin termination to British names is well known, and this confirms the opinion that the Ochel of the Britons was Romanized into Ochellum or Ocellum, as was Uchel into Uxellum, or Uxellodunum in other places. The historian of York imagined also that the watch tower first erected by the Romans as "*a little Eye*," was continued by the Saxons as a *Spying* place, and called a *Spurn* or Spuren, from *Spyrian*, the Saxon for "to look out," &c. &c.

It might be expected that such a building would have left some "wreck behind," or that some historical or traditional knowledge of it might have

[a] General Vallancey and Dyer.

been found. In the absence of even the least confirmation of either kind, and from strong evidence of the real origin and meaning of *Spurn*, our assent cannot be given to the conclusions of *Drake*, and the confident assertions of the worthy but mistaken *Thomas Thompson*, Esquire, of Cottingham, who tells us that "it is *certain* 'Ocellum' was the name of a *district* called Holderness;" so that *the little Eye* was not only a *watch tower* but a sea coast of some thirty miles in length. It appears strange that a person (who from his residence at Hull had a perfect knowledge of the coast) recording his observations of the Humber and its *sea ports*, and particularly calling attention to one port, which by its name might have suggested the origin of *Spurne*, and having argued in favour of its having been a Roman station, and a port from which the Romans shipped corn for the Rhine, should have overlooked an origin so evident. In *Ravenspurne*, no doubt a very ancient seaport, situate just within the mouth of the Humber, we actually see the much mistaken origin of *Spurne* and *Spurne Point*. The termination of this name is all that now remains of a very ancient town, but it is questionable if it was ever a *Roman* seaport. Here again we have to correct error in etymology, for Mr. Thompson says, the name *Ravenspurne* intimates its *Saxon* existence; meaning, I understand, that the two words forming the name, *Raven*, or Raun, as anciently pronounced, and *Spurne*, are both *Saxon*; let us observe the application of both names, for then we shall most probably find the interpretation of them to be the *features* of the country.

Ravens*bourne*, *burn*, *spurne*, and *sere*, have been the names by which this site was distinguished. *Raven* we find on the sea coast, sometimes pronounced *Rain* or *Ren*, as near Speton we have Rain or *Ren*-cliff, and near Whitby on the coast *Raven*hill, and not only on the sea coast but near water in inland places, Raven, Rain, and Ren form part of the local names. Modern and eminent etymologists inform us, as I have observed before, that *Raven* is derived from the same root as Rain, and implies Sea and Water. *Bourne*, *Burn*, and *Spurn*, (the latter evidently derived from the former, as *b* and *p*, it is well known, are commutable in ancient names,) are the names of streams, brooks, rivulets, as numerous sites testify. *Sere* is also a stream, as the river Isere, &c. Ravensbourne then implies a sea brook, or stream running into a large river. The same name occurs in Kent, a rivulet

there runs into the Thames, and is now called Ravensbourne. Can it be requisite to show further that *Spurn* (Gaelic), or Spurne Point, is merely the latter part of the name of the feature of the place, and afterwards of that of the town or seaport, which took its name, as many others have done, from the original name of the site, and which existed ages before the town; as *Scar-de-berg*, on the same coast, was the name of a striking feature before the Castle of the Albemarles was erected on its brow, and under its protection a town afterwards rose to eminence. Also Strenshale (now Whitby, from Whit,[b] high), meaning Strand-hill.

In Domesday Book neither *Ravenspurne* nor Scar-de-berg, *Scarborough*, are to be found; therefore, not being known as towns then, we may conclude that, instead of a town, Ravensbourne was merely a creek in the time of the Romans, and that Prætorium was the Roman town or station, situate further within the Humber; Mr. Thompson, in his "Observations," has given an opinion that the Roman *Prætorium* was at *Ravenspurne*. The following extracts, if worthy of any notice on the subject, decide differently, and as authority the Itinera are held in high estimation by Antiquaries.

Antonine, Iter I.		Richard, Iter V. the same as Iter I. of Antonine.		and Iter XVII. from Lincoln—Lindo	
from Eboraco					
to Derventione	m. p. VII	.. ..	m. p. VII	to In Medio ..	m. p. XV
Delgovicia	m. p. XIII	.. ..	m. p. XIII	Ad Abum ..	m. p. XV
				unde transis in Maximam	
Præturio ..	m. p. XXV	.. ..	m. p. XXV	Ad Petuariam ..	m. p. VI
				deinde Eboraco ut Iter V.	m. p. XLV.

The site of Prætorium and Petuaria (for, whichever name is most correct, the site is the same,) must be forty-five Roman miles, or m. p. (mille passuum), from York; and the breadth of the Abos at that site, 6 m. p. (six miles?); also the distance from the south side of the Abos or Abum to Lincoln thirty miles. No site agrees so well with these particulars as Pa-

[b] Many places having the pronomen *Whit* corrupted to *White*, are on hills. In *Whit*stone *Cliff*, Yorkshire, the stone is dark, not white; yet it is often called White. Also *Whit*well, near Malton, on the brow of a hill, is frequently misnamed White. Many other instances occur. This is confirmed by the modern etymologist I have before alluded to.

trington Haven; therefore, at or near Patrington we may, with the greatest probability at least, fix the *Prætorium* of the Roman Itinerary in Britain.

The mention of only *one* promontory by Ptolemy on the Yorkshire coast raises a doubt of the correctness of Richard, or his transcribers, in the word *Promontoria;* for "Ocelum Promontorium et extrema Brigantum" might, and perhaps did, mean only one Promontory; Extrema is either an adjective or a noun plural, and cannot in either case imply a Promontory; most certainly "Extrema Brigantum" could not indicate in the slightest degree *a Promontory*, had not the previous "Promontoria," and the conclusion "in mare procurrent," led to that construction. If, however, two Promontories were intended, apparently *in contiguity*, as "*Ubi*" intimates, which is highly improbable, where shall we find a proper neighbour to the lofty and magnificent Flambrough? Not a projection into the sea appears on the south side, and on the north, the nearest is the Mole at Filey. It is not improbable that this mole was once covered by a similar mass of earth as that which now rests upon the adjoining cliff, and that the stone base of that mass also once presented a more elevated front to the sea. Supposing the Mole, now appearing above low water mark, to have extended for a mile, and the ridge, by soundings, is found under the sea for two miles, another Promontory would then have existed at Filey. But dark and insignificant as, comparatively with Flamborough, or Flamburg, the Filey Promontory might appear, yet no other projection into the sea on this coast could vie with it, and the low Saxon Ness at the Spurn, had no pretensions to the name from either its site or appearance, any more than *Clea Ness* on the opposite side of the Humber, or *Skitter Ness* higher up the stream; against all of which the tides rise nearly to their level. The modern name (Flamburg or Flamborough) of the ancient Ocelum Promontorium, is of Danish original, and of similar import to *Flenborg* in Denmark, implying a hill, or cliff on the sea, or on water. *Flen* and *Flam* are synonymes, both, according to a celebrated etymologist, implying *Stream* or moving water.

Although the Spurn Ness projects now into the Humber, yet from the changes it has undergone, and also the site of Ravenspurne town being now always overflowed by the river, it may be questioned whether the land here did in Ptolemy's time project even into the Abos, certainly not into the sea,

for the Holderness coast and the Spurn point of land ranges with the line of the Lincolnshire coast, and if the Humber was taken away, and the sea-tides prevented flowing up by an embankment, then only a valley or slight undulation would separate the two counties: this view strengthens the opinion that Ptolemy's Ocellum could not be at the Abi Ostia or the Spurn Ness. It is evident that the Ness has been formed by the changeable windings of a powerful stream, which have scooped a hollow on the Yorkshire bank and deserted the Lincolnshire side.

If we examine the Chart of Ptolemy published by the Society of Antiquaries, and sketched in No. 1, (see Plate IX.) we shall see a projection of land into the sea adjoining a bay, which is designated "Gabrantuicorum Portuosus Sinus." This projection, if elevated ground, must have been a promontory, and on the scale of that Chart must have been equal to Flamborough; and, according to the distance from Abi Ostia, it is on the same site. Where "Ocellum" is placed, no projection appears, and knowing the low state of the coast there, which in the earliest ages must have been the same, can we hesitate in fixing Ocelum at this projection? Surely not.

In Sketch No. 2, of Bertram's Chart, added by him to Richard of Cirencester's description of Britain, from other ancient authorities, we see "Brigantum Extrema" placed to the most easterly projection north of the Abos, and "Ocelum Promontorium" without any distinctive mark, but stretching along the coast from Extrema Brigantum to the Abos. The "Extrema" here can apply only to "Plaga," or the broad projection of the land, as "Etrema Flavia" does on the more southern part of the east coast, confirming the opinion of only one Promontory, according to Ptolemy.

In Sketch No. 3, I have placed the name "Ocelum" to the projection in Ptolemy's Chart which appears most appropriate in the two rude outlines, as they certainly are, of this coast.

The Sketch No. 4, presents an elevation drawn in due proportion, of Spurn point, and the White Cliff Promontory of Flamborough.

Filey Bay (the Portuosus Sinus) and Filey (the Portus Felix) of Ptolemy and the Romans.

Having declared my intention of opposing the opinion of Camden (from

a conviction of its error), and of showing that Filey and the Bay, and not Bridlington or Bridlington Bay, were the Portuosus Sinus and Portus Felix; and having fixed, I think truly, Ocellum Promontorium at Flamborough, the only consideration that follows, (if I am right in the site of the Promontory,) is where to the *north* of it the *Portus Felix* and the Bay were situated; for to the *north* we must look, and in consequence deprive Bridlington Bay and all places to the south of any claim; a claim resting solely on Camden, the celebrated author of the "Magna Britannia," certainly an authority not to be opposed on slight grounds. Camden depending, as he acknowledges, entirely on a name, to which he has inadvertently given a wrong construction, tells us, *that name* alone determines the site. His words, as I have quoted before from Gibson's edition of the Britannia, are, that "the little town *Sureby* expresses the sense of Ptolemy's *Eulimenon*, as well as Portuosus Sinus or Salutaris, therefore there is no reason to question that Sureby is the very Sinus Salutaris."

A knowledge of the coast would have prevented this conclusion. *Sureby*, or as now named *Sewerby*, is not a sea port; it is merely a small village near a perpendicular cliff, too high for any possibility of an immediate or direct communication with the sea by a port, nor is there any anchorage under the shelter of its cliff. There is no reason to suppose its origin more ancient than Bridlington, (for the names may be equally traced to the Celtic), and in importance it has not any appearance of ever having been a rival to Bridlington in any way; the circuitous communication from the sea with *Sureby* must always have prevented the site from being convenient as a maritime residence, either in a military or commercial view, but other reasons, perhaps more decisive, will appear.

The only sense in which Suerby can agree with Salutaris, is a Sure or Safe Dwelling; but Sureby does not mean in ancient names a sure or safe dwelling, as *Camden* suggests, and in which *Baxter*, in quoting him, appears to acquiesce; but that he should, must surprise any person who knows that in his Glossary he has given the *Celtic* meaning of *Sar*, *Sor*, *Sur*, and the *Anglo-Saxon* of *Sowr;* in both languages they imply *Amnis* or *Flumen*. *Seurby* means from this derivation a Dwelling on a Stream, and that is the feature of the site at Sewerby; a small stream of fresh water issues from the

cliff on which the village stands; in confirmation we find *Sowerby* the present name of similar sites. Ptolemy's Greek does not appear to apply to any Celtic name, it is merely descriptive of a Fine Bay and Safe Port, and situate not far north of Ocellum Promontorium, for Ptolemy's latitude fixes it at 57°, and Ocellum at 56° 40′.

At the Roman invasion of Britain, the bays and ports were all in their natural state; no artificial moles, piers, or breakwaters defended either one or the other. We have then to look for a bay and port answering this description and situation. On the whole of the Yorkshire coast we cannot find a bay which can rival in any degree in natural security the Bay of Filey. The promontory, now a mole, on the north side of this Bay, would afford the best protection to ships or gallies that existed from Dunum Sinus to Ocellum; and the mole, even in its present state, is the best natural protection for ships in the entire extent of that distance. Within the mole there always has been good anchorage for larger ships than were navigated by the Romans, and the approach open to the sea from every quarter without danger. We saw the little fleet of twelve Filey fivemen boats, and vessels of larger burthen than Roman gallies, riding safely at anchor under the shelter of this mole when a gale of wind from the north and north-east was driving the waves furiously on that protecting rocky *reef, ridge, mole, pila*, or, erroneously, *bridge.*

Should Scarborough appear to agree better with Ptolemy's latitude, it must be observed that the coast there is so covered with rocks, so unsheltered, and without anchorage, that in its natural state it could not be a "Sinus Salutaris," or "Portus Felix;" besides, from the known errors of Ptolemy in his calculations, except as an approximation to the relative north or south site of his bays and harbours, we cannot determine by *exact* distances, as *now* ascertained, their real place on the coast.

Why this bay and port were called "Gabrantuicorum," Camden says, "he dare not so much as conjecture;" yet afterwards hazards an explanation, certainly a strange one, that it originated from "Goats," of which he says, that "there are not a greater number in any part of Britain than in this place." If that was the fact in *Camden's* time, it is clear that the breed is now entirely lost; and why, it would be difficult to explain, when the

country is as proper now for goats as it ever can have been. But is it not rather a comical conjecture that the inhabitants were called *Goats* because the country produced such animals? *Baxter* does not allow that the name was applied to the inhabitants, but to the features of the coast, wavering in his explanation, between *Capella* and *Caput* as the meaning of "*Gabrant.*" He considers that Camden errs in the name by calling it "*Gabrantui*-CORUM," when the original Greek is *Gabrant*UICON, and "Uicon" he translates "*fluctus,*" in English "*Waves.*" As I cannot agree with Camden, whose opinion is not confirmed by either history or tradition, that no part of Britain was more famous, or, indeed, that this part ever was famous in any respect for *Goats,* although the region of the adjoining wolds no doubt always was for *Sheep,* to which not improbably Camden might apply the name of *Goats;* and also, as I cannot find any authority in Gaelic names for either *Capella* or *Caput* as the meaning of *Gabrant,* I will venture to offer a different etymological derivation, certain that I cannot err more egregiously than one at least of those celebrated antiquaries. I am encouraged by Mr. Thompson to dip into etymology, for he says, "Every antiquary must of necessity be an etymologist,—to enable him to illustrate ancient compound names." And an etymologist of high rank induces me more powerfully to venture an opinion:—he says, "the author of this Treatise (A Restoration of the Ancient Modes of bestowing Names on the Rivers, Hills, Vallies, Plains, and Settlements of Britain, published 1805), boasts of no literary attainments, but in pursuing his subject, the deficiency of learning became a very inferior consideration. *He perceived that the etymology of old names proceeded from roots hitherto unknown, and he was obliged* HIMSELF *to show this truth.*—With REASON and REFLECTION for his guides, the author has endeavoured to open a path to the Etymology of Old Names. From his expositions of the denominations of the Island, its Provinces, Towns, Rivers, Vallies, and Plains, he conceives that these have been, with very few exceptions, WRONGLY RENDERED BY ALL OUR AUTHORS!"

Instead of considering *Gabrant* as one word, according to Camden and Baxter; authorised by the principles of etymology adopted in the last Treatise, I will divide it into GA and BRANT, both Gaelic names; the first implies *Hill,* as GAU and CAU; G and C being commutable; *Brant* is *Water,*

either *Sea* or *River*, and is found in names of rivers at this day in Britain; thus we have a *hill* on the *Sea*, or a River; and *Uici* is also Gaelic, in *Orduici*, &c. a British tribe, and as best explained in that name, means *Dwellers;* the interpretation of *Gabrantuici*, from the site to which it is applied, is evidently, "Inhabitants of the Hill or High Ground on the sea-coast."

In Bertram's Map, see No. 2, (Plate IX.) the name *Parisi* appears on the district now called *Holder*ness; and *Parisi*, according to the interpretation of the Treatise before mentioned, implies *Dwellers* on the Water Land, which is nearly synonymous with *Holder* in Holderness. The name Gabrantuici, (Dwellers on the Sea Hill, or Cliff,) agrees best with the cliffs and hills of Filey Bay, and least (or not in the least) with Burlington or Bridlington Bay, where the coast is very low. The latter names do not synonymise with *Gabrantuici*, although no doubt ancient. *Brid* is *Stream*, and the name of the river at *Brid*port. *Bur*[a] is *border*, and both *Bur* and *Brid* are appropriate, the first to the site on the border of the sea, and the second to the stream which runs into the sea there; and consequently either name might be used by the earliest inhabitants. *Ing*-ton or *Ling*-ton, has the same meaning in both names and is very common; the *l* might be inserted to soften the sound, being what Grammarians call a liquid, or it may change the word from Stream Ings or Border Ings to Stream Land or Border Land.

The interpretation here given, from the authority of the latest and closest investigation of an able modern Etymologist, to *Gabrantuici* (Dwellers on the Sea Hill) strengthens in no small degree the claim of Filey Bay to the Roman distinction of *Sinus Salutaris*. With a *Bay* so distinguished, we ought to expect a Roman communication into the interior country, an expectation not disappointed, for we can trace an undoubted Roman road from this *Bay* to the British and Roman-British *Camulodunum* (Malton) and thence to the *Vallum* and *Caledonia*.

[a] *Bur* may also be an abbreviation of *burn*, a *stream*, if so, a synonyme of *brid*. The *buch-ar-lin* of Baxter is too wild. Brydancombe, Bredcombe, Burcombe, near Wilton, Shropshire; in Domesday it is called Burcombe.

A stream near Bath is called the Bure.

This Roman road has lately been rendered remarkable by the discovery of an immense collection of ashes and burnt human bones, fragments of urns, and Roman coins. A large urn, filled with ashes and burnt human bones, was found in a tumulus at Knapton, near some lines of ancient entrenchments; and has been presented by ——— Tindall, Esq. to Thomas Hinderwell, Esq. the Historian of Scarborough. The annexed is a representation of it:



	Ft.	In.
Height . .	1	6
Circumference of top rim	2	2
Ditto middle	4	8
Ditto bottom	1	9

Colour a brick red.

The ashes, burnt bones, Roman coins, fragments of urns, and one entire human skeleton found at Knapton, covered the remarkable extent of two acres and a half, from two to five feet deep. Time had covered this great collection of human ashes with a coat of firm earth and grass.

These ashes were all carried to the tillage land for the turnip crop. "To what strange uses may we come at last!"

The historian of York, Drake, mentions a Roman camp at Flotmanby, on the same road. And Scampston or *Camp*-ton sufficiently indicates another Roman site, near which there are tumuli yet remaining.

If the Roman geography gave the name of "Sinus Salutaris" to Filey Bay, which the evidence produced in the preceding sketch by the natural features and records appears to confirm, then, perhaps we are led to a better origin of the name (Filey) than Camden in the following extract has given: "As the shore winds itself back a thin slip of land, (like a small

tongue thrust out), shoots into the sea, such as the old English called *File;* from which the little village *Filey* takes its name." In another part of Camden's Britannia (Lancashire), we have the following remark on a district called *File:* "*File*, as one would guess, for the *Field*, yet in the records of the Tower it is expressed by the Latin word *Lima*, which signifies a *File*, a smith's instrument." And on the maps of Lancashire we find *Pile* sands in the sea on the coast; also on the Ness of Walney Island in the sea, the rocks are called *Pile* or *Pile* of *Foudray*. May not File be a corruption of *Pile?* That the Romans occupied that part of Britain, the historian of it, *Whitaker*, has sufficiently proved: and that they gave the Roman name *Pila*, Phila, as pronounced anciently, now *Pile*, expressive of a mole, as the sands and rocks of Walney Point yet shew, we can scarcely doubt: if this is correct, we have the Roman *Pila* for *Pile*, *File*, *Filey*, the original name of the mole or "Brig," in the bay now called Filey Bay. Camden has called this shelving ridge of rock, a thin "slip of land;" another proof that he never visited this coast, for the reef is half a mile broad next the cliff, and there on the north side twenty-five feet high at the least, stretching into the sea more than half a mile from the projecting cliff, which is also half a mile more in length, therefore the whole length as now seen from Filey sands is one mile; and, from the annexed Sketch, this reef rising in the direction of the sea, and extending in former ages above the sea, at least two miles further, as the soundings prove, must have been a striking promontory.





Outline of

FILEY BAY to FLAMBROUGH HEAD,
and to
BRIDLINGTON QUAY.

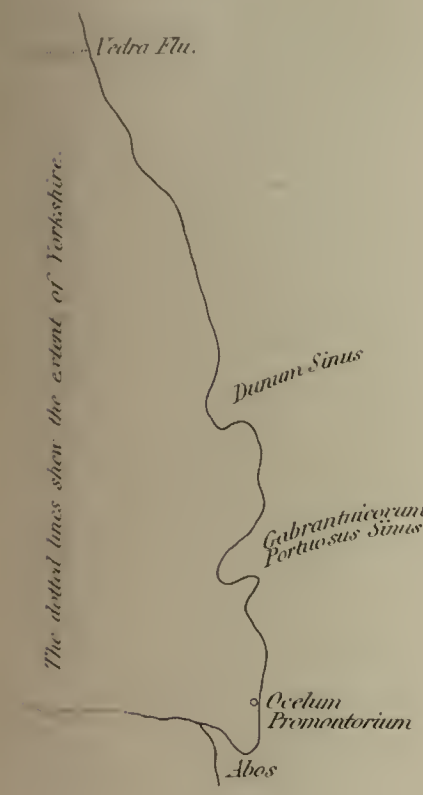
From Filey Bridge to the King & Queen of the small detached rocks at Speeton Cliff, the distance is four miles.

F. Basire sc.

The length from the east end shown above, to where the rock disappears in the sand at the west end, is half a mile; the rock extends into and above the sea at the least half a mile from the east end, therefore the rise of rock at its extremity in the sea according to the above scale, in which it rises more than twenty feet, would be perhaps more than fifty feet, a height and a projection too large to escape the observation of any hydrographer, and therefore might be the second promontory of Bertram's edition of Richard Cirencester. The present low state of the mole at the sea extremity, has evidently been caused by the violence of the waves, which have torn up the strata from their various beds. But as the reef, pile, or file, extends two

The
YORKSHIRE COAST.
secundum
Claudium Ptolemæum
from Gen.l Roy's Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain, published by the Society of Antiquaries MDCCXCIII.

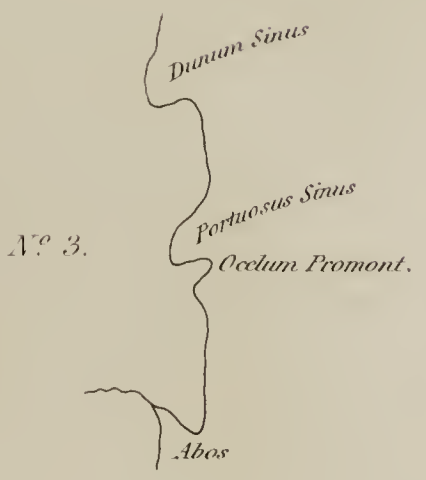
N.o 1.



N.o 2.



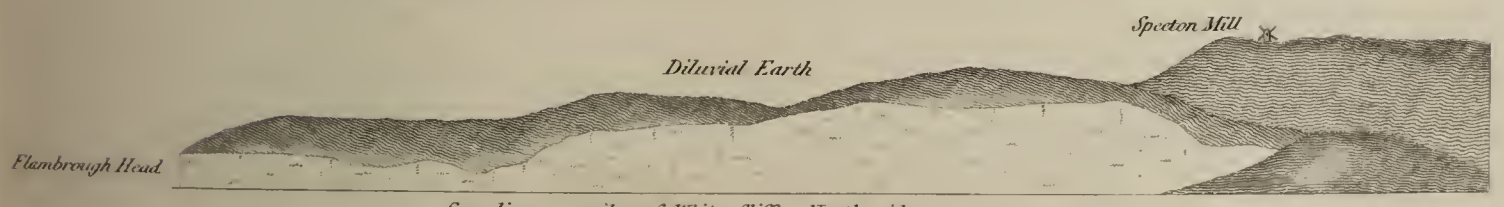
N.o 3.



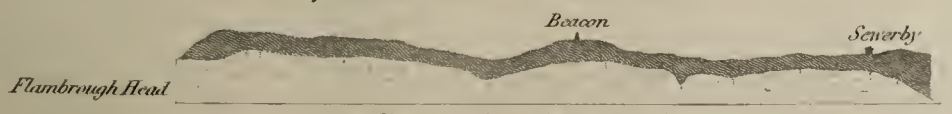
From
BERTRAM'S MAP OF BRITAIN.
part of the East Coast.

This Map was added to Richard of Cirencester's Itinera, published MDCCCIX, *in London, and drawn by Bertram from ancient Maps.*

Appearance of Ocelum Promontorium *now* Flambrough Head. *From the Sea.*

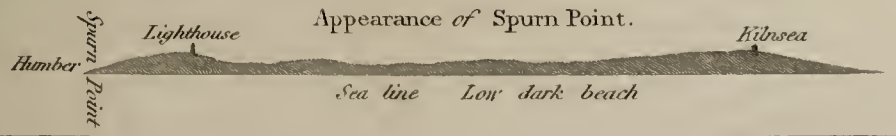


Sea line. 7 miles of White Cliff. North side



Sea line. 5 miles of White Cliff. South side.

Appearance *of* Spurn Point.



J.s Basire sculp.

Outlines of the Yorkshire Coast near Flamborough Head.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23.rd April 1833.

miles under the sea, as ascertained by soundings, if we allow a continuation of the rise for only one mile further above the sea, at the time of the Roman possession of this bay, then we have a promontory of one hundred feet elevation at its head; and consequently two promontories "in extrema orientali plaga" of Richard of Cirencester. At low tides a branch of stones appears from the natural mole, laid with such regularity as to show that an attempt has been made, at some period beyond the memory of man, to form a pier to improve the shelter of the natural mole for ships requiring a considerable depth of water; and within this, quite in the angle formed by the earthy cliff with the mole, a harbour for small vessels or fishing boats has existed, probably for laying up in the winter; the place is yet marked by a few of the stones remaining where a sea wall, for protection from storms with a southerly wind, once guarded the property of the resident fishermen, who yet call it the haven.

In this bay, naturally the best sheltered and always affording an extensive firm anchorage, we can have no doubt that a fleet of Roman gallies, the *ælia classica* or light frigates, *naves lusoriæ*, known to have been stationed on this coast, must frequently have anchored in their cruises for its protection. Scarborough Bay having a shore of black rocks and scars, only slightly covered in places with sand, afforded no anchorage and very little shelter from tempestuous winds. And Burlington Bay, no better guarded from wind although possessing good anchorage, could be considered only a *fine weather* bay. It is evident then that Filey Bay would be a principal station or rendezvous for the fleets of the Romans during their sovereignty of the island.

We must leave the omission of Ptolemy, who names only one promontory on this part of the coast, entirely unaccounted for if two promontories really existed, unless the magnificent superiority in extent, height, and colour, of Ocelum Promontorium so far eclipsed the other as to render it unworthy the notice of Ptolemy.

IX. *Charters relative to the Priory of Trulegh in Kent; Communicated by Sir* THOMAS PHILLIPPS, *Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., in a Letter to* JOHN GAGE, *Esq., F.R.S., Director.*

Read 7th June, 1832.

DEAR SIR,

DURING my last excursion to France I had the good fortune to preserve some original charters relative to the Priory of Trulegh in Kent, which was a Cell to the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer, in France, of which Priory very little has been discovered either by Dugdale, Tanner, or the Editors of the New Monasticon.

In addition to the charters in my own possession, I found in the library at St. Omer the Cartulary itself of the Priory, written on paper, probably about the fifteenth century. Tanner refers to the following works concerning this Priory:

The Monasticon, tom. i. page 1038.
Stevens's Supplement, vol. i. p. 40.
Hasted's Kent, vol. ii. p. 767-9.
Prynne's Records, vol. iii. p. 707-1021.
Somneri Vita Walteri Reynolds, Archiep. Cant.

The Deeds, which I have the honour of laying before the Society, consist of the original Grant of Trulegh from Hamond fitz Herfrey to the Abbey of St. Bertin, at the request of Marsilius the Monk, for the soul of himself, Mabilia his former wife, and of his parents, in perpetual alms, in which grant his wife Matilda and his sons and daughters join. And the Convent granted on their part, that the said Hamond should partake of all the benefits of mass, alms, vigils, fasts, prayers, &c. in the said church;

and that his anniversary should be enrolled in their Martyrology, and recited annually in their Chapter.

Among the witnesses are,

Clarembald, Abbot of Feversham,

Hugh, Sheriff of Kent,[a]

Bartholomew de Badlesmere and Peter de Badlesmere his brother.

The Bull of Adrian is a confirmation of the grant or confirmation of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Leo, Abbot of St. Bertin, of the rectories of Trulegh and Chilham in Kent.

With the deeds here transcribed, several other bulls and charters were found, it is said, in digging up the foundations of the Abbey of St. Josse, all relating to the Abbey of St. Bertin.

The history of these Deeds since the Revolution, is so singular that I may perhaps be excused if I relate it here, although its romantic air may incline some persons to doubt its truth.

It is said that at the time of the destruction of monasteries in France, the Convent of St. Bertin at St. Omer, hoping the fury of the Revolution in 1789-92 would soon be spent, and that they might afterwards return and resume their former possessions, resolved to secure their most ancient and valuable documents, by sending them to another monastery (the Abbey of St. Josse), in Normandy or Picardy, with orders that they should be buried under the foundations of that Abbey.

This I am told was executed; for upon the sale of monastic lands, which cut off for ever the return of the monks, the Abbey of St. Josse was sold to a gentleman (the father of the person from whom they were bought) who determined to erect a house upon the site or with the materials of the ruins, and in excavating the foundations for that purpose, he is said to have discovered a box containing these deeds and bulls, among which, I was informed, the original foundation charter of the Monastery of St. Bertin was found, of the seventh or eighth century. This valuable charter was included in my purchase; but it had been previously sent for the inspection of the Bishop of

[a] Hugh de Dover is the only Hugh who was sheriff of Kent at the period in which this charter must have been written, and his shrievalty lasted three years, from the 8th to the 11th of Henry II. between 1162 and 1165. Hasted says, the rectory was granted by William de Ipré in 1153 to St. Bertin.

Arras, and could not be immediately procured. The whole of the collection was purchased at Calais from the gentleman who I believe was the son of the discoverer, and who gave me this statement.

If the Society should deem these notes worthy of preservation in the Archæologia, I shall feel happy in having contributed to its stores of information; but I consider their chief value to be, the supplying a deficiency in the New Monasticon.

I am, dear Sir, very truly yours,
THOMAS PHILLIPPS.

To JOHN GAGE, Esq.
Director of the Soc. Antiq.

Grant of Trulegh, in Kent, to the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer, in France.

Universis Sanctæ Ecclesiæ fidelibus Hamundus filius Herefridi salutem. Notum sit tam futuris quam presentibus quod Ego Hamundus filius Herefridi, cum uxore mea Matilde filiisq3 meis et filiabus, pariterq3 petitione karissimi nostri Marsilii monachi, concessi et dedi Abbati G. et Monachis Ecclesiæ S^ti^ Bertini, pro salute animæ meæ et uxoris meæ Mabiliæ et parentum meorum, Ecclesiam de Thrulege in elemosinam, liberè et quietè in perpetuum possidendam. Sed et ipsi Monachi concesserunt, omnium beneficiorum quæ fiunt in supradictâ Ecclesiâ suâ in perpetuum me esse participem: Missarum, videlicet, elemosinarum, vigiliarum, jejuniorum, orationum, et aliorum bonorum quibus ille locus in æternum vacabit. Concessum est etiam mihi anniversarium meum in Martyrologio eorum post obitum meum scribendum, et in capitulo eorum annuatim recitandum. Nemo igitur super predictâ Ecclesiâ predictis Monachis fiat molestus, nec animæ suæ adquirat periculum, unde meæ adquiro premium.

Legitimè namq3 eam illis in elemosinam confero, et legitimè collatam presenti cartâ confirmo. Hujus rei testes sunt Clarembaldus Abbas de Fauresham, Normannus monachus ejus, Nicholaus decanus, Magister Osbertus, Haymo presbyter de Trulegh, Ædmundus presbyter de Chilleham, Willielmus filius Alexi, Thomas clericus, Karolus clericus, Willielmus clericus de Chilleham, Hugo Vicecomes de Chent, Bartholomeus de Badelesmere,

Petrus frater ejus, Clemens de Scrinlinge, Osbertus de Hucham, Gilebertus camerarius Vicecomitis, Daniel de Sillingehull, et alii plures.

Indorsed,

" Karta Haymonis de Truleia primum donum."

Seal of green wax,—a man on horseback with sword and shield.

I transcribe both to shew the variation in the orthography of the proper names.

Universis Sanctæ Ecclesiæ fidelibus H. filius Herefridi sãl. Notum sit tam futuris quam presentibus quod Ego Haymo filius Herefredi, cum uxore mea Matilda et filiis meis et filiabus, concessi Abbati G. et Monachis Ecclesiæ S'ti Bertini, pro salute animæ meæ et uxoris meæ Mabiliæ et parentum meorum, Ecclesiam de Thruleche, in possessionem liberè et quietè in perpetuum habendam. Sed et ipsi Monachi omnium beneficiorum quæ fiunt in Ecclesiâ suâ in perpetuum me concesserunt esse participem: Missarum, scilicet, elemosinarum, vigiliarum, jejuniorum, orationum, et aliorum bonorum, quibus locus ille in æternum vacabit. Concessum est etiam mihi anniversarium meum in martirologio eorum post obitum meum scribendum, et capitulo eorum annuatim recitandum. Nemo igitur super predictâ Ecclesiâ predictis monachis fiat molestus nec animæ suæ adquirat periculum, unde meæ adquiro premium. Legitimè namqȝ eam illis in elemosinam confero, et legitimè collatam presenti cartâ confirmo. Testes: Clarebaldus, Abbas de Fareshom, Normannus monachus ejus, Nicholaus dechanus, Magister Osbertus, Haymo presbyter de Trulee, Eadmundus presbiter de Chillehom, Willielmus filius Elsi, Thomas clericus, Karolus clericus, Willielmus clericus de Chillehom, Hugo Vicecomes de Chent, Bartholomeus de Bedelesmere, Petrus frater ejus, Clemens de Scrinlinge, Osbertus de Huchom, Gilebertus camerarius Vicecomitis, Daniel de Silinghulle.

Indorsed,

" De Trullega—H. filius Herefridi."

Seal of white wax painted brown, a man on horseback, as before.
Legend, " Sigillum Amunde fil. Herfrei."

Bull of Pope Adrian the Fourth confirming the Grant of Trulegh.

Adrianus Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Leoni, Abbati S^ti^ Bertini, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ea quæ venerabilibus locis et viris, sub habitu religionis gratum Deo dependentibus famulatum a fidelibus Christianis rationabiliter tribuuntur, in suâ debent firmitate persistere, ac ne procella temporis quorumlibet presumptione turbentur, auctoritatis nostræ paginâ communiri. Inde est, dilecte in Domino fili, quod utilitati et quieti commissi tibi cenobii providere volentes, Ecclesias de Chilleam et de Trulleia cum appendiciis suis, quas venerabilis frater noster Theobaldus, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, canonice tibi et cenobio tuo concessit, et scripti sui paginâ roboravit. Nos etiam auctoritate apostolicâ confirmamus, et perpetuis temporibus eidem Monasterio illibatas permanere sancimus. Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ confirmationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contra-ire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli, Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Data Beneventi 6 Kalendis Februarii.

Indorsed,

" Adriani PP. 4, de Trullegâ et Chilham."

With the leaden Bull attached.

X. *Survey of the Manor and Forest of Clarendon, Wiltshire, in 1272; Communicated by Sir* Thomas Phillipps, *Bart. F.R.S., F.S.A., in a Letter addressed to* Henry Ellis, *Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 2d February, 1832.

14, Stratford Place, 20 Dec. 1831.

DEAR SIR,

I SEND you a Survey of the Royal Manor of Clarendon in Wiltshire, made in the first year of King Edward the First. When I resided at Salisbury in 1821, I obtained leave to dig on the site of Clarendon Palace in order to discover the plan of it. In the course of searching for the traces of the foundations, I found some painted glass, Norman tiles, and fragments of painted stucco; but I should doubt their being part of any thing described here, for it is most probable that the walls had been often fresh painted and the windows new glazed since the time of Henry the Third or Edward the First. The painted glass, however, was very thick, which is a mark I believe of great antiquity.

Among the late Lord Radnor's papers I found an anecdote stating that "Our Lady Marchioness" (of Northampton, married secondly to Sir Thomas Gorges), "speaking of her house to the Queen" (Elizabeth), "said she had built Longford Castle to be a more convenient lodge to her Majestie when she came to hunt at Clarendon Park, than Wilton, which was three miles further off."

From this, therefore, we may infer the Palace was then uninhabitable.

I hope the Communication will not prove altogether uninteresting; and I remain,

Very truly yours,

THOMAS PHILLIPPS.

Visus Manerii de Clarendon, A° 1 E. I.

Visus de statu Manerii de Clarendon et Forestæ de Clarendone cum eor. ptin. fc̃us die S. Mich. anno regni E. fil. H. 1^mo^. per Walterum de Stircheslegh, tunc Vice Comitem Wilts., et per Dominos Hugonem le Engleis, Joh̃ de Grimstede, Joh̃ de Monemue, et W'm de Derneforde, Milites, p ꝑceptum Dñi Regis, qui dicunt, per visum quem fecerunt, quòd

Aula Domini Regis indiget cooperturâ scindularum et emendacione trium boterarum extra murum ejusdem Aulæ in parte aquilonari.

Paneteria et Buteleria sunt in bono statu, hoc excepto quòd duæ fenestræ deficiunt in Buteleriâ.

In Lardario deficiunt tres fenestræ.

Coquina Domini Regis indiget cooperturâ.

Coquina familiæ est in bono statu.

Esquieleria indiget emendacione cujusdam guttiræ.

Claustrum inter aulam et coquinas predictas indiget cooperturâ et emendatione gutirarum.

Camera et Capella Dñi Regis sunt in bono statu. Aleia inter aulam et Cameram Domini Regis indiget cooperturâ. Et rota putei indiget reparacione.

Et gistæ interioris Cameræ Dominæ Reginæ combustæ fuerunt quando Dominus Rex ultimo fuit apud Clarendon, et maximâ indigent reparacione et emendacione.

Gutiræ Capellæ Dominæ Reginæ cum celurâ et picturâ ejusdem indigent reparacione et emendacione.

Aleia inter Cameram Domini Regis et Cameram Dominæ Reginæ indiget cooperturâ et emendatione gutirarum.

Camera cum camino ultra maximum celarium ruinosa est et dirè discoopertâ, unde maximâ indiget reparacione.

Et alia Camera ultra dictum celarium indiget cooperturâ.

Cumblum Cameræ Neville putrefactum est ex una parte et alia pars indiget cooperturâ.

Gradus ad la Posterne fracti sunt, et indigent reparacione.

Aluræ ejusdem Posternæ sunt displumbatæ, sed nunquam antea fuerunt plumbatæ. Et gutiræ dictæ Posternæ indigent reparacione.

Camera Garderobæ Dominæ Reginæ indiget cooperturâ et emendatione in gutiriis.

Item Salsaria, Chandelaria, et Garderoba Dñi Regis indigent cooperturâ. Garderoba Cameræ Mansell indiget cooperturâ.

Elemosinaria indiget cooperturâ et . . . arium ejusdem est ruinosum, et murus ejusdem Elemosinariæ in parte indiget reparacione.

Et Stabulum ejusdem Elemosinariæ indiget cooperturâ.

In . . . . . [*two or three words illegible*] Camera forinseca deficit unum hostium, quinque fenestræ et planchiæ, unde magnâ indiget reparacione.

Duæ Cameræ ad Infantes Domini Regis indigent cooperturâ et deficiunt quinque fenestræ et unum hostium.

Camera Joñis le Faukonir, et Domus Barbarii indigent cooperturâ et reparacione murorum.

Stabulum Domini Regis et Stabulum Ballivi indigent rastellis et manjuris et cooperturâ. Et oportet quod parva porta ibidem refici*atur* de novo.

Et sic videtur quod Stephanus de Eddeworthe dimisit dictum Manerium in debili statu. Et Johannes Russell in eodem statu illud Manerium recepit.

Et dicunt de Forestâ quod multæ quercus prostratæ sunt ad terram apud Clarendon, et quamplures branchiæ ibidem abscisæ sunt tam de veteri quam de novo, set subboscus ibi bene custoditur.

Et de Venatione dicunt quod non sunt ibi multi veteres dami, set rationabilitur *(sic)* bene repleta est de damis et juvenibus bestiis.

Et Parcus de Clarendon *(est)* male clausus.

Et dominicus boscus Domini Regis apud Milcet bene custoditur tam de viridi quam de venatione. Et boscus Domini Regis apud Gravelinges male custoditur de viridi. Et multi sunt ibi capreoli, sed paucæ aliæ bestiæ.

In cujus rei testimonium dicti Vicecomes et Milites huic scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt."

The King's Writ for the above Survey is "Data per manum W. de Merton Cancellarii nostri apud Sanctum Martinum Magnum, London, xxi die Augusti, anno regni nostri primo."

Survey of Clarendon Palace in the County of Wilts, in the first year of Edward the First, 1272.

A Survey of the condition of the Manor of Clarendon and of the Forest of Clarendon by Walter de Stircheslegh, Sheriff of Wilts, and by Sir Hugh le Engleis, Sir John de Grimstede, Sir John de Monemuth, and Sir William de Derneford, Knights, who say in the survey they have made, that—

The Hall of our Lord the King requires to be covered with shingles,[a] and to be repaired in the buttresses on the outside of the walls of the said Hall on the north side.

The Pantry and Buttery are in good condition, except that two windows are deficient in the Buttery.

In the Larder three windows are wanting.

The Kitchen of our Lord the King requires roofing. The Kitchen of the family is in good condition.

The Scullery requires mending in one of the gutters.

The Cloister between the Hall and the aforesaid Kitchens wants a roof, and the gutters to be mended.

The Chamber and Chapel of our Lord the King are in good condition.

The Passage between the Hall and Chamber of our Lord the King wants roofing, and the Well-wheel must be repaired.

And the *joists* (?) of the Inner Chamber of our Lady the Queen were burnt when our Lord the King was last at Clarendon, and require very great repairs and mending.

The Gutters of the Chapel of our Lady the Queen, together with the ceiling (?) and painting of the same Chapel want repair and mending.

The Alley (Passage) between the Chamber of our Lord the King and the Chamber of our Lady the Queen wants a covering and repair of the gutters.

The Chamber with the chimney beyond the great cellar is in a ruinous condition and terribly unroofed, and therefore requires the greatest repair; and another Chamber beyond the said cellar wants a roof.

The ridge of Neville's Chamber is rotten in one part, and in another wants covering.

[a] Wooden tiles.

The steps to the Postern are broken, and must be mended.

The . . . . . of the same Postern are not leaded, but they were never leaded before. And the gutters of the said Postern require repair.

The Chamber of the Wardrobe of our Lady the Queen wants roofing, and mending in the gutters.

Also the Salt-house, the Chandlery, and Wardrobe-room of our Lord the King want roofing.

The Wardrobe-room of Mansell's Chamber wants a roof.

The Almonry must be covered, and the . . . . . of the same is ruinous, and the wall of the said Almonry partly wants repair; and the Stable of the said Almonry requires a roof.

In . . . . . the *Strangers'* (?) Chamber wants one door, five windows, and floors, therefore it needs great repairs.

Two Chambers for the Children of our Lord the King require to be roofed, and want five windows and one door.

The Chamber of John the Falconer, and the House of the Barber, want roofing and repairs of the walls.

The Stable of our Lord the King and the Stable of the Bailiff want racks and mangers, and roofing; and it is necessary that the little door there should be newly made.

And thus it is seen that Stephen de Eddeworth left the said Manor in bad condition, and John Russell received it in that state.

And concerning the Forest they say that many oaks are lying on the ground at Clarendon, and that a great number of branches are cut off both *formerly* and *lately*,[b] but the underwood there is well preserved.

And of the Venison they say that there are not many old bucks, but that it is tolerably well stocked with does and fawns.

And that the Park of Clarendon is badly inclosed.

And the demesne wood of our Lord the King at Milchet is well preserved both in vert and venison: and the wood of our Lord the King at Gravelinges (*now* Groveley) is not well preserved as to the vert, and there are many goats, but few other beasts.

In witness whereof, &c.

[b] Or query, from old and young trees? "de veteri quam de novo."

REMARKS.

From this Survey of Clarendon Palace, in the year 1272, may be drawn some curious deductions relative to the structure of Royal Palaces, where they were merely country seats, some of which I will endeavour to point out.

One of the most obvious inferences to be drawn from it is, that all the rooms were on the ground floor, and that the whole Palace was only one story high. This appears to me to be proved by the fact, that nearly every room mentioned is said to want a covering, which I consider invariably to signify a roof. We know that Kitchens formerly extended to the roof, some of which kind exist at this day, as at Buckland, in Glocestershire, &c. &c.

Another fact observable is, that the roofs were covered with shingles,[c] (a corruption of the word shindles, I suspect,) which were thin tiles of wood, called in Latin *scindulæ*, from *scindo*. This covering of shingles will account for the extremely defective state of the roofs; otherwise, had they been covered with tiles, we can scarcely conceive any probable cause why they should have become so decayed, unless we suppose that the Barons in their hostile attempts against Henry had attacked the Palace, and dismantled it. Thirdly, It appears there were two Kitchens, one for the King, the other for the family; the best illustration of which may, perhaps, be drawn from the still existing custom of Colleges at the Universities, where the Master or President has his separate kitchen, but all the other members have only one in common.

The ***Buttresses*** serve to point out the position of the Hall, for the Palace stood upon the brow of a declivity, facing the north, if I remember correctly, and consequently there the buttresses would be required. On referring to the plan, it will be seen that the largest room (which we may reasonably conclude to have been the Hall) is on the north, and looks over a small valley below it.

The ***Well Wheel*** marks the simplicity of those times, when the King him-

[c] I have been informed that there is an ancient house in Wales (at Penrhos in Montgomeryshire) which has continued the use of shingles instead of tiles, to this present time.

self possessed no method of raising water more conveniently, than the poorest cottager of the present day.

Gistæ, I conceive to be those which are now called "joists" in architecture, either for the floor or the roof, although the proper name for those of the roof is now "rafters."

It appears that the King and Queen had separate Chapels, and probably this may be illustrated by the ancient custom which is still retained in some village churches where the men sit on one side the church and the women on the other.

The *Painting* of the chapel probably alludes to the story of some Saint depicted on the walls, which was a common custom until Queen Elizabeth gave orders to have them all destroyed or covered with white-wash.

It is perhaps worth noticing, that the King and Queen had separate Chambers, with a private passage leading from one to the other, and that no rooms were above them or the passage, for it is said both require roofing and repair of the gutters. It is probable that these rooms were bed chambers.

The next Chamber is noticed by the Surveyors as possessing a Chimney (at least such I understand by the word "Camino"). It is remarkable if this should have been the only chimney in the Palace, but probably this alone is mentioned, because it was ruinous. I have endeavoured to preserve in my translation the colloquial phraseology used in the present day, and therefore I have translated *dirè*, as is often said in common conversation, "terribly," or "dreadfully" dilapidated. *Cumblum* is translated "ridge," because I suspect it to be merely Latinized (if I may coin a word) from the French or Norman *comble*, the top or highest point of any thing; and, as the ridge is the highest part of the roof, that word may perhaps be considered the right translation.

The name of Neville's Chamber is curious, as shewing the appropriation of rooms in the Palace to some particular persons or families. I do not remember that the Nevilles had any office in the King's household, which would entitle them to a chamber in the Palace. It might have been the abode of Jollan de Neville, the Justice Itinerant, when he compiled (as I conjecture) the Testa de Neville for the neighbouring counties.

The other Chamber, called Mansell's, is not improbably so named from John Mansell, the celebrated Provost of Beverley, who was a great favourite with the King; but, as this is conjecture, the real origin of the appellation must be left to the deeper research of better antiquaries.[d]

Salsaria I consider to have been the Salting-houses, where they salted their venison and other meat, which was formerly much used by the gentry when they travelled.

I believe the Almonry was an appendage to all royal, baronial, and abbatial mansions, where the poor of the surrounding neighbourhood might come for their daily alms, and the passing stranger might put up his horse, and take his meal at the expence of the lord.

The Chandlery was an office in the Royal Household until a late period. It managed other provisions beyond the Candles; as did the other offices control other things besides those from which they received their name. The tapers used for the service of the Chapel formed an important article in this office.

That the King sometimes brought his family to this Palace, we may infer from the two rooms appointed for the young Princes.

It seems also, that the Royal Falconer and the King's Barber were necessary appendages to the King's household establishment; but no mention is made of the Venator or Royal Huntsman; by which we may conjecture that he formed no part of the household, but probably had his constant residence in the lodges of the Forest.

[d] Matthew Paris, however (I have since found) says, that this John Mansell was the King's Secretary and Privy Counsellor, "Domini Regis Clericus, et Conciliarius Specialis." It would therefore be essential that a separate chamber should be appropriated to him.

XI. *Four Letters on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of France; addressed to* John Gage, *Esq. F.R.S., Director, by* Thomas Rickman, *Esq.*

Read 15th, 22nd, and 29th November, 1832; and 24th January, 1833.

LETTER I.

Birmingham, 10 mo. 12, 1832.

HAVING, in company with my friend the Reverend William Whewell, of Trinity College, Cambridge, spent a few weeks in examining the ecclesiastical Edifices in Picardy and Normandy, and having conferred with Messrs. Le Prevost of Rouen, De Caumont of Caen, and Lambert of Bayeux, all active and zealous Members of the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy, I am desirous of laying before the Society some account of the results of this examination, if the Society think it worthy of their notice.

I propose dividing the subjects into a series of short Papers, each of which may, in some degree, be considered complete in itself; and be of such a length only as may excite, but not fatigue, the attention.

In the present Communication I intend to state the extent of country visited, the number and character of the Buildings examined, and a few general remarks on the more striking differences which at once attract attention in passing through Picardy and Normandy.

In the first edition of my Essay on English Architecture, published in 1817, I remarked, that "in every instance which had come under my notice of buildings on the continent, a mixture, more or less exact or remote, according to circumstances, of Italian composition, in some part or other is present; and that I had little doubt that *a very attentive* examination of the continental buildings called *Gothic*, would enable an architect

to lay down the regulations of the French, Flemish, Spanish, German, and Italian Styles which were in use when the English flourished in England;" and it is with great pleasure I find myself enabled, by this journey, to go some way towards this conclusion with respect to that part of France, at least, which was included in this tour.

The line of country visited may be thus briefly intimated:

From Dover to Calais, Boulogne, Abbeville, Amiens, Beauvais, Rouen, Jumieges, Evreux, Lisieux, Caen, Bayeux, St. Lo, Coutances, Carentan, Isigny, Honfleur, Pont Audemer, Caudebec, Lillebonne, Harfleur, Havre de Grace, and thence to Southampton.

In the course of the journey, Notes were taken of

4 Edifices of Roman work, or of dates before anno 1000;
14 Cathedrals, or Collegiate Churches;
43 Larger Churches in Towns;
50 Smaller Churches in Towns and Villages;
14 Domestic Edifices and Civil Edifices;
6 Smaller Edifices, Shrines, and Details.

In this number of above one hundred churches, only nine ancient Fonts were discovered, all the rest which were seen being modern, and mostly of one species of marble called, in Normandy, Flemish marble, but we had no clear account whence it came.

With respect to the general features of difference striking an English eye on visiting the Ecclesiastical buildings in Picardy and Normandy, the most prominent are,

1st. The want of clearness of outline; occasioned by the great breadth of the large Churches, from their mostly having two aisles on each side the nave, and the great magnitude and grouping of the flying buttresses. Of this want of outline, perhaps the Cathedral of Beauvais (though it has very fine portions) is the most conspicuous example; for having no nave, only choir and transepts, it looks at a distance a heavy lump; and it is only when near enough to distinguish some of its admirable details that it can be properly appreciated.

2nd. The great interior height of the nave, and often of the ailes, in proportion to their breadth; this feature, though not constant, is very

general, and is often from one and a half to nearly double the usual English proportions of height, as compared to breadth.

3rd. The very general termination of the east end of large churches (and also very many small ones) in a circular or polygonal apsis; this, with the chapels and aile surrounding these apses, tends very much (aided by the lofty and extensive flying buttresses) to give that lumpishness mentioned above.

4th. Another, though not perhaps so prominent a feature, is the greater height of the windows from the floor. In only one or two at most of the whole number of churches inspected, could the windows be looked into by a person outside.

All these differences from English appearances are very prominent, and strike the eye at once of the most rapid and inexperienced traveller; but the others, which we have yet to enumerate, are equally noticeable to the eye accustomed to the examination and comparison of details.

Of these minor differences may be stated,

1st. The unfinished or irregular terminations of towers; sometimes two nearly alike, but with different tops; sometimes one tower despoiled of its ancient cornice, parapet, and pinnacles, and a very ugly modern slate roof put on it. I am not sure that we saw more than one or two towers in the whole line which were perfect in these respects, and many were terminated in a way which, though not unknown in England, is very uncommon, viz. the tower on two sides has high gables, and is roofed from these with a common house ridge roof. This sort of roof is called a pack-saddle roof. This unsightly mode seems to be often original, but perhaps as often a mutilation. The stone spires, which are numerous, are more fortunate and in general tolerably preserved.

2nd. The total absence, in all our route, of a cut battlement, either real, when used as a parapet, or apparent, when used ornamentally.

One small piece, apparently very recent, on a wall in the court of the Bishop's palace at Evreux, was the only portion we saw. Plain parapets are common, and perhaps pierced parapets in good churches still more so; but there are still very many village churches with dripping eaves.

3rd. The very great predominance of wheel windows, most of them large and of elaborate tracery.

4th. The smallness of the exterior bases and their very trifling projection is remarkable, as is also the great boldness and projection of the few which form exceptions to this rule.

All the above are differences constantly occurring and very apparent; but there are many more to be stated, when we come to compare edifices of similar dates and characters, as worked at the same time in each country.

It may be proper in these preliminary remarks to state, that in order to prevent confusion I call the entrance end of a church the west, and the altar end the east: but that, in very many instances, churches in our route were found built so much across the compass, that it is sometimes difficult to make out which is east, as the number of central towers in small churches not cruciform, is considerable. In the city of Caen this deviation is so great that some of the churches are in this respect directly opposed to others.

As the nature of the stone used in the districts which we have examined, seems to have had considerable influence on the design of many churches, and particularly on the ornamental parts, it will be right to notice that from Abbeville to Evreux, and perhaps even further, the larger churches are composed of a white stone, which may be scratched by the nail, and works very easily, yet seems of great durability; as works of great delicacy, executed four and five hundred years ago, and even more, are now quite fresh and perfect.

This stone seems a sort of indurated chalk, and is of different hardness in different places; it is mixed in buildings with some of the oolites from Caen and other places, and is singularly adapted for the rich and elaborate tracery, niche-work, foliage, and other embellishments of the later French styles.

About Caen and Bayeux that beautiful stone called Caen stone, of which so much was once brought to England, is generally used; and of it or similar stone is much of the early Norman work constructed, some of which is as perfect as when first cut.

In the village churches we find stone of various descriptions; sandstone,

limestone, and other stones of the locality, used mixed with the Caen and other stones of that description, which are used for the mouldings and more delicate portions of the building.

At Amiens and some other places, a very hard dark stone has been used for plinths and bases. From Bayeux to Coutances, a hard stone of very slaty texture is used in small pieces, little larger than the pieces of ragstone used in Northamptonshire, at Brixworth, and other places.

In several village churches and the smaller churches in towns, this slaty stone and other materials are laid in the way called herring-bone masonry; but this construction does not seem always to be very ancient.

Having thus described the route taken, and noticed such matters as apply pretty much to all the buildings visited, I intend in future papers to enter into particular descriptions and comparisons.

I remain, thine truly,

THOMAS RICKMAN.

LETTER II.

I now resume the account of the Buildings, &c. in Normandy and Picardy, and have taken the Fonts I have found, for the subject of the present communication.

In the whole number of churches visited (upwards of one hundred) only nine ancient Fonts were seen so as to be drawn; there might be a few more in churches we could not get into, but judging from what we did find, I apprehend not many.

A large number of the Fonts, whether ancient or modern, have covers; most of which are poor and plain, and in general, carefully locked. As before noticed, nearly all the modern Fonts are of marble; mostly of one description, called Flemish marble; they are very commonly oval, and some are divided into two basins by a division of marble.

Of the nine Fonts, I now exhibit sketches (see Plate X.): they are not, perhaps, quite exact representations, but are, I trust, near enough to be understood. Taking them, as near as may be, in their apparent order of dates, they are:

1st. *Breteuil*, between Amiens and Beauvais. This Font is of a shape not uncommon in England; it has a large central bowl, with twelve small shafts and capitals with plain leaves, and the base so common in Early English work. This Font is in very good preservation, and the tool marks visible, but it is painted.

2nd. *Subles*, between Bayeux and St. Lo. The character and shape of this Font are not uncommon in England; its form is graceful and simple, and its mouldings, and the arrangements at the corners of the foot, give its date.

3rd. *Vaucelles*, near Bayeux, and not far from Subles. This Font very much resembles the last, but from its mouldings seems a little later.

4th. *St. George de Bocherville*, near Rouen. This is a large and very fine Norman church, with much of later work in various parts, with which this Font harmonizes: here, as in the two last noticed fonts, there is a plain bowl on an upright foot; but diversified here by having some of the parts octagonal, instead of being all circular, as in the two last.

5th. *Jumieges*, the parish church near the Abbey, not far from Rouen. This Font is a curious one, being very different in shape from any of the former examples, and harmonizing with various fonts of the same shape in Lincolnshire and some other counties. It is also cut in the same way with flat fillets and shallow pannels, with plain slopes for mouldings, and the pannelling varied in the different sides. The font at Haydor, in Lincolnshire, is much like this. I consider this font clearly of Decorated character.

6th. *Duclair*, on the Seine near Rouen. This church is a curious one of various dates, so that it is not very easy to make out the date of the Font by analogy. The hour-glass shape of this font has few, if any, resemblances in England; its mouldings are not very decisive, but I think it as late, if not later than the last example. It may even be later still; but I have no reason to think it modern.

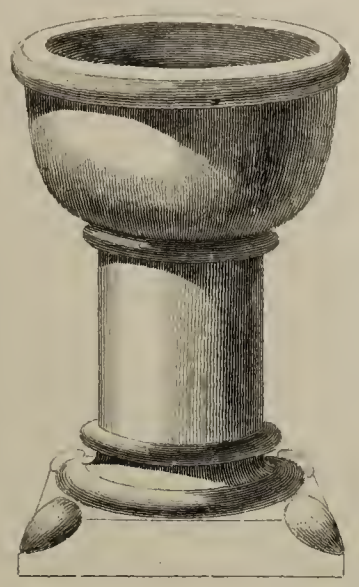
7th. *Carentan*, between Coutances and Cherbourg. I measured this Font

1



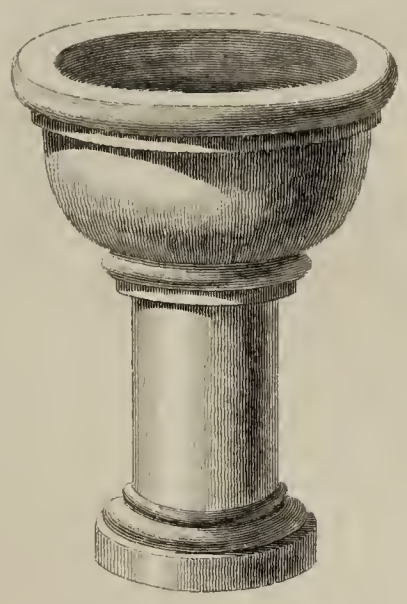
Breteuil.

2



Subles.

3



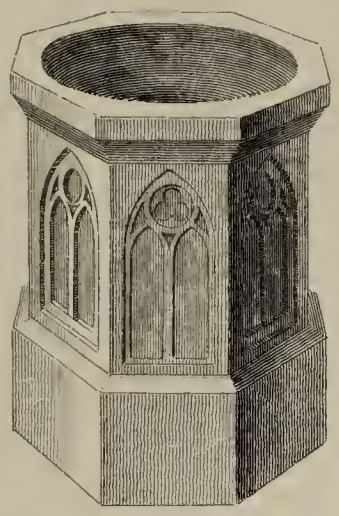
Vaucelles de Bayeux.

4



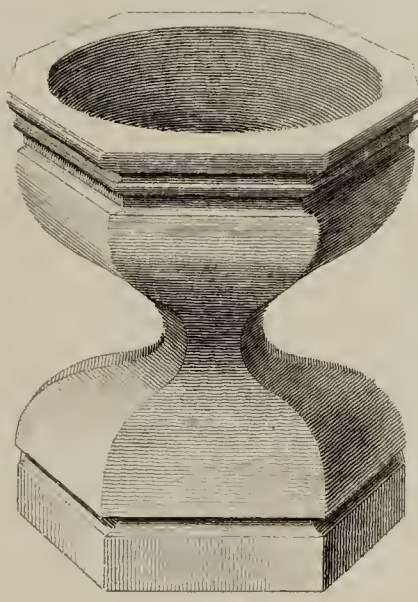
St George de Bocherville.

5



Jumieges.

6



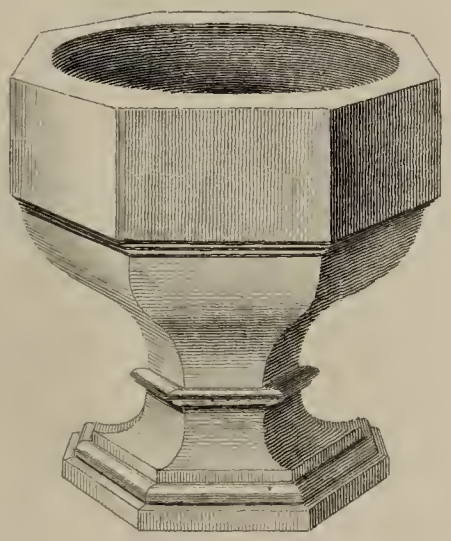
Duclair

7



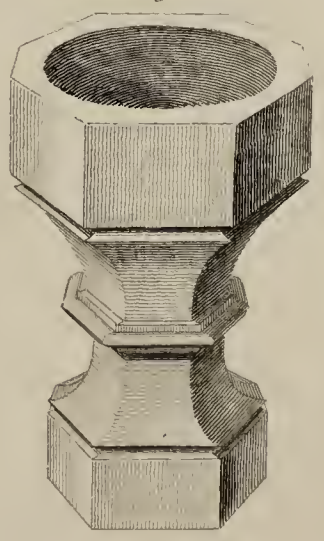
Carentan.

8



Ifs.

9



Haute Allemagne.

T.R. del.t

J.s Basire sculp.s

Fonts in Churches of France.

Published by the Soacty of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1833

carefully, and have drawn it geometrically to a scale of one inch to a foot. It is composed of several pieces, and may *possibly* be composed of several fragments; it is circular, and looks very much as if the font had been reversed, and the bowl added at a later date. Anomalies not uncommon in England, of which a church in York has a font which is a curious instance.

8th. *Ifs*, near Caen. The shape of this Font is not very uncommon in England, and it also by its form assimilates with the hour-glass shape at Duclair, but here the mouldings are clear and have an appearance of rather late Decorated character.

9th. *Haute Allemagne*, the next parish to Ifs, and near Caen. The form of this Font is still more common in England than the last; and, but that the neck moulding has a Decorated character, it might pass for an English Perpendicular font. I think it may be a little before, or perhaps a little after, A. D. 1400.

I fear this account of French Fonts will appear a very meagre one; but comprising, as it does, all the ancient ones I found, I shall feel very much obliged if any Members of the Society, who possess the means of enlarging the list, will favour me with a sight of their sketches, to enable me to add to the number, and thus aid me in making what I wish to do, a more minute and extensive comparison than has yet been made of English and French Architecture.

I remain, thine truly,

THOMAS RICKMAN.

At Pont Audemer are two churches, St. Germain and St. Catherine. In the former is a large Font, which might be, and I am inclined to think was, ancient, but it was covered with a cloth. At St. Catherine's, the greatest part of which is of very late date and very elaborate workmanship, the font is shut in a chapel, and I could only see a small part of it below a cloth, and it appeared to be of the date and character of the church, but I could not see enough of it to draw it.

LETTER III.

As the next subject in my comparison of the Architecture of England and part of France, I intend, in the present Paper, to submit to the Society a rapid view of my ideas on the progress of Architecture in England, from the occupation of the Romans to the period when the Italian style, again imported from Italy, drove out the execution, and for a time almost the study of the intermediate styles, of which so many excellent monuments are remaining.

I feel it necessary here to state, that for the sake of clearness, I must assume some dates of buildings, which I am aware I cannot prove by documentary evidence, however well I may be convinced by analogy and a careful examination, that the dates are true. But on the subject of documentary evidence, though I have the highest respect for it, yet it very often happens that the most important point, viz. whether the building now existing is the one really referred to in the document, must, after all, rather be collected from inference or analogy, than be considered directly proved.

On that part of our architectural history which follows the departure of the Romans from Britain, and which precedes the Norman Conquest, there is of course great obscurity; but, while in the days of Dr. Stukeley, Horace Walpole, &c. there appears to have been much too easy an admission of Saxon dates on the mere appearance of the semicircular arch, I think there has been of late perhaps too great a leaning the other way; and because we cannot directly *prove* that certain edifices are Saxon by documentary evidence, we have been induced too easily perhaps to consider that no Saxon buildings did exist, and have not given ourselves the trouble sufficiently to examine our earlier Norman works to see if they were not some of them entitled to be considered as erected before the Conquest.

I confess I have myself been heretofore of this class of doubters as to Saxon dates; but having in various parts found buildings which are not Norman, and which, from their peculiar construction, cannot well be considered either as modern, or as of any intermediate style, I think they must be anterior, and therefore entitled to be called Saxon.

I was much impressed by a conversation I had before my visit to France with an aged and worthy Dean, who was speaking on the subject of Saxon edifices, with a full belief that they were numerous. He asked me if I had investigated those churches which existed in places where Domesday Book states that a church existed in King Edward's days, and I was obliged to confess I had not paid the systematic attention I ought to have done to this point; and I now wish to call the attention of the Society to the propriety of having a list made of such edifices, that they may be carefully examined.

Having premised thus much, I proceed to state what appears to me to have been the practical progress of Architecture in England.

I think it is clear that nothing *very good* of Roman work ever existed in Britain; all the fragments of architecture which have been discovered, whether large or small, whether the tympanum of a temple, as found at Bath, or small altars, as found in many places, I believe they were all deficient either in composition or execution, or in both; and none that I know of have been better, if so good, as the debased work of the Emperor Diocle-sian in his palace at Spalatro. With these debased examples, we cannot expect that the inhabitants of Britain would (while harassed with continual intestine warfare) improve on the models left by the Romans.

It is not now to be ascertained whether any examples of the actual use of columns with an architrave incumbent, were left by the Romans, but we have various examples of the plain arch with a pier; as a specimen, the north gate of Lincoln, now used as it was many centuries ago for a gate, is perhaps the most perfect. This plain square pier and a semicircular arch, I believe to have been imitated in the Saxon buildings, and this I find actually now a part of Brixworth church, with a bond tier of what we call Roman bricks (i. e. flat tiles) carried through the work. This church has a curious window, in which is used a sort of pier or division, which is very rude, but has a resemblance to a Roman balustre. This balustre leads to one or two other churches, particularly the tower of Barton on the Humber (old church) in Lincolnshire, and Earls Barton in Northamptonshire; these lead by other features to Barnack, St. Benet at Cambridge, a church in Oxford, Kirkdale, Laughton en le Morthen in Yorkshire, and Repton in Derbyshire, with a few other churches not yet sufficiently investigated,

but altogether affording a series of work evidently not Norman, and in many cases having Norman work in such positions as to show that they must be more ancient than Norman.

I have heretofore met with many plain Norman shaped arches between the nave and chancel of small churches, which appeared from the mode of construction to be relics of a more ancient edifice, and I am sorry to say that many of these, from the impression of their being only rude specimens of Norman, I have neglected properly to note, or to examine whether they might not be Saxon. It is true that these sort of arches require careful investigation, for a plain arch on a plain pier continues all through the Norman style, and with a pointed arch in the next style.

From this plain pier and arch, the gradation is practically easy to the Norman style ; the round arch remains, the impost remains, and a very little alteration improves the rude shaft of the little chapel at Kirkdale, in Yorkshire, into the ordinary Norman capital, and I suspect that this change was clearly developed about the year 1000 ; but this is one of the dates I cannot prove at present by documentary evidence.

The style which we designate as Norman is too well known to require much description. Evidently rude at first, it gradually softened its forms, multiplied its mouldings, and ultimately became in some examples almost *gorgeous*. The west front of Lincoln Cathedral is a fine example of the early and late Norman contrasted ; the two side arches of the ancient front being evidently very early, and the great west door very late.

Considering the Norman style as established, it is proper to notice how the plain square pier was altered :

1st. It was made round with an enriched capital, sometimes of small projection, and a round abacus or cap moulding ; and sometimes with considerable projection, and a square abacus. This pier we have in England of various heights ; at Norwich very short, at Gloucester and Tewksbury very long ; it is also worked with plain as well as enriched capitals.

2nd. The square pier was reduced in size, but added to on the sides or the back and front, sometimes on all of them, by square sinks with shafts of various dimensions ; and in a few instances with the sinks only without shafts.

3rd. In a very few instances, I believe octagon piers will be found of Norman character.

The Norman enrichments of the capitals, mouldings, and other parts are too well known to need description; but one Norman enrichment must be noticed, as it leads to a question upon which much has been written and little concluded. This enrichment is the series of pannelling upon small piers, commonly called the intersecting arch. When once this ornament was used, the pointed arch was formed. Whoever also looks at a Norman groin, whether with or without ribs, must see an appearance of a pointed arch, and therefore I do not think it necessary to discuss the question of the introduction of the pointed arch here, as I know not that it can lead to any practical benefit.

At whatever time this form was introduced, we find it curiously alternating with the semicircular one; they are often used together; and towards the end of the style and the beginning of the next, we have Norman forms with Early English details, and Early English forms with Norman details frequently occurring; and sometimes the forms and details are so mixed and jumbled as to make it very difficult to say to which style it belongs. But this is the great secret of the advance of architecture in England. It is so imperceptible in its progress that a series of examples of parts and ornaments and mouldings might be made out, each of them hardly differing from its predecessor, yet at every ten or twelve steps showing a decided alteration. It was by this gradual alteration that I conceive our beautiful Early English style was formed; this style, after struggling hard in the circular vestibule of the Temple church, became in the eastern part a model of simplicity and beauty.

Then also appeared Bishop Poore's admirable edifice, Salisbury Cathedral, and that most valuable and numerous series of small churches which adorn almost every County in England.

It is well to notice that the churches of this date, viz. from about 1220 to 1300, or a little later, are remarkable not only for beauty and simplicity of design, but also for excellence of execution; seldom indeed is an Early English building seen without the best execution the material used is capable of.

How had this style been formed from the Norman ?

1st. The small window of the Norman style enlarged and with a pointed head, became the simple but beautiful lancet window. The Norman double window with a shaft between, became imitated in the double lancet, and afterwards in the double window with piercing between. As the Norman style had its more numerous assemblage of windows, so had the early English. Each style its wheels ;—those of the former were small,—those of the latter, much enlarged, became the magnificent transept windows of York and Lincoln.

2nd. The piers were altered principally by an alteration of their mouldings, but partly by a new and more elegant form. The round pier continued, the octagon pier also continued and increased in frequency in small buildings ; but in larger ones, the Norman square pier with shafts was changed into a bundle of shafts ; four, eight, or sometimes more were used, and often a circular centre with four or more detached shafts set round it. These clusters of shafts were mostly united by the mouldings of the capitals, and part or the whole of the base mouldings, and sometimes by intermediate bands.

The deeply recessed arches of doors, &c. with shafts on the side, continued, but the shafts became of more importance, having sometimes, in large doors, a double tier of free shafts, one tier behind the other.

During this progress the mouldings were continually lightening and becoming more delicate, with intricate small hollows, and small often repeated rounds, some plain and some filletted.

The rude and stiff Norman foliage and ornaments became more delicate and natural, and near the end of the style the sculpture of every kind was most exquisite. I need only instance the effigy of King John, and those of some Bishops in Worcester Cathedral, and that singularly elegant band of foliage in the side doorways of the choir screen of Lincoln. Amongst these enrichments we must not forget that simple ornament so profusely scattered in some of the best buildings of this style in England—*the toothed ornament ;* all through the country is this enrichment seen, and it seems the regular gradation from the nail-head of the later Norman work, to the square flower of the next style.

It is curious to remark that another peculiar characteristic of this style, is a series of moulding for the bases of shafts, piers, &c. which is an imitation of the regular attic base of the Italians, consisting like that of two rounds and a hollow, with interposed fillets; but with this difference, that the Italian base is very rarely, if ever, worked so that it will hold water in the hollow, while the Early English base is almost always worked so that it will hold water, whether used within the building, or in the open air; and its use is so general, that wherever it and the toothed ornament are used together the style is most clearly made out.

About, or in some places perhaps before, the year 1300, another gradual change in the windows had taken place; instead of two or three lancets divided by a portion of stone-work the thickness of the wall, and therefore keeping these lancets and any piercings between their heads distinct windows, there now appeared windows divided by real mullions, and the whole window surrounded by another general moulding of the nature of an architrave. The heads of these windows were filled with geometrical figures, mostly circles, and a new species of ornament began to be used; at first sparingly, but afterwards generally, not only in windows but in pannelling: this was the insertion of a number of smaller arches with points, producing cuspidation or feathering, and thus introducing a new and elegant ornament into every portion of architectural composition; and its gradual progress from the first sort of trefoil heads, where all the mouldings assume the shape, to its later character of a mere enrichment on one only of a series of mouldings, is very curious.

Thus gradual had been the preparation of that beautiful style, which a few years after 1300, appeared pretty much confirmed in England, the *Decorated English* style. As transitions from the last style to this, two buildings are so pre-eminent as to require notice: one, the ruins of St. Mary's Abbey, York, is well known; but the other, the remains of the church at Newstead Abbey, has been comparatively little noticed for its architectural character: they are both so elegant as to deserve the closest examination and study, that their character may be properly known and appreciated. Beautiful as these edifices are, there seemed yet a graceful point wanting: these transition windows, and many of the early Decorated

works, have tracery which is mostly circles, trefoils, and other geometrical figures, giving a certain appearance of stiffness to the lines of otherwise very fine windows; this geometrical tracery, though perhaps never entirely given up, was soon followed by tracery in which the lines are beautifully flowing, and window tracery seemed to have received its final polish; and of course with window tracery, was included all heads of pannelling, heads of buttresses, and other analogous enrichment.

The windows in this style continued to be inlarged till at length five, six, seven, and eight lights were not uncommon; and in one instance (the east window of the Cathedral at Carlisle) nine lights were employed. This last window is not only remarkable for its breadth and large size, but its composition is quite equal, if not superior, to any window of the style. We have very few wheel windows of this style.

A further alteration of piers took place in this style: the octagon pier still continued to appear in small churches, and in a very few places a round pier may be met with: but the capitals and bases shew the alteration in the date, and another alteration took place in larger churches. In the Norman square pier with shafts, the square faces were to the nave, the ailes, and to the arches; in the Early English style, the shafts were set in a circular direction in large clustered piers, and now in the Decorated style the pier again became angular; but the angles of the square were set where the Norman faces were, and thus the pier becomes of a lozenge shape and of these piers the front angle shaft to the nave, sometimes runs up and becomes a groining shaft in the roof. In the Early English style, the shafts, whether of piers, doors, or niches, were mostly detached. Stability being required as well as lightness, these shafts were worked in the Decorated style, as parts of the series of mouldings, and not detached, thus adding much to the strength of the building; and this was the case not only with piers, but in the mouldings of doors, niches, and other analogous situations. The foliated capitals and other enrichments, became very elaborate but with increasing boldness, and while they will bear close examination they have their full effect at a distance. The toothed ornament disappears with the Early English style; but in the latter part of that style, and the earlier part of the Decorated, a round flower with three or four leaves closed on a ball, and

well known by the name of the ball flower, became common, and was used in great profusion in some places. At Warmington, Northamptonshire, it is used in Early English work with the toothed ornament, and at Ledbury, in good Decorated work, by itself in great profusion.

The toothed ornament was succeeded by the square flower we have mentioned before, which is used of various sizes in various situations, with great effect.

The Decorated style had the shortest reign, and its good examples are not so numerous, perhaps, as either of the other styles; but there still remains enough to form a very efficient study of this most valuable style; the most difficult truly to imitate, and equally difficult to describe in words. Although allowing of the introduction of profuse enrichment, it is not dependent thereon for its beauty; for the harmony of its proportions is such, that some of the plainest specimens are as satisfactory as the most enriched.

Of this style the naves of York and Exeter Cathedrals are fine examples; but there is one unmixed and very little mutilated example, which deserves to be better known than it is; this is the church of Heckington in Lincolnshire, on the road from Sleaford to Boston; and in its vicinity are several other fine examples of the style, varying in date and character, but mixed in some instances with the earlier and later styles.

I consider Gothic architecture in England at this time, about the end of Edward the Third's reign, to have reached its best point. But there came another alteration, and this I conceive had its origin in practical arrangements, dependent on what seemed an increasing desire to have very large and lofty windows and openings.

In many places the obtaining stone proper for the heads and mullions of very large windows, was, no doubt, in the then state of roads and other communications, a matter of some difficulty; and towards the end of the reign of Edward the Third the new style began, and decidedly by the year 1400 it was established. The great distinction of this style from the last is the *perpendicular* lines of the windows and panelling, and the introduction of one or more transoms, with trefoiled or cinquefoiled heads to the lights at the transom. It is true that many domestic and castellated windows had before been worked with a transom, more often plain, but in a very few in-

stances (of which the very long two light windows of the Hall of the palace at Wells may be mentioned) with arches and featherings; but these transoms now became general, and also a system of reducing the heads of windows and other places requiring tracery into small pannels, and producing ornament by a repetition of similar small pannels over all parts of the enriched surface.

A much more general use of perpendicular and horizontal lines, either crossing each other, or stopt by each other, as each in turn became principal, was adopted; and in many rich buildings the pannels often became niches with ornamented canopies, sometimes pointed, sometimes square.

One of the earliest and best specimens of this style is the north window, door, and niches of Westminster Hall; the peculiarities of the style, its multiplied small buttresses to the niches, its shafts with capitals and bases partly round and partly octagon, its light pierced projecting canopies to the niches, its style of foliage, and in short, every distinctive feature, is fully brought forward in this early example, and it may be examined by, and compared with a very late example—Henry the Seventh's Chapel, which is its near neighbour. It is true both these examples have had parts restored, but I believe both so restored that they may be compared with propriety; and their dates being clearly known, one in Richard the Second's reign, the other in that of Henry the Eighth, the completeness of the style at first will, I think, be fully proved.

Again we find an alteration in piers and arch mouldings, and indeed in the mouldings of the style generally, by the introduction of large hollows into the suites of mouldings. The round pier is very seldom, if ever, used; but the octagon pier is as frequent as heretofore, its base and capital being altered. The large pier is still lozenge form, and much resembles the pier of the last style, but in many instances is not a square lozenge, but flattened between the arches, becoming of greater dimensions north and south than east and west; and in many instances there are no capitals, but the mouldings run round the arch and are stopped by some of the base lines of the pier, and frequently having bases to the rounds, though they have no capitals.

Another feature of this style is the introduction of the four-centered or Tudor arch: this appears to me to be the result of the practical effort to

give as much apparent height as possible, and also of the wish to groin parts of buildings much flatter than could be done with the ordinary arch of two centers.

Although after the year 1500 a degree of debasement and want of proportion every now and then is evinced, yet the style could not be said properly to be debased till the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth. But early in the reign of Elizabeth, true Gothic was mostly gone; Italian mouldings and the Italian orders began to be first mixed and then predominant; all the ornaments of the windows were gone, and the large square plain transomed window, sometimes flat and sometimes projecting as an oriel, became nearly universal. In the reign of James the First, the Italian orders were considerably used; but of what sort they were, the tower of the Schools at Oxford sufficiently may shew. I have met with one porch of a church dated 1636, and a portion of wood screen work, dated 1660, both of which are fairly designed and executed in the Gothic style; but they are solitary instances, and on the restoration of Charles the Second in 1660, Gothic architecture seems almost to have been forgotten; for till within a few years, with very little exception, the attempts at restoration have been very barbarous.

Having thus very slightly sketched my ideas of the very gradual practical progress of Architecture in England, I propose in my next Paper to take the same rapid view of the Architecture of that part of France which has been before me in my late Tour, in order to enable me afterwards more minutely to compare and contrast the several styles, as they appear to have been worked at the same periods, in England and in France.

I am aware that in this Paper I have left out many peculiarities and distinguishing features of the different styles; but I trust I have said enough distinctly to mark the styles when in their purity, and also their singularly gradual progress through both the advance and decline of Gothic Architecture, though it must be acknowledged that the decline was much more rapid than the advance.

I remain, thine truly,

THOMAS RICKMAN.

LETTER IV.

Having in my last Paper endeavoured to trace the succession of changes which took place in English Architecture from the time of the Romans till a period in which Italian Architecture became common, I propose in my present communication to treat of the Architecture of a part of France in the same way. It seems likely that the Romans left some better works in France than in England, for there is still remaining that beautiful specimen of Corinthian called the Maison carré at Nismes.

At Lillebonne, a Roman theatre has been within a few years discovered and laid open.

At Bayeux, the pulling down some old houses has laid open for a short time (for other houses are building) a portion of the Roman wall of the city, within a few feet of which a fine gold medal of Valentinian was found.

At Rouen is the church of St. Gervais, which is clearly made out by the French antiquaries to be about, if not before A. D. 350 for the crypt, and the upper part of the east end to be before A. D. 1000.

At Beauvais is the remain called the *Basse Œuvre*, or Low Work, as compared with the very lofty work of the new choir. This is considered the remains of the ancient cathedral, and it stands where the nave of the present cathedral should stand. This building also the French antiquaries consider of a date before A. D. 1000.

All this succession of building is of the same character; all have tiers of Roman bricks, or tiles, running as bonds horizontally and round the arches in nearly all the examples. All have their arches plain semicircles, and all are built with small stones and very large joints. At the Basse Œuvre at Beauvais, the lower arches remain; they are perfectly plain and have plain square piers. At St. Gervais, Rouen, the crypt has a plain impost at the spring of the arch, much like that which continues with a plain arch almost as long as the semicircular arch itself remained. The upper part of the east end of this church, over the crypt, has regular columns just engaged, perhaps three inches in a diameter of near two feet; they are about ten diameters high, have regular bases and capitals alternating Corinthian and Ionic;

both capitals and bases are much mutilated, but can be made out; there is now no entablature.

About the year 1000 there appears to have begun that style which may, I think, justly be called Norman; for under William the Conqueror and William Rufus, we have both in France and England a series of magnificent works in a style so much the same, that to an ordinary observer they would appear identical.

The two buildings which have much engaged the attention of the French antiquaries from their different character,—the Abbeys of Jumieges and St. George de Bocherville,—appear to have been finished about, or soon after, 1050. They are clearly fully-formed Norman; but one of them, Jumieges, is remarkably plain, and the other much ornamented.

On an attentive and careful examination of these edifices, I do not think there is any difficulty in considering them of the same date; some of their mouldings are nearly, if not quite, the same; and the composition in both bold and simple.

Shortly after these we have the magnificent churches at Caen: St. Nicholas, now cavalry stables; Trinity Church, or the Abbaye aux Dames, now the chapel of the hospital; and St. Stephen's Church, or the Abbaye aux Hommes.

There are also many small churches in which Norman portions remain.

It should be remembered that in speaking of these buildings it is only the Norman part which is spoken of, for almost all these churches have only a part Norman. At St. George de Bocherville, nearly the whole of the church is Norman, but the Chapter-house and other adjuncts are much later. At Jumieges only the nave and a few other small parts are Norman; the choir of the Abbaye aux Hommes is much later.

The character of the capitals is very various in these edifices, but hardly any of them are very materially different from those in England, except that a greater resemblance to regular Corinthian capitals is found; and at times an approach to Ionic. Very large and deep doors are not very common, but at St. George de Bocherville is a fine one.

Straight-headed apertures under semicircular arches, are about as common as in England; and the zigzag, billet, fret, and other enrichments, are

much the same. Windows are some plain, some ornamented; many one lights, but some two lights, with the usual pillar centre, and the two round heads under one semicircular arch.

It is just as difficult to ascertain the exact date of the introduction of the pointed arch in France as in England; but when once it was introduced it was mixed with the semicircular one in a more capricious way than in England; for here there is a little consistency in its use when mixed with other shapes; but in France its use seems to have been governed by no assignable rule, and frequently a pointed arch occurs at the very bottom of a building, and every thing above is Norman. From these circumstances I cannot but think that the use of the round arch, with Norman details, was continued there quite as late, if not later than in England.

A claim has been set up by Monsieur de Gerville for a very early date for the Cathedral of Coutances; but, having visited and carefully examined this cathedral, I cannot consider it entitled to an earlier date than about 1220 or 1230; and I think that any one acquainted with the architecture of England and France will consider it useless for Monsieur de Gerville to continue a claim which would, if proved, throw all our reasoning from the character of buildings into inextricable confusion.

The French antiquaries, and principally Mons. de Caumont, in his Essay in the Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Normandy, have divided their styles in a way different from my own division; but, as a very careful examination of the French monuments does not bear out that clear distinction of the different dates which would be required for the adoption *in England* of all his divisions and their names, and as the principal points are coincident in both countries (with the general correction I shall shortly state), I think it best to retain, as in England, the word *Early*, calling that style which began about 1200, and lasted till about 1300, *Early French*, to which those who wish to add Gothic, may add the term if it is any benefit.

The next period, from 1300 to 1400, I call *Decorated*, as in England; but the last period, after 1400, being in its arrangements so peculiar and so different from our perpendicular style as to require a different and particular appellation, I take the name given it by Monsieur de Caumont, which is peculiarly applicable, and very easily understood by any one who will spend

a short time at Rouen only in examining the buildings of this style. Mons. de Caumont's name is *Flamboyant*, alluding to the waving of a flame; and the tracery of the windows of this style (which are the great, but not the only distinguishing feature) gives very forcibly the idea of this waving in its dividing lines.

I have been compelled in some degree to anticipate in the foregoing paragraph, in order to give at once the names I propose using; and here may perhaps be the best place to introduce the general *corrective* remark alluded to above.

In England there are few whole edifices of one style only; and even where there has been a building carried on upon one plan to completion, we sometimes find that, though the plan is retained, either the forms or the mouldings of the portions executed at the later periods are more or less adapted to the style then prevalent. Of this Westminster Abbey and the Cloisters at Norwich afford examples. A second source of difficulty in assigning buildings to their proper styles is that a form common in an earlier style is continued for a long period in some particular buildings, after it has been almost or quite extinct in other buildings; this is rare in England, but some examples are to be found.

In France both these sources of confusion occur to a great extent, and some buildings which have been very long in erecting have both. These anomalies in some districts are more prevalent than in others, and an illustration in point may be taken from the steeples about Caen and in other parts.

Those of Norman date had, in some of the stages, several compartments of pannelling, of which the alternate ones, or if four the two middle ones, were pierced for windows; these were often, if the steeple was lofty, of a long proportion; when the next style came, of course, according to the usual character of that style, they were lengthened; and when the Decorated style was formed, these long windows continued to occur, but they were a little modified by being made very small two lights; yet the same general appearance of these steeples was preserved by this adaptation for near 400 years; and so nearly is the outward form alike, that it requires a close approach to discern what the real style is.

One other instance of resemblance in the details of very different periods

may be found in the spires being cut in tiles or shingles: this begins very early, and continues very late. This illustration will, I trust, explain my meaning; and I may also remark that in France there is much more mixture of the features of different styles in the portions of buildings that were erected at the same period than we generally find in England.

Although it is evident that the gradation in France, from the Norman style to the *Early French*, was carried on as in England by imperceptible degrees, yet we are not able to trace it so clearly from the continued tendency to Norman mixtures, which lasted till the style again changed to Decorated.

We have therefore in each church, a greater or less mixture and very few pure buildings like our Early English in its confirmed state, and before the enlargement of windows, which marks our later buildings of that style, and forms the transition to the next. Of these pure buildings we found two so very excellent that they deserve especial mention. One is the church of Norrey, near Caen, a cross church, with a lofty steeple and a circular apsis, with chapels. The other, the Chapel of the Seminary at Bayeux, which was a monastery, and the buildings are mostly modern, except the chapel, which has lately been cleaned, and some restorations executed not in the best style; its beautiful porch is, however, still in a ruinous state. This chapel is a single plain groined space, with double lancet windows. It is in character and simple beauty more like the eastern portion of the Temple church than any thing we saw. This chapel has a curious eastern termination, which will be noticed when that subject is treated of.

Norrey has its choir and north porch of a much richer character than the Seminary chapel, but still in its details, mouldings, and foliage, very pure, and much like English work.

These examples, with various small portions, occurring in different buildings, are sufficient to shew that, although not always (perhaps I might say, not often) so worked, yet that the Early French style, when pure, was very much like the Early English. During this transition and that to the next style, many very large buildings were begun, and the Early English base of piers (the attic base worked to hold water) is as common in France as in England, if not indeed more so. During this time also the piers have varied,

though not exactly as in England, yet so much so, as not to require particular enumeration, except in one case, arising from the general plan of finishing the eastern portion of the French churches; this, in very nearly every large church and a great many small ones, is with a circular or multangular apsis, and this rendered it convenient to use a pier very seldom, if ever, used in England, that is a double column engaged in each other, the plan forming a figure of 8, one shaft to the choir and the other to the aisle. This arrangement is continued from very early French to very late work; and at one cathedral, these shafts have been fluted in modern times.

As the Cathedral of Amiens is usually contrasted with Salisbury Cathedral, it will be proper here to notice the portal, or grand entrance, which forms so important a portion of most of the western façades, and in many of the transept ends, of the larger French churches. They have in most instances the centre doors double; and in far the greater number, the head of the actual doorway is a straight line leaving a large tympanum. The sides are often very deep, far beyond almost any English Norman doors, and are very generally filled with saints of very large dimensions, in niches which are continued up the sides of the arches, and thus, with the tympanum, which is also often carved with statues in niches, or relieved figures in groups, forming a mass of statuary, which at a little distance becomes confused; and the straight line at the head of the door having above it other straight lines of figures, the whole has a very unsatisfactory appearance from the arches being abruptly cut by these straight lines. This mode of ornamenting the portals began about 1200, and continued more or less to the latest period; but not to quite so great an extent in the Flamboyant style, as some of the transept doors of that style are not so overpowered with statuary.

It may be well to remark that the nail-head and toothed ornaments, though found in France, are by no means so abundant as in England; there is, however, a great similarity in the style of carving at the same date in both countries.

The enlarged windows, which led on in both countries to the Decorated style, appeared apparently at an early period, as parts of Amiens have real Decorated windows; but it is not absolutely clear that they are so early as the walls, for many practical reasons might occur to defer the windows, the tracery at least, till a later period. However this may be, there seems

to have been a rather abrupt assumption of windows with geometrical tracery, much of which, from the large size of the churches, is very beautiful; and very soon appeared the glory of the French large churches, their magnificent wheels. In this particular we cannot compete with France. I am not certain that we have twenty wheel windows in England, which, for size and tracery, can well be named; while in most of the cathedrals in France there are one, often two, and sometimes three; and they are of all dates, from Early French to the latest Flamboyant, and from their size are often very elaborate; and many of their large windows have wheels of very rich character in their heads. The advance of flowing tracery not Flamboyant, does not seem to have taken place in France so completely as in England; the tracery continuing apparently longer of a geometrical character, and then almost at once becoming Flamboyant.

As there appear to be few pure Early French buildings, there appear to be as few pure Decorated ones; that is, buildings the style of which is without a tendency either *backwards* or *forwards*; but there are many portions; and one chancel of a small church, Tour en Bessin, near Bayeux, is so beautiful and so completely harmonizes with our best English Decorated work, that it deserves especial notice. It is a cross church, the nave Norman, and the aisles destroyed, and the arches built up; a central tower and transept. The tower and spire seem earlier than the chancel, which has very large windows above a lofty arcade. In this arcade (now very much mutilated, and part converted into cupboards and shut up) there have been two rich piscinas and three stalls; there may have been more stalls, but they are not now visible; above this arcade a band of quatrefoils ran under a cornice and pierced parapet, with a passage between it and the windows. The chapel is beautifully groined, and has had a south door, the outside of which remains. All this work is of the purest character, and the mouldings bear a great analogy in character and combination to some of our best English Decorated work.

This church renders it necessary again to revert to the finishing of the east ends of large and small churches;—after 1200 it appears, during the prevalence of the Early French style, to have been not uncommon in smaller churches, to have the east ends flat; for we found many country churches with three lancets and a flat east end, but of these nearly all were stopt.

A few east ends we also saw with Decorated windows at the east end, and the end flat. One large church in a town (Louviers) between Rouen and Evreux, the date of which is known to be 1218, had originally a flat east end and lancet, but now has a plaster addition to make a sort of circular apsis.

As a curious sort of intermediate finish of the east end, the Chapel of the Seminary at Bayeux and this Decorated chancel at Tour, may be cited, and I know not that we have anything like either of them in England. The first is easily described: at the east end one shaft rises in the middle and another behind it, then on each side of this shaft a recess, being three sides of an octagon, is formed; thus giving a singular and very beautiful finish, and still more beautiful groining, to the east end. (See Plate XVII.) I suspect this east end had originally two altars.

At Tours another and much more elaborate composition is exhibited. Here we have the east end divided into three arches, the middle one containing a very fine five-light Decorated window, and each side arch having three sides of an octagon outwards; two of them with two-light windows, and the other with a one-light window; all with good and varied Decorated tracery. The arcade which is inside the side windows, also runs inside of these polygonal portions, and is separately groined from its own shafts, and then the principal space again groined: the intricacy and beauty of this roof altogether I have seldom seen exceeded. It is not easy to describe this in words, but I trust a plan of the groining will make it clear. (See Plate XVIII.) The choir of St. Ouen at Rouen, and some parts of the transepts of this church and the cathedral, exhibit fine specimens of the French Decorated style.

It may be proper here to remark that the cathedrals of some of the southern parts of France have various portions and combinations strikingly recalling their vicinity to Italy, and the modifications thence arising; but this subject belongs to that more minute view of each style which I propose to take hereafter.

Before proceeding to the last or Flamboyant style, it is right to notice the continuance nearly through all the styles of that most simple mode of groining which, with us, is characteristic of the Early English style; and I think this is easily accounted for by the greater height, not only actual, but

proportional, in the French edifices, which rendered useless the elaborate groinings of our lower and lower proportioned churches; for the carving of the bosses, with us so beautiful, would be utterly lost at the distance and the angle it would be seen at in French churches. That the French architects did it from choice, is evident from the occasional use in proper places—small chapels, niches, &c. of very elaborate and beautiful groining: but I do not recollect seeing any real fan tracery, though some roofs have pendants.

It may be well here to notice two singularities which run through all the later French styles: one is, the absence of all battlements, properly so called, whether real as parapets, or ornamental in buttresses, niches, &c. where they are so frequently used in England; instead of them we have a profusion of pierced parapets of elaborate composition. The other ornamental difference is in the feathering or cuspidation of arches in tracery, &c. In England, although the earliest feathering is generally a trefoil, yet the cinquefoil is used in Early English work, and is continued and used indifferently with the trefoil to the latest time. In France, though it cannot be said the cinquefoil is never used, yet the trefoil is so constant that cinquefoiled examples are very rare.

In many of the large churches, such as the Cathedrals of Amiens and Rouen, and the church of St. Ouen at Rouen, and at a few other places, the triforium is glazed as a window, and being in these instances large and lofty, and filled with stained glass, has a very fine effect.

Of the stained glass I may say, that it is astonishing that so much has been saved as is still remaining, and its quality is mostly very good indeed. A careful examination with a good telescope is (from its distance from the eye) essential to a proper appreciation of its value.

I have said little of the minor adjuncts—screen-work, wood-work, &c. but I may here mention that the Cathedral of Evreux alone contains a complete mine of beautiful enrichments and tracery in wood screen-work, and in iron locks, handles, &c. The beautiful shrine of St. Taurin in that city is a complete silver gilt cross chapel, of the best Early French character and most admirable execution, and considerable size, being about five feet long, two feet wide, and three feet high, having many fine figures appearing in



An English Decorated Window.
Character of the Chapter House, York.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 23rd 1833



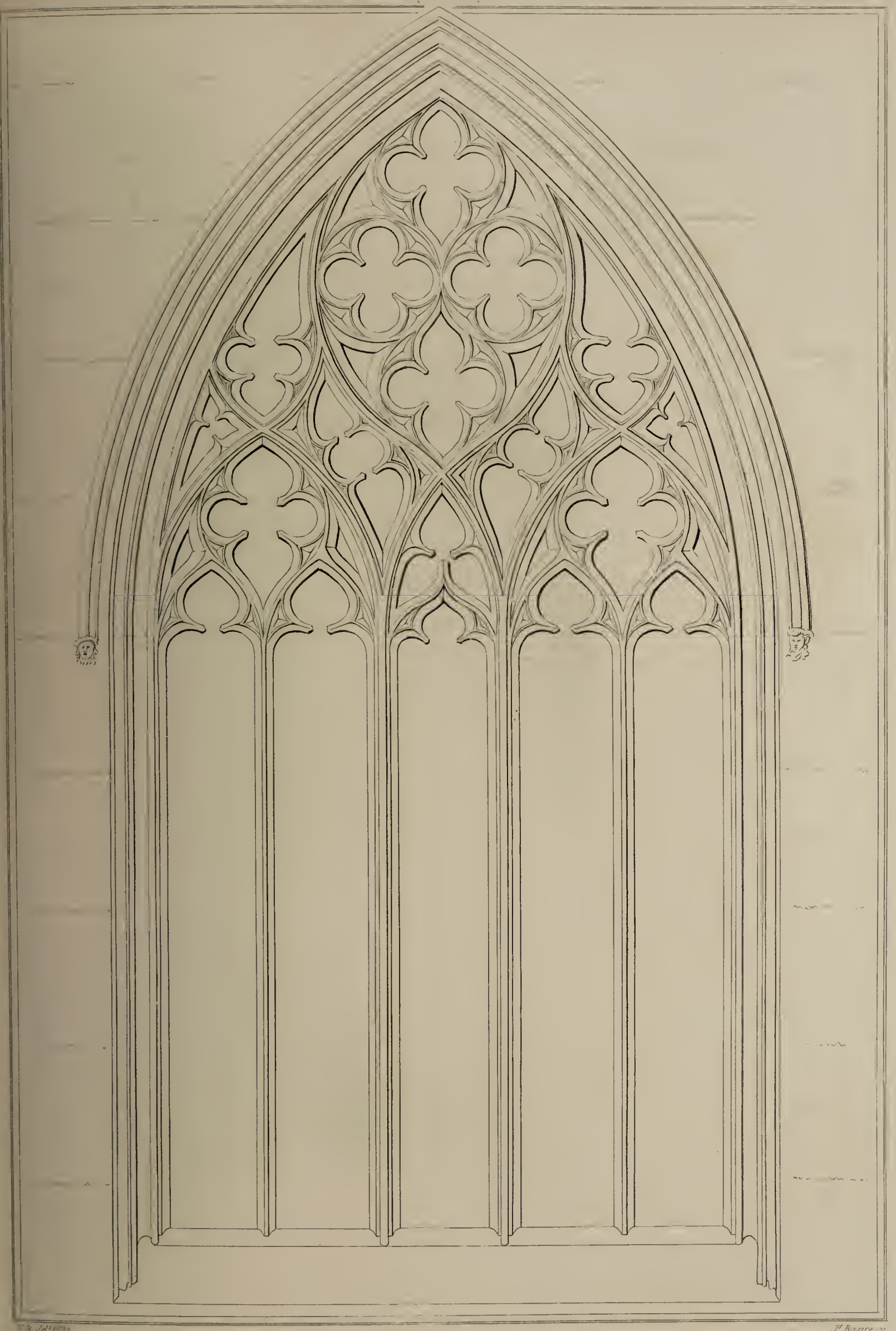
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A French Decorated Window.

Bayeux Cathedral.

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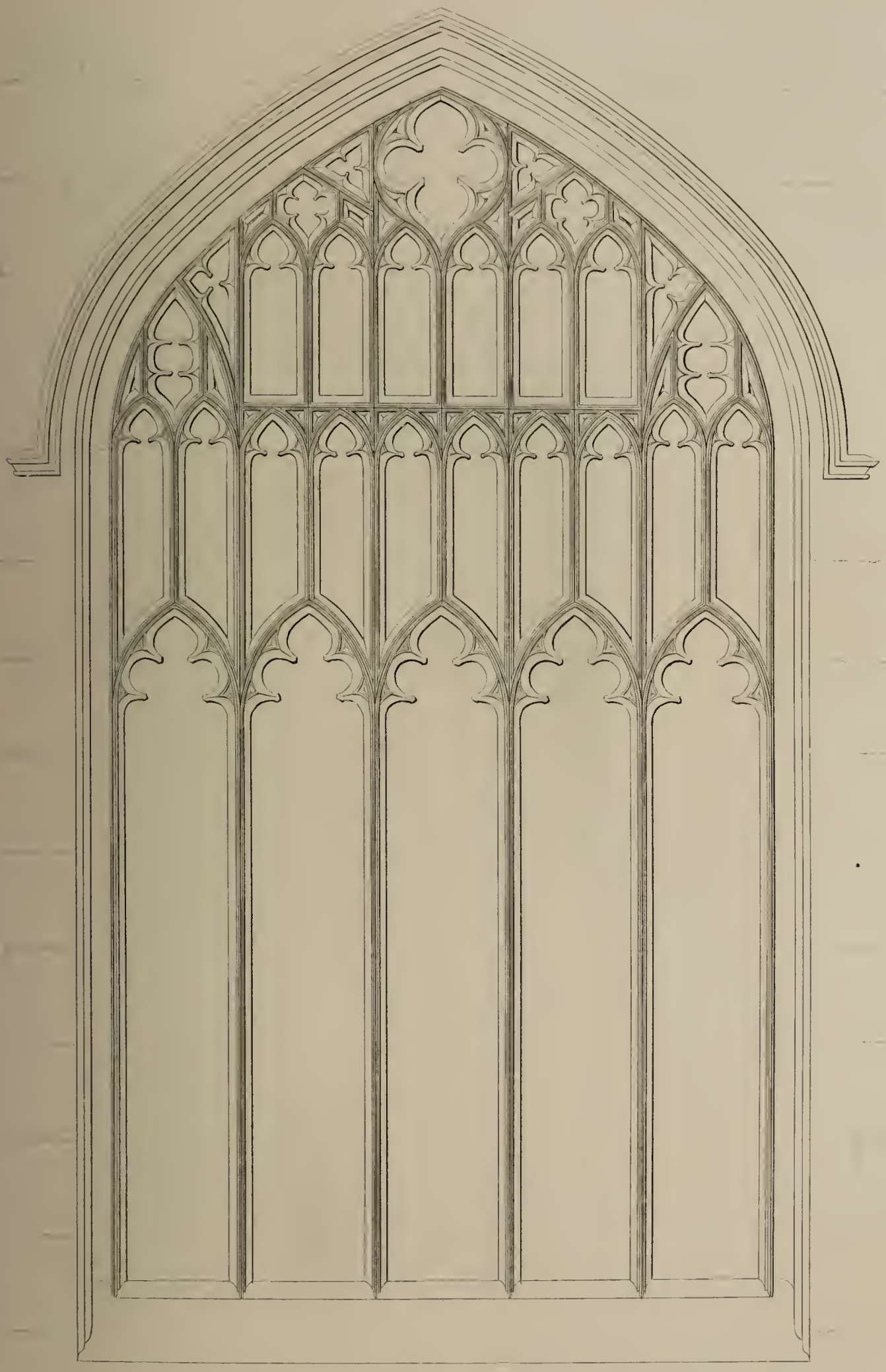


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An English Decorated Window.

Heckington Church, Lincolnshire.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 27th 1933



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An English Perpendicular Window.
Eaton Socon Church, Bedfordshire.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 23rd 1833.



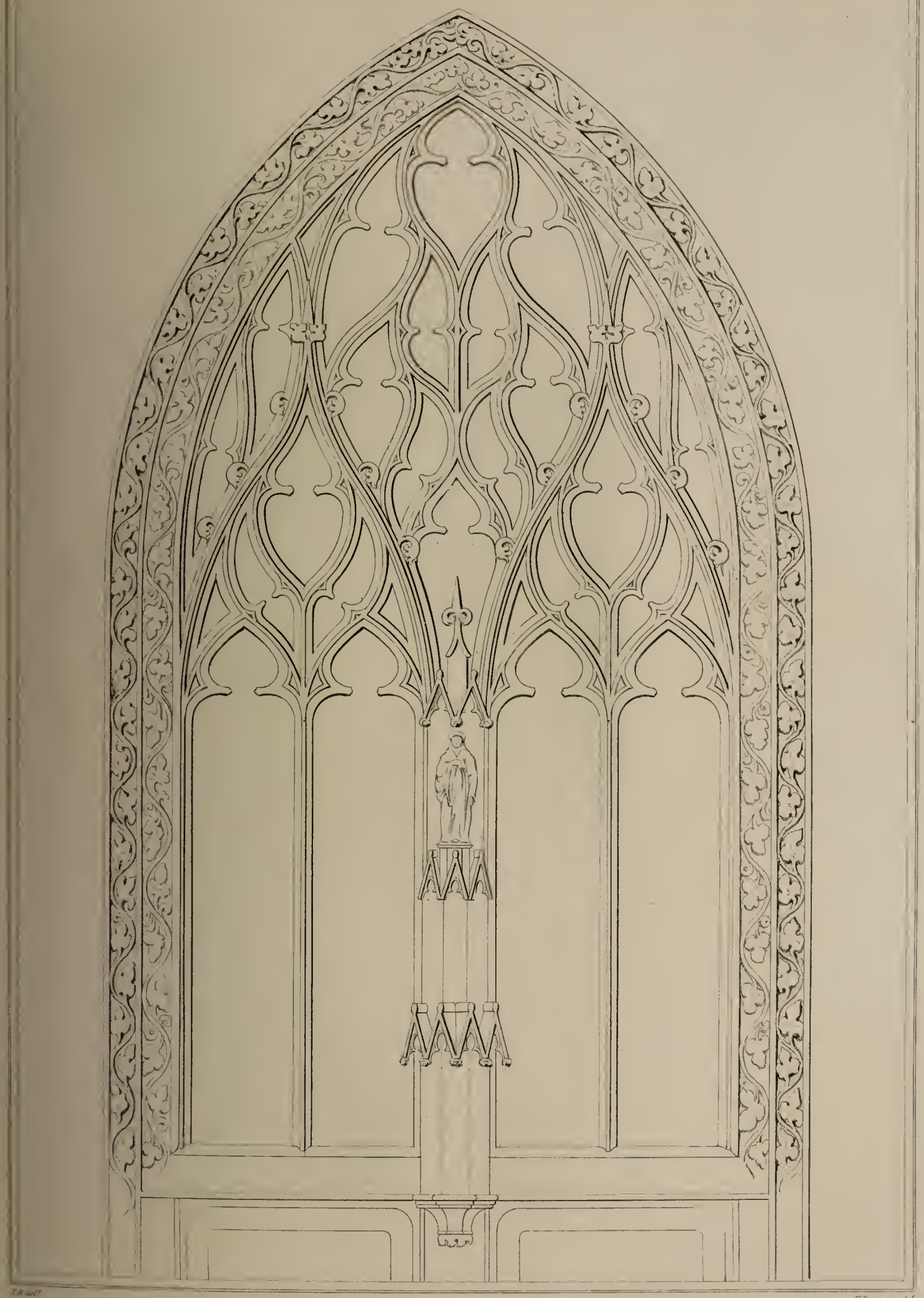
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A French Flamboyant Window.

St Germain at Pont Audemer.

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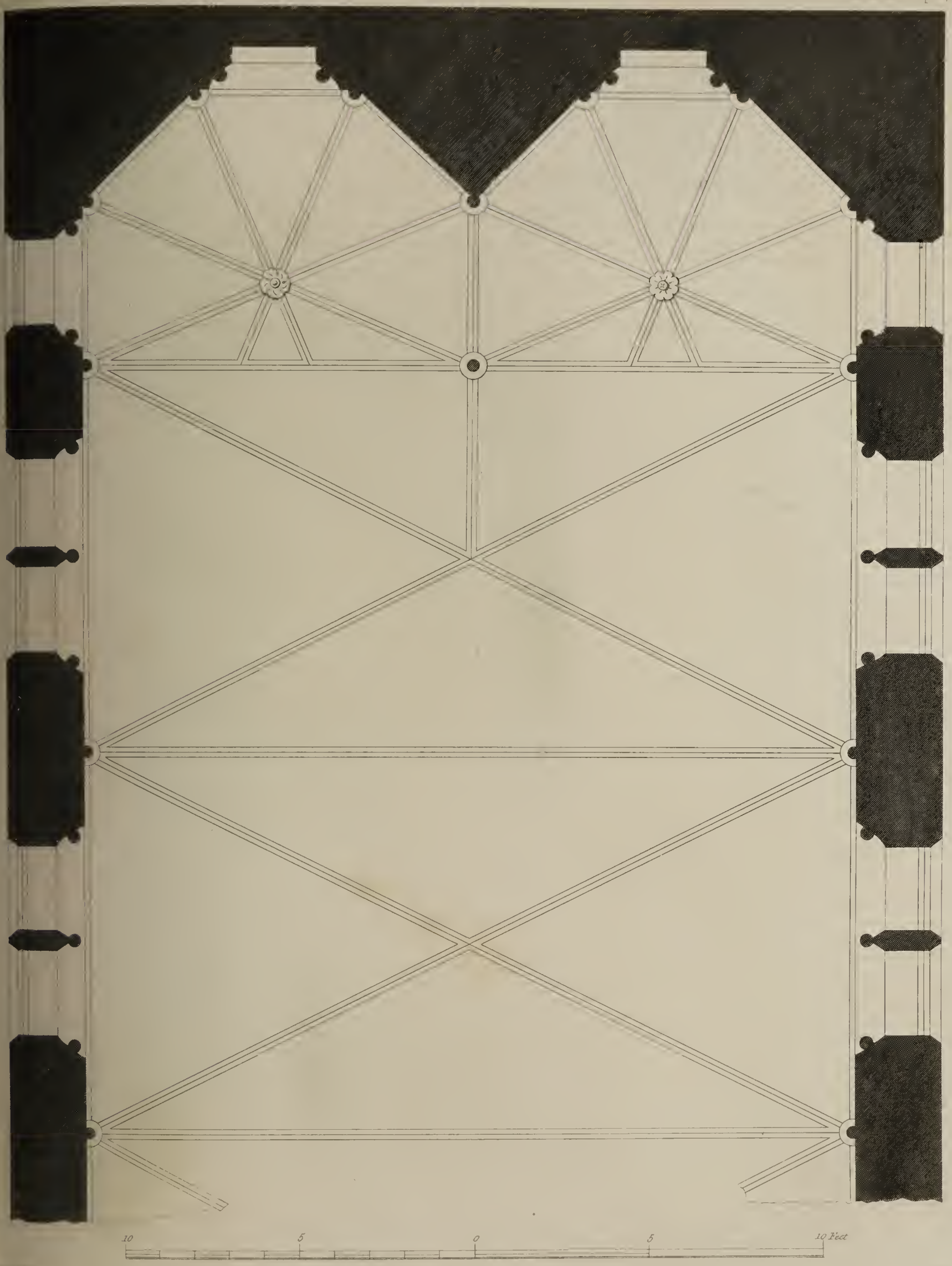
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A French Flamboyant Window.

Over the Doors in the South Porch. Harfleur.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1833.



F. Basse.

Chapel of the Seminary at Bayeux.
Plan of the East End & Groining.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 23rd 1833

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T. Rickman 1832.

J.H. Basire sc

Tour, near Bayeux.

Plan of the Chancel & Grouning.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 23rd 1833

the arches, and beautiful foliage in the crockets, &c.: if executed in stone as a chapel it would make a very fine building. Other edifices contain portions of screen-work, &c. of great value, and I believe some at least of the silver utensils, crosses, lamps, &c. are of ancient date.

I now proceed to the last or Flamboyant style. Like our Perpendicular style, it seems to have come out nearly at once, as we see very little transition from Decorated to it; though the nave of St. Ouen is such in some degree, but perhaps in a greater degree an adaptation of the latter style to the character of the choir.

Like the Perpendicular style, its piers are often without capitals, the mouldings running into the arches; like the Perpendicular, it has a variety of bases to its piers, and also a variety of small buttresses to its niches; and it has also that interpenetration of mouldings and piers with bases, taking one set of mouldings and missing another, which is so common in the English Perpendicular. It has its mouldings flattened and with large hollows, like English later work; but with these points the agreement nearly ends, and the styles are in other points curiously contrasted. Although the Perpendicular style admits of great richness, we find it often worked very plain, yet retaining all the real character of the style; while plain Flamboyant seems very uncommon in France.

Its essence seems to be elaborate and minute ornament, and this continues till the forms and combinations are sadly debased, and a strange mixture of Italianisms jumbled with it. Its combinations in the earlier part of the style, for richness, elaborate ornament, and magnificent design, are admirable; and no one can visit Rouen, where there are many churches still used and others now desecrated, and contemplate leisurely the beautiful church of St. Maclou, without feeling the value of the style, and also the value of that fine stone which seems to have encouraged the Flamboyant architects to vie with each other in elaborate decoration. The portals of Abbeville, Beauvais, St. Riquier, Evreux, and of St. Maclou at Rouen, parts of Caudebec church and various other churches, are some of the finest specimens of this style.

Some of the towers of this style are very fine, but too often mutilated; and the spire of one of the western towers of the Cathedral of Chartres may also

be mentioned as a fine specimen. I might add Harfleur and some other smaller churches.

The combination of tracery called Flamboyant, is not easy to express in words, and we have very little like it in England. An example or two exhibited, will be the best explanation.

As in England, during this style a material alteration took place in the arches of doors, windows, &c. and in the same direction, viz. to become flatter; but is curious that it took an entirely different direction. While the English four-centered arch kept getting flatter and flatter, till it became a mere turn for the small arch and a straight line for the larger one; it still preserved a point, and, even when flattened so as to rise only a few inches, still preserved its character; of this arch I can find no distinct trace in France, though I will not say it does not exist, but its French companion, the flattened arch of the Flamboyant style, which is used as much as our four-centered arch, is a very simple one, consisting of an absolute straight line in the centre, and the angles rounded off with a quarter circle, giving more or less height to the arch as the radius of the quarter circle is greater or smaller. In domestic work the aperture often becomes a straight line with a drip, or other ornamental moulding or canopy over it. This style is exhibited in wooden domestic work in many parts of France, gradually adopting more and more Italianisms till they overpower all traces of Gothic.

In churches it is not so easy to trace the debasement, but parts of some churches at Caen shew it clearly.

Of the details of this style I have little more to say; but I must notice two very disagreeable piers which are not uncommon in this style. One is, a series of eight hollows and eight rounds without fillets; this pier has a capital to each round, but it looks very poor and meagre from the want of fillets; it is used at Beauvais and some other places. The other is a plain round pier with no capital, but the moulding jumping out of the pier side, as if they had been soft and the pier stuck up into them. I know not that we have anything like these in England.

I have heretofore noticed the very capricious omission and insertion of the drip moulding in all the French styles, and both inside and out. In England, the nature of the material, or some other apparent reason, occurs

for this omission ; but in France, I can discover no law or local reason for its use in some instances, and its omission in others. I may also notice that the flat character of the primitive Norman arch faces, with perhaps a large bead for the only moulding, continues to appear to a late date, and in some degree to operate till the two hollows of the Flamboyant style supersede that flatness.

From the very great height of the large churches this character will be little noticed ; but a good telescope (which is especially required to see many things in the French churches) will soon discover the absence of those rich suits of mouldings, so common in the arches of our large churches.

As one more characteristic of the Flamboyant style, may be noticed the use of a small number of very large crockets in the canopies of large portals ; the effect produced is very fine, but very different from any of our Perpendicular combinations.

There are many more remarks I have to make on the minutiæ of the progress of Architecture within my assigned limits, both in England and France, but I must reserve them for that comparison, style by style, which I propose, if favoured with health, to make more at large ; but I hope I have said enough to induce those who have time and opportunity to study the styles of architecture in different countries, not as contradictions, but as members of the same family with local differences.

If this is done with a basis of extensive *English knowledge* (for I still think that in England will be found the most clearly marked features of each style in its purity) then will every succeeding essay, giving details of buildings in any part of Europe, be eminently useful, and lead the way to what is much wanted, a general statement of the progress of architecture in Europe ; and why may this not hereafter enable us to acquire some systematic knowledge as to the Mahommedan and Hindu buildings, to which we are but strangers at present.

It will give me great pleasure, if any Member of the Society who has visited other parts of France which I have not, would give some account of what he has found there.

I remain, thine truly,

THOMAS RICKMAN.

XII. *Observations on Dracontia; Communicated by the Rev.* John Bathurst Deane, *M.A., F.S.A., in a Letter to* Henry Ellis, *Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 13th December, 1832.



The first stone of the Temple of Carnac, and the Cross on the opposite side of the road.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE introductions which you kindly procured for me to the Authorities in Britany having enabled me, through the assistance of Mr. Vicars, a professional surveyor of Exeter, to complete a Plan of the Druidical Temple of Carnac, I have great pleasure in requesting you to lay it before the Society of Antiquaries, together with the following Observations on Dracontia. In these observations there is little of novelty; but I have adopted this method of introducing my remarks upon Carnac, because by it I can convey with greater ease and clearness my sentiments on the figure and dedication of this Sanctuary.

Of all histories the most interesting is the *religious* history of mankind; and, the more nearly a superstition approaches to the truth, the more animating is the research, and the more gratifying the discoveries which result from it. Such a fascination I have felt in the worship of the SERPENT; and in the pursuit of some further *architectural* evidences of its prevalence in the ancient world, I visited and explored the monuments of Carnac. The result of my inquiries I now offer to the Society, in the humble hope that the zeal which induced me to undertake the task, may atone for the imperfections which attend its execution.

I. The first worshippers of GOD adored Him in a temple "made without hands," bowing down before His throne under the canopy of heaven: and the first idolaters in like manner bent the knee to Baal in *roofless* sanctuaries. Whether there was any mystery contained in this practice, or whether it may be attributed to the infancy of the arts, when architecture was too feeble to lift the massy dome upon the unhewn column, I will not stop to enquire. Nothing is more obvious than the *gradual* improvement of architecture; and nothing more natural than that the primitive worshipper should desire to behold the God of his adoration "face to face," without even a cloud to intercept his eye from the place of His imagined abode. The first temples were therefore *open to the heavens.*

But there is another peculiarity of these primitive sanctuaries which deserves to be noticed. They were inclosed by no walls, and terminated by no portals, they were as open to the earth around, as to the heavens above them: so that whether we look for the primitive temple in the *Solar Circle,* or the *parallelitha* of the Dracontium, we shall perceive the same features, pillar after pillar placed at intervals, singly and independently, yet with a view to one constant principle. Of the *mystic* character of these columns much curious information has been preserved in history. *They were all supposed to be individually animated by an emanation of the Deity to whose honour they were raised.* It seems probable that, at first, they were erected *singly,* and afterwards *grouped* to form temples. Some such notion seems to be implied in the 28th chapter of Genesis, where the patriarch Jacob is represented as erecting a pillar to Jehovah. The passage is remarkable: "Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place and I knew it not! And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place!

This is none other but *the house of God*, and this is the gate of heaven! And Jacob rose up early in the morning and took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a *pillar*, and poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place *Beth-El.*"

Here we observe that the *open* place upon which the patriarch stood is called "*the house of God;* and he erects a *pillar* to mark the spot. These circumstances may imply either that *temples* were at that time *unknown*, or that they were formed by *an enclosure of pillars.*

The Church of God, however, did not worship in temples until Solomon built the first temple in Jerusalem. Whether this action of Jacob gave rise to the custom of erecting the pillars called by the Greeks "*Baitulia;*" or whether, from a custom well known in those ages, the patriarch borrowed the idea of his action, may be doubtful. It is evident, however, that *Baitulia* is the same word as *Beth-El;* for the same mystery was involved in both; they were both supposed to be symbols of *the Divine Presence.*

The heathen Baitulia were thought to be animated by the God to whom they were consecrated. Sanchoniathon says, that "Ouranus invented them, having made stones which possessed life." The Rocking Stones of the Druids may have been designed to perpetuate the same superstition; but the notion was extended, by vulgar credulity, to the stationary pillars of their temples. Thus, in every country some tale of metamorphosis is invariably connected with them. It is a common tradition in England that the stones composing the Druidical Circles were once human beings, and petrified in the mazes of a dance. *Stonehenge* was thus called "The Dance of the Giants:" *Rowldrich*, in Oxfordshire, is supposed to have been a king and his nobles: *Stanton-Drew*, in Somersetshire, was a company at a wedding: "Long Meg and her daughters," in Cumberland; and the "Hurlers," in Cornwall, are immortalized by similar fables. In like manner we read in ancient fables, of "the stones which danced round Orpheus and Amphion," these being no other than solar circles of the Druidical structure, as may be proved by comparing the account of Pausanias with the ascertained theory of the solar temples.

Consistently with these analogies, we are also told by the devout peasants of Britany, that the stones of Carnac are the soldiers of an army petrified by

St. Cornelius; while others maintain that they are inhabited by supernatural dwarfs!

All these superstitions probably originated in *the animated Baitulia.* The worshippers of the Sun made their Baitulia in a *conical* form, to represent a *pencil of solar rays;* and a *circular* collection of such stones very appropriately represented the *sun's disk.*

Of this kind are the circular temples of the Druids. They were all dedicated to the Sun, and described his figure: the pillars of which they are composed being generally of a pyramidal or conical form.

I am aware that many learned antiquaries incline to ascribe some astronomical mystery to these circles, such as the symbolization of *days*, *months*, and *years;* and some have gone so far as to conceive them to be the representations of *Constellations*, or of the *Zodiac.* But I apprehend that the more simple the theory in which we indulge respecting the recondite allusions of a religion which possessed no letters,[a] and left few hieroglyphics, the more nearly are we likely to approach the truth. Of one thing, at least, I am persuaded, that the astronomical theorist will find it necessary to change his opinion with almost every temple which he visits, no two agreeing in the exact number of stones required to represent the given idea. And it is scarcely probable that so many varieties of design should enter into the formation of the sanctuaries of a religion so pure and simple and elementary.

This improbability increases when we consider that in almost every religion with which we are acquainted, *the figure of the temple* is the *hierogram* of its God.

The hierogram of the Sun was a *Circle;* the temples of the Sun were *circular.* The Arkites adored the personified Ark of Noah; their temples were built in the form of a *Ship.* The Ophites adored a Serpent-deity; the temple assumed the figure of a *Serpent.* And, to come more home to our own times and feelings, the Christian retains a remnant of the same idea when he builds his churches in the form of a Cross; the *cross* being at once the symbol of his creed and the hierogram of his God.

a Much ingenuity has been displayed by learned and ardent men on what are called "The Ogham Characters," but I confess myself to be among those who require *more proof* that they were not simply *hieroglyphics.*

The Ophite hierogram, which furnished the pattern of the Dracontium, was variously delineated. The most common form was *the Serpent passing through a globe or circle ;* or, *two serpents issuing from it in opposite directions.* The Globe was occasionally decorated with *wings*, but in building Dracontia the wings were omitted : at least, no *alate* Dracontia have as yet been discovered. Much ingenuity has been exercised by Kircher to account for the origin of this hierogram. He supposes that Hermes Trismegistus was the inventor of it. This person was probably high priest of the Egyptian God Thoth, or Thrice Great Hermes, and assumed his name in compliance with the common custom of the religion.

According to his interpretation, the *Globe* typified *the simple Essence of God*, which he called the FATHER, or the FIRST MIND, or the SUPREME WISDOM. The *Serpent* emerging from the globe was the "vivifying power of God," which called all things into existence : this he named the WORD. The *Wings* implied "the moving or penetrative principle of God," which pervaded all things ; this is LOVE. *The whole of the tripartite emblem* thus defined, represented the Supreme Being in his character of the *Designer*, the *Creator*, and the *Preserver*.[b]

Without *contradicting* an hypothesis so ingenious and serviceable, I cannot help thinking that it approaches too nearly to Evangelical truth to be the conceit of an Egyptian priest. A more simple origin would agree better with the simplicity of primitive idolatry. If, therefore, I may be allowed to venture a conjecture, I should imagine that the hierogram of the *Circle and Serpent*, was compounded of *two* hierograms, that of the *Sun*, and that of the *Serpent :* originally independent of each other, but subsequently united. For there were unquestionably two original, distinct idolatries, *Heliolatreia* and *Ophiolatreia*, which in the process of time were merged into *one*, and became the worship of APOLLO. The legend of Apollo taking possession of the temple of Python at Delphi, alludes to the subversion of the worship of the Serpent by the worshippers of the Sun ; but that the original Ophiolatreia was not *annihilated* on this occasion, appears from the retention of the *Pythian* priestess, the *Dracontic* tripod, and the *live serpents* which were kept in the adyta of the temple. The dominant religion in every country has adopted some of the usages of the superseded ritual ; and the victors

[b] Kircher, Pamph. Obel. 399.

have uniformly planted the standard of their faith on the sacred places of the vanquished. Thus when the Sun (or his votaries) obtained possession of Delphi, *he built a circular temple upon the ruins of Python*, as we may infer from the language of Homer's hymn to Apollo, where he says that, Trophonius having laid the threshold stone, a multitude of labourers built a temple *round* it.—Ἀμφὶ δὲ νηον ἔνασσαν.

In Christian countries also, the adoption of the rites, and not unfrequently the superstitions, of the local religion is observable. Thus in Britany much of Ophiolatreia mingles with the Christianity of the peasantry; and in Rome the customs, and occasionally the creed, of the Imperial times has been adopted by the Papal. In almost every old city of Christendom, we may also remark, that the Christian church is built upon the site of a heathen temple: as if it were a postulate of natural religion that a spot once set apart for religious uses should be consecrated for ever.

Hence I infer that the votaries of the Sun, having taken possession of an Ophite temple, adopted some of its rites, and thus in process of time arose the compound religion whose God was named *Apollo.* In coincidence with this conjecture is the derivation of this word. It is compounded of Oph, the Serpent deity, and El, the Sun. Ophel, accordingly, is very generally found to be the god of the countries where the worship of Apollo prevailed.[c]

A subsidiary argument is the universal hostility which existed between the votaries of the two superstitions; in consequence of which, the worshippers of the Serpent were continually exposed to the violence of the children of the Sun: "the Sun" and "the Serpent" being the Good and Evil Genius. This hostility may be traced in Persia, in India, in Greece, in Mexico, and in Peru: in all of which countries the worshippers of the Sun prevailed over and nearly exterminated those of the Serpent. In Colonel Tod's history of Rajasthan, we have an account of the persecutions which the Takshacs *(snake-worshippers)* experienced from the rest of their countrymen: and the Indian mythology is full of the enmity of the children of Surya (the Sun) against the followers of Budh (the Serpent).

The constant enmity of the rival religions is strikingly illustrated by the Etruscan Vases found on the estate of Canino in Italy, and described in the

[c] Bryant, Anal. 2, *passim.*

twenty-third volume of the Archæologia. Upon several of these vases are depicted contending warriors, some of whose shields are charged with the device of an *Eagle*, the symbol of the children of Surya, while others bear the *Serpent*, the emblem of Budh : and these are invariably opposed to each other ; the *Eagle* being generally, if not always, victorious.

The hierogram of the *Circle and Serpent* may therefore be the hieroglyphic of the God Ophel, whose worship originated in the union of the idolatries of the Sun and Serpent. Temples built after this pattern were called Dracontia : a name which is singularly expressive of their form, if the derivation suggested to me by an ingenious friend [d] be permitted. According to this interpretation, *Dracon* would imply דֶּרֶךְ־אוֹן *(Derech-on)*, "*an avenue of the Sun.*" The worshippers of the Sun would eagerly convert the windings of the Serpent into *avenues to the Circle;* while at the same time the Ophite would as readily translate *Dracon* into a "*Dragon,*" or *Great Serpent.* Each perversion would flatter the ascendancy of its own superstition.

In strict coincidence with this theory, is the remark of Servius, in his Commentary on Virgil, Æneid. ii. v. 240, where he distinguishes the uses of the words, *anguis*, *serpens*, and *draco*, confining the latter to *temples.* "Angues aquarum sunt, serpentes terrarum, et *Dracones templorum.*" The word *draco*, originally signifying "an avenue of the Sun," would, in common language, soon become the cognomen of a *large Serpent*, from the figure of such temples, which were as Ovid accurately describes them,

"Factaque de saxo longi simulachra draconis."

The true Dracontic hierogram thus originating, became a symbol of consecration so general as to remain even upon temples long after the Ophite worship was exterminated. Thus Persius, in speaking of a place set apart from profane and indecent uses, writes :

Pinge *duos angues.* Pueri, *sacer est locus.*—Sat. i. 113.

The portals of all the Egyptian temples are decorated with the same hierogram of the Circle and Serpent. We find it also upon the temple of Naki Rustan in Persia; upon the triumphal arch at Pekin in China; over the gates of the great temple of Chandi Sewu in Java; upon the walls of

[d] The Rev. George Andrews, Vicar of Sutton, Berks.



Medusa's Head.



Ophite Hierograms.



From the Isiac Table.



The Ophite Hierogram of Medusa's Head.



Abury.

Silbury Hill.



Stanton Drew.



Merivale on Dartmoor.

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Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, As[illegible] 1833

Athens, and in the temple of Minerva at Tegea: for the Medusa's head, so common in Grecian sanctuaries, is nothing more than the Ophite hierogram, with its circle filled up by a human face; as exhibited in the accompanying plate. (See Pl. XIX.) Even Mexico, remote as it was from the ancient world, has preserved, with Ophiolatreia, its universal symbol. The Mexican hierogram is formed by the intersecting of two great Serpents, which describe the *circle* with their bodies, and have each a human head in its mouth. Many other resemblances to this symbol are scattered through the religious hieroglyphic pictures preserved in Lord Kingsborough's splendid collection.

The Ophite hierogram, when filled up with a human countenance, was called the *Gorgon*, and was sacred to Minerva; but when the serpents are twined about a winged rod, it is the *Caduceus* of Mercury: the *talismanic* character being preserved in each.

II. Having now, by these preliminary observations, defined the nature and object of a Dracontium, I will proceed to mention the principal temples in Britain which may be included in this class: before I enter more particularly into the description of the Dracontium of Carnac, which is the ultimate point of all these remarks.

The Dracontia which I have visited in England are of different orders, embracing almost every variation of the Ophite hierogram.

The most magnificent in Britain was that of Abury in Wiltshire; the most extensive that of Shap in Westmorland. Stanton Drew in Somersetshire, and the temples on Dartmoor, in Devon, are smaller but more perfect. All these vary in actual figure, but agree in general analogy. The temple of Callernish, in the island of Lewis, was supposed by Stukeley to be a Dracontium; but, if so, it belonged to the second order of the Dracontia, having only a circle at one end, and none in the centre.

Besides these, there appear to have been several others, which either were never completed or have been so ruined as to present very few traces of the Serpent temple. Arbelow, in Derbyshire, which has a mound and vallum exactly similar to Abury, with two openings corresponding to those of that celebrated Dracontium, was probably a temple of the same kind. There are vestiges of stones in the two gaps which appear very like the commencement of the two avenues.

1. Abury. The Dracontium of Abury has been so elaborately investigated by Dr. Stukeley, and so accurately measured by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, that it would be superfluous to enter into a minute description of it. Abury was a temple of the first class of Dracontia, where one serpent appears to be passing through a globe, or circle. The area of the great circle is 28 acres, 17 perches; the lengths of the serpentine avenues, *a mile on each side of the circle.* The number of stones in the great circumference was a hundred; within which were two double small circles, the outer containing 30, and the inner 12 stones. In the centre of one of these was a group of three stones; in the centre of the other an obelisk 21 feet long and 8 feet 9 inches wide. The avenues consisted of 200 each, and the head of the serpent was composed of two concentric ovals, the outer having 40, and the inner 18 stones. The total number of stones constituting the temple was 646, or perhaps 650. Of these there remain so few, that, had not the true figure of the temple been ascertained by Stukeley in 1723, the theory of Dracontia might never have been discovered. When he visited the temple the head of the serpent, though in ruins, was distinguishable. But it seems to have been perfect in the year 1688, as we may infer from a passage in Pepys's Diary who visited the spot, after having examined the great Circle at Abury.[e] Any person acquainted with the locality of the Dracontium will perceive that the "*place with great high stones pitched round, like that of Stonehenge,*" which the traveller saw soon after he left the Great Circle, and about a mile before he reached "the stones in the valley" *(the Grey Wethers)* was the head of the Serpent on Overton Hill, commonly called the "Sanctuary." The following is his memorandum: "In the afternoon came to Abury, where seeing great stones like those of Stonehenge, standing up, I stopped and took a countryman of that town, and he carried me and shewed me *a place trenched in like Old Sarum almost*, with great stones pitched in it, some bigger than those at Stonehenge, to my admiration. And he told me that most people of learning coming by, do come and view them; and that the King (Charles the Second) did so . . . . . I gave this man a shilling. So took coach again, seeing *one place with great stones pitched round,*

[e] Vol. iv. p. 131.

which I believe was once a particular building, in some measure like that of Stonehenge. But *about a mile off*, it was prodigious to see how full the downes are of great stones, and all along the vallies, stones of considerable bigness, most of them growing certainly out of the ground: which makes me think the less of the wonder of Stonehenge, for hence they might undoubtedly supply themselves with stones, as well as those of Abury."

I fully participate in the scepticism of Pepys respecting the legend that no stones of the same kind as those which were used in the formation of Stonehenge and Abury are to be found in the neighbourhood. The valley of the Wethers is an abundant quarry for two more such temples. It is curious that a tradition precisely similar prevails at Carnac, where the whole country is full of stones of the same kind; and in defiance of the self-evident fact, that many of the largest stones of the Dracontium were hewn out of the rocks upon which they stand!

The havock of which Stukeley so bitterly complained, and of which he recorded so painful a memorial, has been ruthlessly carried on by the possessors of Abury to this day! I believe there is but one farmer in the whole parish who does not consider the stones a nuisance. Of the original four hundred stones which composed the Serpent's body, only thirteen are now remaining, the rest having either been broken up to build walls and houses, and to repair the roads; or sunk in the ground and covered over with the soil! Trustees of the turnpike roads may share with the farmers in the disgrace of the destruction: for it is not many years since that they caused several consecutive stones of the Kennet avenue to be removed, when a trifling bend of the road would have saved them.

Although many of the stones have been destroyed, yet a diligent search may detect several which have only been *buried*. Two of these lie six feet under ground in the garden of Mr. Butler, of the Kennet Inn; and a third is known to be under the Bath road. But it is melancholy to linger amidst such desolation. I pass on therefore to,

2. Stanton Drew, the second Dracontium in order of beauty now extant in England. This also is much dilapidated, but more by the hand of time than of man. The figure of this temple was first determined (I believe) by Sir Richard Colt Hoare. I visited it in April 1831.

The plan of Stanton Drew is that of the Ophite hierogram, where *two Serpents* emerge from the *Circle*. (See also Plate XIX.) The *two* serpents may have been imagined by the Egyptian hierographers to typify the Good and Evil Genii. If so, the emblem is of more recent origin than that of which Abury presents the copy.

The central circle, or rather oval, of Stanton Drew is 126 yards by 115 in diameter. It originally consisted of thirty stones, of which only thirteen are now remaining, and these much worn by the atmosphere. Stukeley speaks of a "quincuple" circumference, but there are no traces now of more than one.

About forty yards to the east of the great oval is a small circle thirty-two yards in diameter, contained by eight stones, the largest of which is about nine feet high, and twenty in circumference. This circle is connected with the great oval by an avenue of considerable curvature, returning after a distance of eighty yards by an acute angle into the little circle. Of this avenue there are only ten stones in their original places. The average width is about nine or ten yards. The third curvilinear area is 150 yards to the S. W. of the great oval. It is circular, and *ten* of its stones (out of perhaps twelve) remain. These are generally very small. The diameter of the circle is forty-three yards.

I could find no definite traces of an avenue from this circle to the great oval. In some places the ground is rough and broken, having two or three suspicious hollows, indicative of the removal of large stones; although the actual existence of an *avenue* cannot be *proved.* But if we reason from the analogy, not of one but of many like temples, we can have little, if any, doubt of its having been a Dracontium. A curious legend also prevailed in the neighbourhood, which, agreeing with numberless traditions of the same kind wherever there was a Serpent temple, amounts to very strong presumptive proof that Stanton Drew was a Dracontium. St. Keyna, a holy virgin of the fifth century, is said to have obtained a grant of the land upon which the village of Keynsham now stands, from the prince of the country; who warned her, however, of the insecurity of the gift, in consequence of the *Serpents* of a most deadly species, which infested it. The Saint, notwith-

standing, accepted the grant, and undertook to remove the reptiles. *She converted them all into stones by her prayers!* [f]

The suppression of *Serpent worshippers*, and the destruction of *Dracontia*, is always obscured by some legend like the preceding, which in the metamorphosis of *serpents* into *stone* combines the ideas both of the idolaters and their temple.

3. Dartmoor. The parallelitha of Dartmoor furnish us with an interesting variety of the Dracontium. Their peculiarity is, that the avenues are *straight* and the temples in *pairs*. At Merivale Bridge, four miles from Tavistock on the Moreton-hampstead road, is a remarkable group. It consists, or rather consisted, of four temples, *two parallelitha*, and *two circles*. Of the circular temples only one remains entire; but the central obelisk of the other is still standing, and measures about ten feet in height. The circle is formed by eight stones, and is about eighteen yards in diameter.

Between this circle and the road are the Dracontia, forming a pair of parallel avenues running east and west, and 105 feet apart. The average width of the avenues is three feet and a half. The stones are generally two feet high, though some are much higher, especially towards the extremities. The longest avenue is 1143 feet. It has an oval in the centre, and *had* a circle at each end, which now are scarcely traceable. The shortest avenue is 792 feet, and terminates in a circle.

The first of these avenues was a Dracontium of the same order as Stanton Drew, only the avenues are straight. The second partakes of the form of Callernish; which, however, is far more magnificent than any sanctuary on Dartmoor.

There are other temples on Dartmoor of the same description, but not so extensive. On the brook side, below Black Tor, are two avenues parallel to each other, running east and west, which may be traced for 300 and 180 feet respectively. They are forty feet apart, and each is terminated at the east end by a circle thirty feet in diameter, inclosing a cairn. The stones average the same height as those at Merivale. Similar avenues, but running north and south, occur near Gidleigh Common, of which the pillars are

[f] This legend is preserved by Capgrave.

three feet and a half high, and triangular. They may be traced for 432, and 123 feet, respectively.

Many other monuments of the same kind are scattered over the Moor, which, from the multitude of such and other British remains,[g] appears to have been at one time very thickly inhabited. There are also many vestiges of circular huts, and inclosures for cattle, or defence. A summary account of these antiquities is given in a paper presented by Mr. Rowe to the Plymouth Institution 1830: from which I have taken the above memoranda.

It is probable that the early inhabitants of Dartmoor were driven into these bleak and barren regions from pleasanter and more fertile lands by the successive pressures of the Romans, Saxons, and Danes: and that the parallelitha and circles above described, were built in humble imitation of more splendid temples in the lower country. Their smallness and insignificance denote hurry and want of instruments, but there could have been no want of materials on a rocky surface like Dartmoor, abounding in some of the finest granite quarries in England. We may conclude, therefore, that the colony though numerous were feeble and impoverished; and yet their puny works have survived the gigantic Abury, the metropolitan seat of Druidism, erected with such labour and guarded with so much jealousy!

4. Shap. A more powerful people erected the Dracontium of Shap in Westmorland, which had it been less extensive might have long since ceased to exist. The columns are not to be compared for grandeur with those of Abury, and the whole appearance is less interesting than that of Stanton Drew. Notwithstanding, the avenue of Shap was a work of great labour and vast extent. I could not satisfy myself, upon a cursory view, whether or not it was *strictly* speaking a *Dracontium*, that is, a temple compounded of *circles* and *avenues*. It was, however, a serpent temple, and *probably* a Dracontium, pursuing a sinuous course, it is supposed, through a distance of *seven miles!* Here, as in all the British temples of the same kind, there were but *two* ranks of stones. These may *now* be traced, at intervals, for nearly two miles. They begin at about half a mile to the south of the village of Shap, in a small field adjoining the Kendal road. This extremity seems to have been the *head* of the Serpent, and is called a *Circle;* but in

[g] See Mr. Kempe's paper in the Archæologia, vol. XXII.

reality is only a wedge-like area, having the angles at the base rounded off, and the base itself bounded by a slightly curved line; its vertex opening into the parallelithon. Such a figure is as adequate a representation of a serpent's head, as a circle or an oval. At the narrowest part the two rows converge to the width of fifty-nine feet, and in the widest part of this area swell out to the breadth of sixty-eight feet. The curved line at the extremity is formed by six stones, at irregular distances and of different sizes, but generally five or six feet long, and as many wide. None of the stones at this part seem to have been ever erect. From hence the avenue proceeds to Shap, and, crossing the turnpike road, advances in a north-westerly direction, and is said to have terminated at Moor Dovey, near Banton, seven miles from Shap; but at present only about two miles of it can be satisfactorily traced. The largest stone now standing is about eight feet high. It is of considerable girth; and is known by the ridiculous name of the "Guggleby" stone, given to it by a facetious farmer some years ago, to exercise the ingenuity of antiquaries.

I did not observe any great circle corresponding to that of Abury, but there is a circular area called "the Druid's Temple," at Gunnerkeld bottom, about a mile to the north-east of Shap. It is formed of large stones, and might have been connected with the avenue of the parallelithon, and together with it formed a Dracontium; but I had no time for making any accurate observations, and only pronounce the temple to be a Dracontium upon the authority of Stukeley, who had no doubt upon the subject. The question will, I trust, soon be solved, and the opinion of that acute and much undervalued antiquary confirmed.

These Memoranda will serve as an introduction to the noblest of Celtic monuments—the Temple of Carnac in Britany; from which the Dracontia in Britain differ in some respects, but to which they preserve a general analogy, sufficient to point out a kindred religion. The serpentine sinuosities are the same in the principal temples of both countries; but that of Carnac is intersected by two curvilinear areas, neither of which can be called, in

strict propriety, a circle, although one of them is so denominated. Another distinction is still more marked. The British Dracontia have only *two* parallel rows of stones, whereas that of Carnac has *eleven!* But the same concomitant tumuli and cromlechs decorate them all.

I proceed to describe the Dracontium of

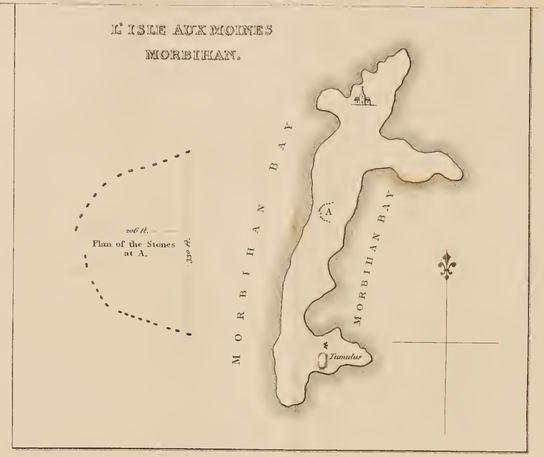
CARNAC.

This great Celtic monument, commonly known as "the stones of Carnac," is *eight miles in length*, commencing at the bourg of Erdeven, passing midway by the villages of Plouharnel and Carnac, and finally lost in an arm of the marine lake of La Trinitè, which flows in from the Bay of Quiberon.

The village which gives name to the temple is a bourg, or parochial village, containing perhaps three hundred inhabitants, who subsist chiefly by fishing. It is nine miles from the beautifully situated town of Auray, and about half a mile from the sea. The church, dedicated to St. Cornelius, is a handsome and capacious building with an elegant spire; having a southern portico curiously surmounted by an ornament resembling the bars of an imperial crown. This was carved out of a single pillar of the Dracontium by a common mason.

My first visit to Carnac was in September 1831, in company with General de Penhouët. I could not have had a more enthusiastic or better informed companion. This gentleman, who glories in being a Breton of pure and ancient descent, is deservedly esteemed in his own country as an antiquary of considerable attainments, who has enriched its literature by many ingenious treatises, and among the rest, by a clear and correct account of the general form of the Temple of Carnac. This he pronounces to be a *Dracontium;* and thus retains for his own country the credit of the first discovery. But he does not understand the term "Dracontium" in the same sense in which I have defined it: viz. "*An avenue of the Sun.*"

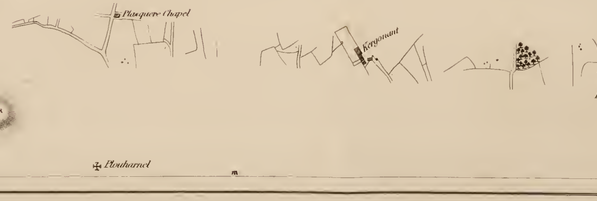
So far I was fortunate, in meeting with the *only* man in France who could guide me through the mazes of this labyrinth of stones, with intelligence and sympathy. We thought alike as to its figure, though differently as to its dedication. But here my good fortune forsook me. M. de Penhouët was a Royalist, had been a General commanding in this very district against the

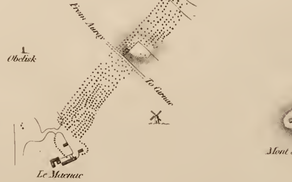


Plan of the DRACONTIUM of CARNAC.

Surveyed April 1832.











Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1833.

Republican forces during the Reign of Terror; he had moreover commanded the Gen-d'Armerie of Rennes under Charles the Tenth, had resigned his appointment at the dethronement of that monarch, and was consequently marked by the police of Louis Philippe. We were accordingly beset by spies, followed, pursued, interrogated, and annoyed to such an extent that we were glad to make our visit a short one: and having rode through the lines of the temple from Erdeven to Kerlescant, returned to Rennes.

But I had seen too much to be contented without seeing more. Accordingly, in the spring of the present year (1832) I again crossed the Channel, in company with Mr. Murray Vicars, a land-surveyor of Exeter, whose talents require no eulogy beyond the beautiful and correct Plan now before the Society.[h] We went determined to complete a survey of the Dracontium, and provided ourselves with all the instruments necessary for the purpose. Our first object was Rennes, where we hoped to be joined by General de Penhouët, that we might profit not only by his experience, but by his knowledge of the local customs and manners. But here we were doomed to meet our first, but happily, our only disappointment. He was very anxious, but quite unable to accompany us, having heard upon good authority, that if he ever ventured into that country again, he would be arrested as a Carlist. We set off, therefore, under the guidance of my previous recollections, not without anxiety, but with a determination to overcome every difficulty by perseverance. One of the greatest of these difficulties, was a limited knowledge of the French, and a total ignorance of the Breton language, which is the only one spoken by the generality of the peasants of the Morbihan. Our first appearance upon the scene was certainly amusing. It was ridiculous to find that the introductory question to a native from whom we required any information, must be "*Parlez vous Français?*" and no less laughable to see four men measuring with tapes and chains, and a theodolite, when *three languages* were put in requisition to desire the surveyor's man to tighten the chain, or to move to the right or left! But we soon fell into their ways, and they into ours: and at length, after much toil, but more pleasure, completed the survey.

For our success we were indebted to the kindness of M. Loroy, the Pre-

[h] This plan is upon the scale of fifteen inches to a mile, and measures twelve feet in length by four in breadth.

fect of the Morbihan, who received us in the most gentlemanly manner, and countersigned our passports, without which protection we could not have left the high roads; for the whole country was suspected of being ripe for insurrection, in favour of the old government, and many affrays had occurred between the peasants and the military. The indignation with which one of my guides repelled the inference that he was a "*Frenchman*," because he spoke French, was a sensible hint that we were walking upon a volcano.

We reached Carnac on the 19th of April, and commenced our researches on the 21st, the 20th being Good Friday. Mr. Vicars's first station was at a large stone at the head of the temple near Erdeven:[1] and I cannot follow a better course in describing, than that which he adopted in measuring the Dracontium.

This stone, which is a beautiful rectangular column, 12 feet high and $4\frac{1}{2}$ square, stands in a field by the side of the road from Erdeven to Carnac, at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the former village. It is upright, at the north-eastern extremity of a line of nineteen enormous columns, several of which have fallen. The second, which is down, measures 16 feet 6 inches long, and 6 feet 6 inches wide. The four largest are from 20 to 23 feet in length, and generally 5 feet square at the base. The largest of all, now broken into two pieces, was 17 feet wide and 4 feet thick. This is the fourteenth from the Carnac road. Its fracture was probably intentional; for it does not appear to have been ever erect, and so could not have been broken by falling against the ground or its neighbour. It was probably broken by the first Christian desecrators of the Celtic temples, who made such ignorant and wanton havoc of Pagan sanctuaries in every country. This is certainly a very remarkable stone. Upon the sloping surface is an artificial cavity, having every appearance of being designed to receive the body of a human victim preparatory to sacrifice; but the stone being broken in this part we could not take a sketch of it. There is, however, another stone exactly similar and more distinctly marked and perfect, upon a Rock Altar on the heights on the eastern side of the lake of La Trinité, at a short distance from the path leading from the ferry to Locmariaker. Lying down upon this stone I found that the shoulders were received by a cavity just sufficient to

[1] See the vignette, p. 188.

contain them, while the neck reclining in a narrow trench, was bent over a small ridge, and the head descended into a deeper circular groove beyond it. From the narrow trench which received the neck was chiselled a small channel down the inclined face of the stone. This being on the *left* side of the recumbent victim, was well adapted to carry off the blood which flowed from the jugular vein.

A person lying in these cavities is quite helpless, and in such a position a child may sacrifice the strongest man. No one can doubt the aptitude of such an altar for the immolation of a human victim, whatever may be his scepticism as to the application of it to such a purpose. For my part, I have no hesitation in admitting both its aptitude and application. The religion of the Celtic tribes was essentially homicidal. The Britons burnt their victims in wicker idols, and the Gauls, according to Cæsar, offered both *burnt* and *bloody* sacrifices[j] Strabo,[k] speaking of the Cimbri, a Celtic tribe, gives a terrific account of the murder of their prisoners, and describes with pictorial effect, the chief Druidess *cutting the throats* of the victims one after another, and receiving their trickling blood in basins, and pronouncing omens according to the manner in which the streams flowed!

The sacrificial stone, above described, is different from the ordinary Rock-basins in England; but very like that called "Arthur's bed" at North-hill, in Cornwall, depicted by Borlase, only the latter has no channel from the groove of the throat.

The purpose to which these altars were applied, will furnish a sufficient reason for the destruction of the Rock-basin stone of Erdeven by the first Christians of Britany. The dilapidation of the whole Temple seems, indeed, rather to have been the work of bigotry, than either time or cupidity; of the three destroyers time has done the least. The paucity of the stones between Plouharnel and Carnac may be accounted for by the erection of those villages, and the numberless walls and cottages which intersect the country; but the destruction of the stones of sacrifice, of the cromlechs, and of the superb obelisk at Locmariaker, may be fairly charged to the Saints who delivered (as tradition states) the country from *Serpents;* that is, converted the Ophites to Christianity.

j Comment. 6, s. 14. k vii. 194.

The length of the unbroken line of columns from the first station is 340 feet: after which there is a clear space of 270 feet. We then entered, at an acute angle, a noble group of pillars, which form the commencement of the parallelitha. This spot is called Kerzerho.

The stones of Kerzerho are, on an average, 15 feet high, and of very different shapes; but generally about four feet by six on the sides. Very few of them are sunk deep into the ground, and some are even merely set upon their bases. The holes from which several have fallen, are not more than eighteen inches deep.

From Kerzerho the Temple takes an easterly course, and *eleven* rows of stones, making *ten* avenues distinctly marked, proceed, almost uninterruptedly, for nearly a mile and a half. The distances between the ranks, as well as between the stones, are very variable; but the whole width of the Temple is two hundred feet. For about four hundred feet the lines are perfect; after which they are somewhat broken for a furlong, and intersected by walls evidently built of the same materials.

Shortly after they leave Kerzerho the stones diminish in size, until they dwindle into conical columns three feet high and three feet square at the base. They again increase until they terminate in a group, whose average height is nine feet, and base four feet square.

But four furlongs and a half before they arrive at this point, and six furlongs and a half from Kerzerho, the lines, making a very graceful sweep, pass over the side of a gentle hill which is surmounted by two cromlechs, both of which are now fallen. These cromlechs appear to have stood in a curvilinear inclosure of thin stones placed edgeways, and almost in contact with each other. But there are so many natural rocks upon this eminence that we could not satisfy ourselves of any regular plan. Possibly, there was an area on this spot similar to the curvilinear inclosure at Le Maenac, hereafter described.

The view from these cromlechs is beautiful and impressive. The whole range of the temple from Kerzerho to the Lakes, being a distance of eleven furlongs, is spread under the eye as distinctly and elegantly as if it were traced upon a map. (See Pl. XXI.) The smaller stones to the westward dot the pastures like sheep, while the massy columns of Kerzerho rise above them with a



J.s Basire sculp

View West of the Lakes.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 23rd April 1818

grandeur but little diminished by the distance; for what is lost in space is gained by comparison. The village and church of Erdeven complete the prospect with a delightful relief. To the eastward the avenues, as they descend the hill, present curves as graceful as in ascending; but, on reaching the plain, fall into straight lines, and skirting the margin of a small fresh-water lake, terminate abruptly near a hill beyond it. This eminence also was crowned by two cromlechs, but both are now in ruins. To the southward of them is observed in the distance the shadowy spire of Carnac Church, in beautiful contrast with the Mount of St. Michael, which is an artificial tumulus of such vast dimensions as to be seen from every cromlech and almost every important part of the Temple. The fascination of the prospect is completed by the sea, which bounds the horizon on the south. I cannot imagine a scene more interesting. A heathen temple surviving the storms of, at least, two thousand years, retaining for the space of eleven furlongs almost its original unity, and the whole spread out like a picture at the spectator's feet, while each extremity points to a distant Christian church, built, perhaps, out of the ruins of some portion of this once magnificent Temple: a lake below, the sea beyond, barren plains and rocky hills, form a combination of art, nature, and religion, which cannot be regarded by a contemplative mind without feelings of peculiar pleasure. One superstition of the Pagans never fails to assert its influence upon spots like this—the "*Genius loci*" is always ascendant.

At the end of the avenues, as they are lost on the level, is a tumulus of nearly two hundred feet in length, one hundred in breadth, and of a gradual ascent to the height of five or six feet. It was probably higher, but has been reduced by the showers of two thousand years to its present size. This mound lies in the direction of the avenues, and would seem to be an obstacle to the theory of their continuation from Kerzerho to Carnac. So it appeared to my companion at the time of the survey; but the subsequent discovery of a group of stones on the south-eastern side of the adjoining cromlech hill, convinced me that the avenues were continued from this point in a direction almost at a right angle to their previous course. An examination of the Plan of the whole temple inclines me to believe that at this tumulus was a clear quadrangular area, corresponding to the remarkable one

at Kerlescant, beyond Carnac, which I shall describe in its place. At Kerlescant, a similar but larger mound forms the north-eastern side of the area; and I suppose this tumulus to have done the same. A glance upon the Map will shew that these tumuli are similarly situated with respect to the whole Temple; that they occupy the same angles, and are nearly under the same meridian, the tumulus of Kerlescant bearing the same reference to Le Maenac, as that of the Lakes to St. Barbe, the avenues turning at each of these points almost rectangularly to their former course.

Three furlongs from the tumulus of the Lakes, and skirting the eastern side of the cromlech hill, we met, on the south-eastern side of it, with a collection of thirty stones, averaging three or four feet in height, and occupying a length of two hundred feet. They were arranged in rows, and the whole width of the avenues was *exactly the same* as that of the Temple from Kerzerho to the Lakes, namely, two hundred feet. The Dracontium made a sweep round the cromlechs of the lakes, similar to its winding over the first cromlech hill, but on a *different* side of the eminence. It seems, indeed, that each of the alternate bends of the serpent in their course embraced a gentle hill, which was crowned by a double cromlech.

It is a question whether these cromlechs so situated, were sacrificial or sepulchral; but I think the *latter*: for I found several which had the appearance of having been covered by a tumulus. They might have been placed round the temple like the tomb-stones in our own churchyards, and perhaps have originated our custom: while our earthen graves are the Celtic *barrows*.

Advancing in a direct line for the distance of a furlong and one hundred feet, we encountered a second isolated group of stones. They were about fifty in number, and occupied in length of avenues 250 feet: in total breadth, as before, 200 feet. They are generally eight feet high, and three feet six inches square; but their shapes vary. They stand on the eastern side of the farm of Crukenho, where there is one of the most splendid cromlechs, or rather, "*Roches aux Fées*," (called in England Kistvaëns), which we have seen in the Morbihan.

The great table stone is thirteen feet long and eight feet wide; and the chamber within is nearly six feet in height.

The Roches-aux-fées differ from the ordinary cromlech in having several contiguous stones for the support of their tables, while the cromlech has seldom more than *three;* or, when more, not contiguous. They also cover a considerably larger piece of ground, having sometimes a series of four, five, or six tabular stones upon the top, and making a sepulchral chamber, and sometimes *two,* of great dimensions. In this Paper I use the word cromlech *generally,* as including all sepulchral monuments of the dolmen or *tabular* order. I use the term also as an English Antiquary, for the French call *cromlechs* what we should describe as *Circles.*

From Crukenho we advanced still in a south-east direction, and after a space of one furlong four chains, discovered several stones scattered over a field of three hundred feet in length. Only eight of these are laid down in the Plan as falling under the line of the survey.

After another vacant space of one furlong, six chains, we found ourselves upon a very remarkable bed of rocks, which had the appearance of having been a quarry for the Dracontium. Some large stones were lying loose upon its surface, as if they had been prepared but never erected. This led us to suppose that the temple had not been completed according to its original design, which, considering its vast extent, is not improbable. It also furnished a refutation of a popular error which prevails not only in Britany, but every where wherever such monuments are known; namely, that "there are no stones in the country for many miles round like those of which the temple is built." So far is this from being the fact in regard to the Dracontium of Carnac, that the avenues seem designedly carried over beds of rock to facilitate the labour of the erection. We always found the *largest* stones either raised upon, or within a short distance from, the rock out of which they had been hewn. The wonder of Carnac is sufficiently great without placing it beyond the pale of credibility.

When we left this bed of rocks a disheartening vacancy of six furlongs lay before us, unless, as is not impossible, we may have deviated from the line of the temple, and so overlooked a few scattered stones. But here the cottages and farms were more numerous, and many walls intersected the country, which had been probably built out of the ruins of the temple, *sup-*

posing that the rows had been *completed*, which is a fact upon which I have some doubts.

At the end of six furlongs we arrived at a mill called Le vieux Moulin, more perhaps from the materials of which it was built, than from the antiquity of its erection. It was standing near three very beautiful stones. One side stone is fifteen feet long, the one in the centre twelve feet high and six feet square: that on the other side ten feet by eight. There are six smaller stones at about 270 feet beyond these, evidently forming a portion of the original temple.

From Le vieux Moulin we saw to the westward a very fine group of columns, which seemed to be in a line with the stones at the mill. These, upon examination, proved to be the parallelithon near St. Barbe; and its position caused, and still causes a great difficulty in my mind, the doubt being whether this was the commencement of a secondary temple, like the duplicate parallelitha of Dartmoor, or whether it was only a continuation of the great temple. Unfortunately we did not survey the ground to the west of the old mill, by St. Austin's chapel, intending to do so after we had laid down the parts of the Dracontium already ascertained. But when this task was completed, there was no time remaining for the other.

I am of opinion that, had we taken a *westerly* instead of an *easterly* course from the bed of rocks, we *might* have found that the lines passing uuder the cromlech near St. Austin, entered the parallelithon of St. Barbe at almost a right angle, and from thence took an easterly direction until they fell into the group at Le vieux Moulin.[1]

The distance from the bed of rocks to St. Barbe (six furlongs) is the same as to Le vieux Moulin, which is three furlongs to the east of the extremity of the St. Barbe avenues.

The length of the St. Barbe portion of the temple now remaining is two and a half furlongs; and it lies nearly east and west.

The smallest stone at the extremity of this group is seven feet and a half high, the largest seventeen feet long and fifteen feet wide. The average

[1] Mr. Vicars, in subsequently walking over this space, did not discover any stones. I leave the question therefore, in the same obscurity as I found it, but the bias of my mind inclines to the opinion of a *single* Dracontium.

height of the remaining stones is five or six feet ; and the average breadth of the whole temple two hundred feet, the same as from Kerzerho.

From the old mill we advanced four furlongs and a half in a south-easterly direction towards Carnac, and opposite the ruined chapel of La Plasquere found upon a rocky ground three cubical stones which had evidently belonged to the great temple. They were about four feet high.

Here we were again compelled to toil over a vacant space of nearly seven furlongs, and less sanguine investigators might have given up the search. But we had passed over the ground before from the opposite direction, and knew that our labours would not be in vain. We recovered the Dracontium in an uncultivated field behind the chateau of Kergonant, whose massy and extensive walls had perhaps swallowed up a vast portion of the stones between Le Maenac and La Plasquere. The neighbouring villages of Plouharnel and Carnac, both considerable bourgs, and a number of intermediate cottages, together with the *countless* walls which intersect the intervening country, are sufficient reasons for the vacuity between St. Barbe and Le Maenac. Wherever the stones were small (which they always are in *alternate* parts of the temple), they have been carried away for building.

M. Jaunay, of the Hotel en Bas at Auray, informed me, that within his recollection he thinks that from 1500 to 2000 must have been removed between Carnac and St. Barbe. The depredations were so great at one time that the Government found it necessary to interfere, and " a Conservator of the Antiquities of the Morbihan" was in consequence appointed. My friend M. de Penhouët held this office for some time. The temple is *now*, I trust, better guarded by the interest which the villagers take in it, having found that it is likely to attract more strangers and thus indirectly promote their prosperity.

The uncultivated field, behind the large ruined chateau of Kergonant, contains several indications of the Dracontium in scattered fragments of wilfully destroyed stones. Among these, however, are three which may be classed with the largest of the temple. The first, which is still upright, is sixteen feet high, and sixteen feet six inches in circumference. The second also upright, ten feet high, and thirteen feet in girth. The third, which has been overthrown, preparatory to its destruction, is of the same dimensions.

Passing from hence through a plantation of firs, we obtain a view of the magnificent group of Le Maenac; they are two furlongs and a half distant from the plantation pillars. But at seven chains before we entered the curvilinear area of Le Maenac, we found three large stones lying flat upon a marshy field. The position of these stones determine the angle at which the avenues entered Le Maenac. It is nearly a right angle.

Le Maenac is, indeed, a memorable spot! remarkable not only for the number and size of its columns, but also for a curvilinear area whose figure it would have been very difficult to determine, had we not fortunately seen an exactly similar, but more perfect, inclosure in a temple in the Ile aux Moines. This temple was once a Dracontium, extending, as the accompanying Drawing will shew, for at least a mile before it enters the grand area, and perhaps it may have extended as far beyond it. At its southern extremity is a large oblong tumulus about two hundred feet in length, terminated by a superb kistvaen or roche-aux-fées, of the same kind, but more beautiful than that of Crukenho. The table, which is *fifteen* feet long, *ten* wide, and *four* thick, is supported by nine upright stones, the highest part of the dolmen being eight feet six inches from the ground. The approach to the chamber is covered by three slabs which are supported upon six pillars. The whole is a most beautiful specimen of the dolmen, inferior only to one at Locmariaker. This extremity of the temple of the Ile aux Moines, is called *Penab,* which is a very remarkable name; for it is given to a place where there is not a single house, and means "*the head of* AB;" *Ab*, or *Aub*, being the name of the *Serpent aeity* of the Ophites, as Bryant has satisfactorily proved.

From Penab a parallelithon was formerly traceable in the direction of the island from south to north; but when we saw it there were very few stones remaining; sufficient, however, to convince me of the nature of the temple.

The curvilinear inclosure to which they led, is a *bell-shaped* figure, 330 feet at the base, and 206 in perpendicular altitude. The stones, of which some are eight or nine feet high and four or five broad, are *thin*, and present their *flat* surfaces to the area, being almost in contact at their edges, and forming a wall round the inclosure. Exactly similar is the area of Le Mae-



J.s Basire. sc

View East of Le Maenac.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1833.



J.ª Basire sc.

Front Row at Le Maenac

Mont. St Michel

Carnac

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 23rd 1833

nac. The stones which compose the periphery are thin and flat, generally five or six feet high, six feet broad, and two feet thick. They present their flat surfaces to the inclosure, and have been nearly contiguous to each other. The base of this campanular area is the front line of the rows of the parallelithon, which at this part is of the most imposing grandeur. But this line of columns not being sufficient to meet the periphery, the vacancy on each side is supplied by a straight line of contiguous flat stones of the same kind as those in the curve. The front of the parallelithon is 350 feet. The complementary flat stones, when perfect, extended one hundred feet on each side of it, making the whole line 550 feet long. The southern side is entire; but the whole northern portion of the periphery, as well as the complementary line of one hundred feet, is destroyed, having been probably used for the erection of the cottages which stand in the area. What could have been the meaning of this unusual figure? That there was something sacred attached to it is probable from several of the enormous columns of the parallelithon, which form its base, being of the same *bell-shape* as the area. The figure is something like that of the *horse-shoe*, to which superstition has attached such a talismanic influence against evil spirits; and it is probable that, if the charm of "the horse-shoe" resided in its *shape* rather than in any supposed inherent quality, it may have been reverenced as a hierogram of the Ophite sanctuary, and stamped upon thresholds in the same manner as the sign of the cross is superstitiously abused by the ignorant. It is a question with village sages which is the most potent charm against witchcraft, the cross or the horse-shoe, the hierogram of the Christian, or of the Pagan sanctuary. The figure of a *horse-shoe* is also observed at Stonehenge. The stones of Le Maenac are among the finest of the temple. They average seventeen feet high and twenty feet in circumference. We measured only a few, for the toil would have been endless; and we had a more important matter in hand, namely, to ascertain the course of the Dracontium. The best description of them, perhaps, is that they are mostly *longer*, and *wider*, and *thicker*, than the average columns of Stonehenge.

The village of Carnac is about five furlongs to the south of Le Maenac. And four furlongs to the south-east is Mount St. Michael, which bears the

same relation to the temple of Carnac as the conical hill of Silbury to the Dracontium of Abury.

The Mount of St. Michael is not all artificial; but a natural hillock has been raised by the hand of man to a commanding height, so great as to be seen for many miles. It was evidently once *conical;* but has been truncated to support a chapel, dedicated to the Archangel Michael, from whom the mount receives its name. The *artificial* portion of the hill now remaining is one hundred yards long, twenty yards wide, and twelve yards high. The dedication of this mount and chapel is singularly illustrative of the dedication of the temple below.

Most of the legends of the saints who evangelized Britany describe them as having destroyed either a *great dragon*, or a colony of *serpents*, which had infested the country before their arrival. St. Cado, St. Maudet, and a St. Paul, are all entitled to this honour: St. Cado was the victor over the serpents of Carnac. All these legends allude to the destruction of some Dracontium, which was "the Great Dragon," and the conversion or suppression of the priesthood of Bel, who were the "serpents."

Hence the numerous churches and chapels dedicated to St. Michael, the divine destroyer of the spiritual Serpent; and hence the appropriation of the most sacred hills of the Ophite deity to the Christian archangel: who, from his sanctuary upon the eminence, can look down triumphantly upon the ruined fane of his great enemy, and in the defaced image of the Serpent which covers the plains, be gratified by a perpetual memorial of his having "bruised the SERPENT's head."

Such was the idea of the Christians who built upon the Ophite cones the chapels of the archangel. M. Mahé, a French writer on the antiquities of the Morbihan, remarks the number of these chapels; and is at a loss to imagine the reason why St. Michael should be always seated upon the summit of a cone. He makes a conjecture, which, as far as it goes, is doubtless true;—that the first Christians of Britany, perceiving the veneration with which the half-converted people regarded these sacred hills, built churches and chapels upon their summits, to turn the devotional feelings of the suppliants into a right channel, and so wean them gradually from all their old superstitions. But why dedicate these hills to St. *Michael* more than to any

other saint? The answer has been given: because St. Michael destroyed the spiritual dragon, whose earthly image was as signally overthrown by the evangelizers of Britany.

Mount St. Michael is seen from almost every part of the temple—at least from all the chief cromlech hills. And it is not improbable that upon this eminence was kindled the sacred fire which represented the participation of the Solar deity in the rites of the Ophite God. Thus the analogous Silbury, which has been interpreted to mean, "*The hill of the Sun*," is seen from all the principal parts of the Dracontium of Abury. Upon hills of this figure the Persian Magi kept up their perpetual flame: the cone being peculiarly sacred to the Sun, in every part of the world.

It is possible, perhaps *probable*, that Mount St. Michael, in connection with its Dracontium, may have given name to the village of Carnac.

Hak, or *Ak*, in the old Breton language, as well as in the old Persian,[m] and ancient British,[n] is said to have signified "a *serpent*." May not "*Carnac*," then, be compounded of *Cairn-hak*, "the Serpent's hill"? and *Le-Maen-ac* imply "the stones of the Serpent"? But these are conjectures. I return to facts.

From Le Maenac the avenues take a north-easterly direction, occasionally swerving to the north and south, and exhibiting all the sinuosities of a snake as he moves along the ground. The average width of the temple is 350 feet from Le Maenac to Kerlescant. The eleven rows are distinctly traceable for nearly five furlongs, of which the first is studded by stones of a considerable size; after which they gradually diminish to the minimum of three feet; and again swell to the dimensions of fifteen feet by eighteen in circumference. This is at Kermario. The view in the plate is taken from the middle of the curvilinear area. But after the first five furlongs from Le Maenac there is a break of two furlongs, in which the stones are only dotted here and there; just enough to mark the continuation. A portion of two of the rows is ingeniously converted into walls for inclosures by filling up the intervals of the pillars; a contrivance which is resorted to

[m] Col. Tod, Rajasthan, i. 536.

[n] Stukeley, *Abury*, 32.

more than once during the course of the temple. At half a mile from Le Maenac the road from Carnac to Auray crosses the avenues.

The columns of Kermario, which is seven furlongs from Le Maenac, are extremely picturesque; and the view of the lines as they descend the declivity, and again ascend to the mill beyond Vitriviant, is remarkably pleasing. The dimensions of the stones gradually lessen until they become scarcely two feet high. They again increase in size until they are lost in a wood six furlongs beyond Kermario, having traversed a ravine in unbroken order.

The Kermario group is altogether more imposing than even that of Le Maenac, though some stones at the latter place may be larger. The beauty of Le Maenac is impaired by the level ground upon which the columns stand: while those of Kermario, standing upon an eminence, are displayed to the greatest advantage. They are also, in a given space, more uniform than their rivals, and perhaps the aggregate mass within a square of 350 feet, may also be greater at Kermario.

The Cromlech marked in the Map to the south-east of this group, has been a very large one, but is in ruins.

As Kermario may be said to rival Le Maenac, so the mill near Vitriviant competes with the first double cromlech hill, nearest to Kerzerho, for the view which it commands of the parallelitha. These two are certainly the best stations for the painter who would desire to give an accurate idea of the effect of the temple. Nothing can be more beautiful, or more evident, than the *sinuous* course of the Dracontium when seen from these points. The intention of the builders is placed beyond a doubt, when we see that, instead of following the more simple and more easy order of *right lines*, they deviate into continual curvatures, establishing thereby the opinion, that they *designed* to represent the sinuosities of a moving serpent.

At six furlongs beyond Kermario the parallelitha are lost in a wood: but within a furlong and three chains we enter the *sanctuary of Kerlescant*, which is one of the most remarkable parts of the temple. This is a clear area resembling a square with its corners so rounded off as to appear, in the eyes of an inexperienced person, to be a *circle*. Actual measurement alone convinced me that it was a square. So deceptive is its outline, that the



J.s Basire sc

Row near Kerlescant.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 1st 1833

spot is called *Kerlescant*, which means "the *place* of the *Circle*;" and after all, I think it probable that it might have been intended to represent this figure.

The sides of this area average 250 feet. The southern and western have been formed of broad thin stones, like those of the "Bell" at Le Maenac; and like them appear to have been contiguous. The eastern side is formed by the front line of the eleven rows of the Dracontium, which again resume their magnificent order. The northern extremity is bounded by an oblong tumulus three hundred feet long and one hundred feet wide. The other three sides also stand upon a ridge, or perhaps rather the area between them was excavated to the depth of three or four feet.

The mound on the northern side is similar to, but larger than that at the corresponding angle of the Dracontium on the level near the lakes.

It is difficult to determine at what point the avenues entered Kerlescant. The western, as the most probable, has been assumed in the imaginary outline of the Plan.

If Kerlescant were a perfect circle, or even if it was intended to be a circle, the figure of the Dracontium, *in this part*, would approximate to the common Ophite hierogram as delineated in Abury.

That this sacred figure was known to the ancient worshippers of the Ophite deity in this vicinity may be inferred from the existence of a very curious custom still observed at Erdeven. At an annual festival, held on the day of the Carnival, the villagers unite in a general *dance*, which by its figure *describes accurately the Ophite hierogram of the Circle and Serpent.* The dancers commence in a circle, and having performed a few revolutions, wheel off to the right and left, in the same manner as their temple recedes from Kerlescant.

They call this dance, *par excellence*, "Le Bal."

Now this word may mean nothing more than the common French word "*bal*,"—a public dancing. But it is *possible* that it may be *the original sacred dance of* Baal, from whom it may take its name, which in process of time, and through change of religions and manners, became used more generally to signify *a Ball*, in the present acceptation of the word. *Dancing*

was one of the most ordinary and most important of the idolatrous rites in all heathen religions: and the *circular dance* was preferred to all others.

A tradition of this *circular* dancing peeps through the fables which we before noticed as common respecting the Druidical temples in England, namely, that the stones were human beings petrified in the midst of a *dance.* Now all the temples to which such superstitions are attached are *circular* :— May not then the *circular dance,* similar to that practised at Erdeven, have been the ordinary accompaniment of an Ophite festival?[m]

From Kerlescant the avenues proceed in straight lines of great beauty. The course is now very nearly due east. The breadth of the Temple is still 350 feet, the same as from Le Maenac to Kerlescant. But for the first 300 feet after it leaves the area, it is flanked by two *additional* rows. As long as it is supported by these the breadth is 450 feet, being the greatest width of the parallelitha throughout their course. The columns of Kerlescant are of the same gigantic dimensions as those at the other principal parts of the Temple. They are generally fifteen feet high, and sixteen feet in circumference.

Beyond Kerlescant the Dracontium continues for three furlongs, and may be easily traced through a large farm which intersects it, many of its stones being built into the walls of the fields and orchards. But shortly after they have passed the farm they appear less frequent, and at length are scarcely to be distinguished from the gate-posts, &c. erected by the hands of the modern farmer. They may be traced, however, at intervals, up to the Chateau du Lac, which is at the distance of half a mile from the farm of Kerlescant. We even saw some very suspicious looking stones in the pastures and grounds of the chateau, to the very margin of the lake of La Trinité; but we did not think it necessary to lay down their positions, having already followed the lines *seven miles and a half!* The difficulties of trespassing upon private property were too serious to be incurred upon a mere question of curiosity.

Nevertheless I am convinced that the Temple extended *at least* as far as the chateau, and possibly beyond it. For the inlet of La Trinité is very

[m] The circles in Cornwall are called "*dawns-maen,*" i. e. "*dance stones.*" Borlase, 194.

narrow at this point, and may have been forced by high tides and storms since the erection of the Dracontium. I cannot help thinking that *originally* the Temple reached to Locmariaker, which is three miles beyond the Chateau du Lac. The reasons for this hypothesis are the following:

1. That Locmariaker was the capital town of the district, if not the chief city of the Veneti. Consequently we find at this place some of the most interesting works of the ancient Bretons to be seen in the Morbihan. According to M. Mahé there are at least *thirty* objects of antiquity in this small area, which remind us of the once great people who possessed Britany. The most remarkable are two long tumuli inclosing kistvaens of considerable dimensions; a cromlech of singular size and beauty, charged with hieroglyphics of an unique character; and two obelisks, each carved out of a single stone, of which one is sixty-three feet in length, and fourteen feet diameter at the thickest part.

These monuments in the immediate vicinity of the capital would have been a suitable beginning or termination to the Temple.

2. From Erdeven to Kerlescant the course of the Dracontium is marked by a line of cromlechs on rising ground, over the sides of which the avenues appear to have passed in alternation. A similar appearance is presented to the eye on the eastern side of the lake of La Trinité, where a line of cromlechs crowns the hills as far as Locmariaker.

I cannot say that in traversing this district we met with any portion of the Dracontium. One beautiful column, about twelve feet high and four feet square, is standing on *low* ground, about a mile from the supposed termination; but this was the only indication (a feeble one I admit) of the continuation of the Temple beyond the Chateau du Lac. Had the lines been continued, I conceive that this column would have fallen within them. A gentleman at Carnac informed me that the avenues might be traced on the eastern side of the lake, but we could not find them. It is possible, nay probable, that, in crossing and re-crossing the track, we may have walked over denuded grounds upon which the Temple might have rested a thousand years ago: but in so difficult a country nothing is more easy than to spend days in unprofitable research. Time did not suffice to persist in the pursuit, which I reluctantly abandoned, to be resumed at another opportu-

nity, or by another adventurer who may be more fortunate. If the problem can, by any means, be satisfactorily solved, I shall not regret that these hints have led to its solution, although by another person. In the fraternity of letters there should be no selfishness, and in the communication of knowledge no reserve. But whoever undertakes the task should, if possible, make himself conversant with the Breton language, which will obviate many difficulties and disappointments. For, "*I do not understand Gaelic,*" is a common reply in the mouth of a Breton, as "*I do not understand Saxon,*" in that of a Welshman. In default of the *Breton* language the *Welsh* may be found useful.

The conjecture respecting the continuation of the Temple to Locmariaker will apply to its extension in the western direction, beyond Erdeven, to *Belz.* Belz and Locmariaker were evidently the most important places in this district. The latter was, perhaps, the capital of the nation, certainly the chief town of the district, the former the principal seat of its religion.

The Celtic tribes are known to have been devoted to the worship of the god Bel; and the people of Britany were a considerable portion of the Celtic family. They still call a *priest,* a "*Belech,*" which may be the same as the Balak of Scripture, and signify *Bel-ak,* i. e. "*Bel the Dragon.*" Bel and the Dragon are uniformly coupled together; and the priest of the Ophite religion as uniformly assumed *the name of his god.* Thus the priest or priestess of the Syrian Serpent god Oub was also called *Oub,*[n] from which is derived the African *Obeah,* man or woman, who invoked Obi: the priestess of Python is *Pythia;* the Druid says, in enumerating his titles,[o]

"I am a Druid; I am an Architect; I am a Prophet; I am a *Serpent.*"

The priest of the Egyptian Cneph was *Icnuphis;* and the examples may be multiplied. Consistently with this universal custom of the Ophite religion, we have in Britany the priest of "Bel the Dragon," called *Belech;* which name has been retained, among other reliques of Ophiolatreia, in the Christianity of the country.

The chief oracle of Bel was in the parish of *Belz* above-mentioned; which

[n] Leviticus, xx. 27. Deut. xviii. 11.

[o] Taliessin, translated by Davies. Myth. of the Druids, Appendix, 6.

word seems to be an abbreviation from the Roman *Belus;* for it is as frequently written Bels. It was in this parish that St. Cado landed when he expelled the *Serpents* from the country; and here is a sacred spot which tradition states to have been endowed by him with the power of working miracles. It is a space of about three feet in length and two in width, and covered in by four stones, two at the sides, one at the back, and one over the top, leaving the remaining side open. Over this is built a chapel dedicated to St. Cado.

This chapel is much frequented by the devout peasants of the Morbihan, who, piously thrusting their heads into the above hole, as surely expect to be cured of *deafness* as the most superstitious suppliant of Bel, by a similar application of his ear to the sacred corner, may be supposed to have expected the oracular response—for upon this spot, probably, was the oracle of Bel.

The guide, who conducted M. de Penhouët and myself from Landevan, was an implicit believer in the miraculous properties of the hole, and (what struck us as possibly a remnant of the old superstition) declared, upon putting in his head, that *he heard a sound.* I made the same experiment, but cannot say that I was similarly favoured.

Belz being the chief seat of the worship of the Dragon god in this part of the country, it is not improbable that from this point the Temple may have been designed to extend to Locmariaker, the capital town of the district. But, beyond a beautiful Roche-aux-Fées and some scattered cromlechs, I did not perceive any indications of a Dracontium. The opinion which I have advanced respecting the probable continuation of the Temple from Erdeven to Belz must be therefore considered as purely conjectural. There are some arguments for, and some against; I leave them for the consideration of the next visitant. Of one thing, however, I am assured:—that the Temple of Carnac (whether eight miles in length, as we have traced it, or *thirteen*, as I have imagined it by the above conjectures), was truly *a Dracontium consecrated to the god* Bel.

I do not maintain, with M. de Penhouët, that this is the *very* "Dragon of the Hesperides," so celebrated in ancient Mythology, although conjectures less plausible have been admitted; but I believe it to be, at least, as exten-

sive and wonderful as the two great Pythons of antiquity, that of Delphi, and that of Æolia. If the "ponere totum" be the criterion, Abury might have been more elegant and unique; but in grandeur and interest it must yield to Carnac.

There are other similar parallelitha in the Morbihan on a much smaller scale. But as I have not explored these personally, I will not bring them forward as illustrations. Neither will I argue that *the avenues of Sphinxes*, which leads to the Temple of Karnac in Egypt, was formed of a rude parallelithon of rough stones, like those of Carnac in Britany, and afterwards carved into the heads of these classical monsters; although even this fact is not impossible; for I am persuaded that *all columnar avenues* were originally suggested by the parallelitha of the Dracontia, which so generally covered the face of Greece, Asia Minor, and, in still more remote ages, perhaps of Egypt itself.

The traditions of the Breton peasantry respecting the erection of their Carnac are, as usual in such cases, of a marvellous kind. Some believe that the stones which compose the Temple were a heathen army which pursued St. Cornelius, the converted centurion, because he had renounced Paganism; and, having hemmed him in between their swords and the sea, compelled him to have recourse to his weapon of prayer. He appealed to it so successfully, that they were all petrified in their ranks! Others imagine that certain supernatural dwarfs, desirous of evincing their strength, and of astonishing the puny race of mortals among whom they lived, carried these stones in their arms from the quarries, and raised them as they stand, in a single night. The dwarfs who performed this celebrated feat are still supposed to reside, each in the stone which he carried! Such are the opinions of the peasants.

The philosophers are less superstitious, but more ardent for the glory of their country. One of them accordingly maintains with much gravity, that *Julius Cæsar* (for no meaner personage would be worthy of their arms) being defeated by the Veneti, and flying to his ships, erected these columns in military array to deceive the pursuing enemy; and under cover of the stratagem made his escape. Another tells us, that the Veneti themselves erected them, to intimidate the Romans, who were hovering on the coast

with their fleet. These philosophers never dreamed that the whole population of the Morbihan, with all the Roman army, would hardly have sufficed to build such a temple in a dozen years!

More sensible persons believe the parallelitha to represent the Zodiac, of which the ancient *eleven* signs are represented by the eleven rows.

But General de Penhouët alone, having seen Sir Richard Colt Hoare's description of Abury, conceived the idea that the Temple of Carnac was a *Dracontium.* He traced it in its material parts, and satisfied himself of the truth of his conjecture: but he did not lay down the real figure by actual measurement, which has never been done until now, except, I believe, by M. Sauvagère, an officer of Engineers in the French army, whose plan, if he made one, I have never seen. I have read his treatise, which is unpretending, and throws no new light upon the subject. I coincide with General de Penhouët as to the *figure* of the Temple, but do not agree with him in imagining that the aggregate of stones represented the Zodiac, and the single stones the separate stars in the constellations. I believe the Temple to be purely a *Dracontium;* a sanctuary consecrated to the Ophite worship.

M. Mahé, the latest writer on the antiquities of the Morbihan, who is certainly a man of great classical acquirements, seems to admit that the Temple was druidical; but ridicules the notion of its being a Dracontium. He argues that the builders were worshippers of *stones*, and erected those of Carnac, as they did many others, for the purposes of worship.

That the Temple of Carnac is a *Serpent Temple* is proved from its *sinuosities*, which are evidently *designed*, and not *accidental.* In many places the ground is so level that it might have been easily carried on in a straight line, had right lines only been required. But even in the levels, the deviations are frequent; and in other places hills are ascended which not only might have been avoided, but actually *lie out of the course.*

The *alternating* sizes of the groups of stones is another argument in favour of its being intended to represent a serpent as he moves along the ground: the rising and falling of whose muscles are ingeniously described by the large and small stones, which are generally *uniform* in given spaces. Thus, at Kerzerho, the columns average fifteen feet, and, gradually diminishing to four or three, again swell into the average of nine feet at the lakes. At

Crukenho they are only about eight feet high, and gradually decrease until they are lost. They are large at St. Barbe, diminish, vanish, and again resume at the Old Mill their original average of fifteen feet. They decrease again to four feet opposite La Plasquere, but at the plantation of Kergonant they are sixteen feet and a half. Again disappearing, they again reappear at Le Maenac, where they attain their greatest *average* height of seventeen feet. From this point to Kermario they pass through all the gradations even to three and two feet; but at Kermario average as at first fifteen feet. The declension to the Mill of Vitriviant is gradual, and the increase in size as gradually attained until at Kerlescant we once more recognize the giants of Kermario, Le Maenac, and Kerzerho. From this point they diminish until they seem to disappear in the walls and hedges beyond the farm; and are all but lost when their remembrance is recalled by the small scattered stones in the grounds of the Chateau. In this opinion I am anticipated by Mr. Logan, to whose account of Carnac, in the 22d volume of the Archaeologia, I beg to refer. The width of the avenues varies much, and the number of the stones is so great, that we neither attempted to measure the one nor count the other, except as they fell into the line of the survey. Mr. Logan has, however, given the dimensions of the avenues near the Auray roads, as follows. The first avenue measures 12 feet; the second, 24 feet; the third, $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the fourth, $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the fifth, 30 feet; the sixth, 60 feet; the seventh, 36 feet; the eighth, 36 feet; the ninth, $30\frac{1}{2}$ feet; and the tenth, 36 feet. The total width of the avenues thus amounts to $301\frac{1}{2}$ feet. If to this we add the average breadth of the stones, which may be set down at three feet, the whole width of the Temple at the Auray road will be $334\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Mr. Vicars's plan has taken the *average* width of the whole Temple, which from Kerzerho to St. Barbe is 200 feet, and from Le Maenac to the end 350.

The number of the stones has been variously estimated: but I think the computation of M. Sauvagère, the engineer, who looked at them with a soldier's eye, is likely to be the most correct. With his opinion, therefore, I shall be satisfied. He estimates the number between Le Maenac and the farm of Kerlescant to be four thousand. The distance is two miles and a quarter. Upon the supposition that the stones were as uniformly disposed

in the other parts of the Temple, the whole would amount to more than *ten thousand, two hundred!* But, making every allowance for variations, we may, I think, safely set them down as *ten thousand.*

In laying this paper before the Society of Antiquaries I do not pretend to be the only Englishman who has written on Carnac. The Rev. J. Eden, of Bristol, has visited the spot, and taken several faithful sketches of the Temple. He has also written an account of his visit, which he presented to a literary society in Bristol. Had his account, or Mr. Logan's, assumed the character of a *survey*, the present paper would have been unnecessary; for, from the known talents of these gentlemen, I am persuaded that they would have left nothing to be done by another.

Of the French treatises upon this subject, there is but one worthy of attention, that of M. de Penhouët, in his "Archéologie Armoricaine." But even this is too short and too general.[P] Its ingenuity only makes us regret its want of method. The sketches by Cambry, in his "Monumens Celtiques," give a fair bird's eye view of the *effect* of the stones of Le Maenac; but beyond this are good for nothing. The perspective is ridiculous, and the exaggerations unpardonable. But we cannot be angry with an author who, writing professedly for "the glory of France" and in depreciation of England, pays the following just compliment to our national taste: "Si le monument de Carnac avoit existé pres de Londres, combien de fois on l'eût fait graver! comme il eût été celébré par les poètes de l'Angleterre! comme on eût forcé les nations à respecter ce temple métropolitain de la Celtique!" The Temple of Carnac *is* now surveyed, and its plan published by Englishmen.

In the accompanying plan of the Dracontium of Carnac the classical scholar will find many things to amuse, if not to instruct him. He will be enabled to read with interest many passages in Grecian and Roman authors,

P Since writing the above, I have been favoured by M. de Penhouët with a copy of his Paper on Ophiolatreia, lately read before the Academy of Nantes. He corroborates my opinion respecting the Dracontium of Carnac, by fresh arguments on the adoration of the Serpent in Britany.

from which he may have hitherto turned with a smile. He will discover with Stukeley, Bryant, and Faber, that the Python of Delphi, and the Dragon of Colchos, were not fabulous but real monsters, neither serpents nor dragons, but *serpent-temples* and *dracontia*; and, vast as they were, that they probably fell short of the dimensions of "the Dragon of the Hesperides," the Dracontium of Carnac. Even the Æolian Python, which Medea passed in her flight from Attica to Colchis, as described by Ovid, Met. vii.357,

> Æoliam *Pitanem* lævâ de parte reliquit,
> *Factaque de saxo longi simulachra Draconis,*

and which so beautifully harmonizes with Abury or Carnac, was probably inferior in extent to the latter.

The fable of Cadmus "*sowing serpent's teeth*" will again become intelligible, when the scholar has surveyed the parallelitha of a Dracontium, whose pillars when arranged with care are literally *in the order of teeth*, single and upright, and of equal altitudes and at equal distances in given points.

In the same catalogue may be classed the enormous dragons covering acres of territory, mentioned by Iphicrates, Strabo, Maximus Tyrius, and Poridonius; and of which Bryant shrewdly remarks, that "they could have been only ruins of Ophite Temples enigmatically represented to excite admiration;" being uniformly measured by *land measures.*

Another theory results from the discoveries of Stukeley. But as this has never yet been advanced in print, I propose it with caution; for, if wrong, I am open to conviction. The theory is,[q] that the early Grecian architects in constructing their *columnar* temples borrowed the *idea* from the Dracontia, which at that time were scattered over their own and the neighbouring countries. As illustrations of this theory we may bring forward the Temples of the Sun at Palmyra and Geraza, which were both Dracontia, if by this term is signified "avenues of the Sun." Their columns, *which supported nothing*, appear to have been substituted for the ruder pillars of more ancient temples. Those of Palmyra particularly illustrate the theory from their *sinuous* course; while the Temple of Geraza is a counterpart of the Dracontium of Callernish in the Island of Lewis.

[q] This theory was first suggested to me by my friend P. C. Delagarde, esq. of Exeter.

It is extremely probable that the second step in templar architecture was to carve and polish the columns already existing in a rude state; and the third step was to remove them altogether, and substitute others of a more finished form. Hence the earliest buildings in Greece, after the Cyclopean, were *columnar*, a taste which prevailed to the last days of her glory.

The Romans, who were always imitators of the Greeks, soon borrowed the style; and their most admired buildings were *columnar* with the intervals filled up by masonry.

These notions may seem fanciful; but I am contented to adopt them until an origin more satisfactory is offered for such buildings as the Temple of Palingra, and others of the same *columnar* style.

The variety of figures observed in these temples does not weaken the theory. For the Dracontium may be seen in as many varieties. It had its avenues, both crooked and straight; its circular segments, its ovals, and even its parallelograms. The avenues of Carnac, Abury, Shap, and Stanton Drew, are *sinuous:* those of Merivale and Callenich *straight*. The central areas of Abury and Stanton Drew are *circular:* the head of the Abury serpent was *oval*. The area of Le Maenac, in the Temple of Carnac, approaches to a segment of a circle, while the inclosure of Kerlescant is a parallelogram with rounded corners. So that all the figures assumed by the columnar Temples of Greece and Rome were anticipated by the sons of Cadmus, who "*sowed the Serpent's teeth.*"

But the theory of Dracontia illustrates facts of far greater importance than the fables of mythology, or the origin of a peculiar class of architecture. It holds up to the contemplation not only the *power* of the Evil Principle from whom every species of idolatry and every kind of vice proceeded; but the *very form* in which that power was first made effective; the very figure under which the Author of all Evil betrayed and corrupted the heart of man.

The existence of Dracontia proves the ancient prevalence of Serpent Worship; and the prevalence of such an idolatry proves the Truth of the Holy Scriptures.

The mystic Serpent entered into the Mythology of every Nation; consecrated almost every temple; symbolized almost every deity; was imagined

in the heavens, stamped upon the earth, and ruled in the realms of everlasting sorrow. His *subtlety* raised him into an emblem of *wisdom ;* he was therefore pictured upon the ægis of Minerva, and crowned her helmet. The *knowledge of futurity* which he displayed in Paradise exalted him into a symbol of vaticination ; he was therefore *oracular* and reigned at Delphi. The "opening of the eyes" of our deluded first parents obtained him an altar in the temple of the god of *healing ;* he is therefore the constant companion of Æsculapius. In the distribution of his qualities the genius of Mythology did not even gloss over his malignant attributes. The fascination by which he intoxicated the souls of the first sinners, depriving them at once of purity and immortality, of the image of God and of the life of angels, was symbolically remembered and fatally celebrated in the orgies of Bacchus, where *serpents* crowned the heads of the Bacchantes, and the "Poculum Boni Dæmonis" circulated under the auspices of the Ophite Hierogram chased upon its rim.[r] But the most remarkable remembrance of the power of the paradisiacal serpent is displayed in the position which he retains in Tartarus. A *cunodracontic* Cerberus guards the gates ; *serpents* are coiled upon the chariot wheels of Proserpine ; *serpents* pave the abyss of torment ; and even *serpents* constitute the caduceus of Mercury, the talisman which he holds when he conveys the soul to Tartarus. The image of the *serpent* is stamped upon every mythological fable which is connected with the realms of Pluto.

This universal concurrence of traditions proves a common source of derivation ; and the *oldest* record of the legend must be that upon which they are all founded. The most ancient record of the history of the Serpent-tempter is in the Book of Genesis : in the Book of Genesis therefore is the Fact from which almost every superstition connected with the mythological Serpent is derived.

It is unnecessary to the subject of this communication to enter more minutely into the *causes* of the idolatry of which the Temple of Carnac is so remarkable an illustration.[s] I will therefore only observe, in conclusion,

[r] See engraving in Archæologia, vol. VII.

[s] I beg to refer the reader for further information, to my Treatise on "*The Worship of the Serpent,*" in which I have entered at considerable length into the subject, here necessarily compressed into a mere allusion.

that the tradition of the Serpent is a chain of many links, which, descending from Paradise, reaches, in the energetic language of Homer,

Τόσσον ἔνερθ' ἀϊδεω, ὅσον οὐρανός ἐς' ἀπὸ γαίης·

but conducts us on the other hand upwards to the Promise, that "*The seed of the Woman shall bruise the Serpent's head.*"

If the observations which have been now made should succeed in engaging the interest of any learned members of the Society in the prosecution of a branch of the study of Antiquities upon which so little is known; and especially if they should lead to a more intimate acquaintance with the Druidical treasures which are so profusely scattered over the province of Britany, and thus ultimately tend to the lifting up of the veil which hangs so heavily over the primitive religion of our country; I shall consider myself fortunate in having acted the humble, but I trust not unuseful, part of a pioneer through the wilds of the Morbihan.

I cannot but hope that the day is not far distant when, by a cordial cooperation with the Antiquaries of Britany, our Society may be enabled to clear away the mist which envelopes the early history of the Celtic religion; for I am persuaded that the more intimate is our knowledge of the esoteric mysteries of that powerful superstition, the more cause shall we have for "holding fast the profession of our own faith;" for with all its corruptions it approached nearer to the Truth than any other idolatrous worship; and exhibits "as in a glass darkly" almost every important feature of the first religion of man. I cannot imagine a more interesting, a more pleasing, and I may add a more beneficial research.

I remain, my dear Sir,

with great respect,

your obliged servant,

JOHN BATHURST DEANE.

HENRY ELLIS, Esq. Secretary,
&c. &c. &c.

XIII. *Remarks on certain Celtic Monuments at Locmariaker, in Britany; in a Letter from the Rev.* John Bathurst Deane, *M.A., F.S.A., to* Henry Ellis, *Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 17th January, 1833.

London, January 17, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE accompanying plan of the village of Locmariaker and its vicinity is necessary to the completion of my description of the Dracontium of Carnac, lately read to the Society of Antiquaries; and I shall be obliged if you will lay it, together with the following remarks, before the Society.

In my late communication I expressed an opinion that the Temple of Carnac originally extended as far as the present Locmariaker; and I conceive that my conjecture is much corroborated by the beautiful Celtic monuments remaining in that vicinity. Locmariaker is by some supposed to have been the ancient capital of the Veneti before the seat of Government was removed to Vannes. But this is not probable, from considerations too numerous to recite, and too irrelevant to my subject. Locmariaker was, however, without doubt, a great town, and the capital of the district in which it stood. For here is to be seen a group of some of the most interesting Celtic remains in the Morbihan.

The accompanying plan (Plate XXV.) exhibits within a small area *two long tumuli*, each containing a Kistvaen; a *small tumulus* with a Kistvaen of unusual length; *two cromlechs*, one of them of singular beauty; and *two obelisks*, each carved out of a single stone, of which one measured upwards of 35 feet in length, the other 63!

1. The tumuli are clearly sepulchral from the evidence of the Kistvaens which they once covered. The two largest are called the mounds of *Héleu*,

HAMLET

Cromlech

Tumulus of Heleu

A

B

To Auray

Tumulus of Cæsar

Cromlech

From La Trinité

Great Cromlech

Great Obelisk as fallen!

Cromlech

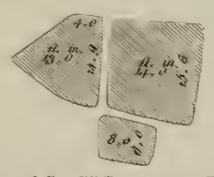
Little Obelisk

Cromlech

LOCMARIAKER

Church

To the Sea



Plan of the Héleu Cromlech.



Section of the Héleu Tumulus.

100 50 0 100 200 300 feet

Scale for the Cromlechs and Tumuli.

Murray Vivian del.

J.F. Basire sculp.

Plan of Celtic Remains at Locmariaker.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 23rd April 1833.

and of *Cæsar*. The small one is nameless, although it contains the longest Kistvaen.

The tumulus of Héleu is 100 feet broad, 300 feet long, and has an elevation of 30 feet. That of Cæsar is of the same elevation and breadth, but 400 feet in length. They are both composed of layers of earth and stones, separate and mixed. The section of Héleu given in the plan shows 26 feet of earth, overlaid by a coating three feet deep of earth and stones, surmounted by a covering of earth one foot in depth.

This tumulus is remarkable for its shape, which is very similar to that of the Temple of Carnac at Le Maenac ; a campanular head being added to the usual straight mound of parallel sides.

In this head is a Kistvaen of considerable dimensions ; and particularly interesting, as being partly exposed and partly covered. It affords an example of the manner in which the Kistvaens were overlaid by tumuli. Two tabular stones cover the chamber. One is a parallelogram fifteen feet six inches by fourteen feet ; the other, an irregular quadrangular figure with an acute angle pointed towards the entrance of the tomb. Its breadth at the base, where it meets the parallelogram, is fourteen feet nine inches ; its breadth from the angle to the base, thirteen feet. The dolmen is supported in the usual manner upon massive props. The whole length of the Kistvaen is twenty-seven feet, the depth of the chamber six feet.

The other long tumulus, which has its Kistvaen in the centre, is ridiculously ascribed to Julius Cæsar, whose only work (if it was indeed his) in the neighbourhood of Locmariaker, is a curious square embankment on the sea shore about a mile distant, round a marine marsh, appearing to have been made for the purpose of a dry dock. General de Penhouët, who discovered it, thinks it Roman ; and it has every appearance of being so. The tumulus ef Cæsar has been much disturbed, and its Kistvaen destroyed.

2. But near it is the most beautiful cromlech which I have ever seen ; and I may add, the most interesting. The table stone, which is eighteen feet long, twelve feet wide, and four feet thick, is supported upon three props, on one of which it rests upon a very small point. It has the approach usually attached to the Kistvaens of Britany, consisting of an avenue of contiguous stones placed edge to edge, and covered in by three slabs of

stones. The highest part of the table is about nine feet from the ground, the height of the approach is about four feet.

Although this monument is, strictly speaking, a cromlech, yet the ashes and a flint knife which have been discovered under it, together with the avenue of approach, prove it to have been sepulchral.

The beauty of this cromlech would of itself be sufficiently interesting; but, in addition to its elegance of figure, it presented to our admiration the only hieroglyphical characters which it was our fortune to see inscribed on a Celtic monument; unless I except a rude unmeaning or rather unintelligible scrawl upon one of the supporting stones of the Dolmen of Penab, which bears more resemblance to the human ear than to any other figure.

The extreme supporter of the table stone of the Cromlech of "Cæsar" is charged with remarkable curvilinear characters, regularly arranged in two columns, each containing three divisions of four lines each. Great care has been bestowed upon their execution, for they are not cut *into* the stone, but raised upon it. I cannot conceive what they were intended to represent.

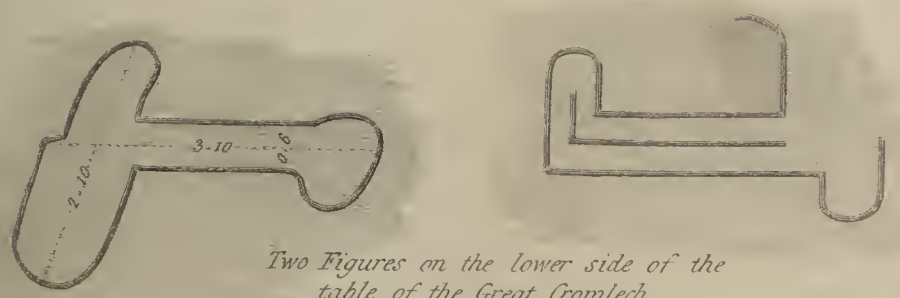
The table also exhibits upon its under surface two hieroglyphical diagrams, similarly raised upon the stone, whose execution is admirable, though one of them is imperfect, from the pealing of the stone by frost.

I confess myself ignorant of the meaning of these hieroglyphics also, and leave their interpretation to more experienced antiquaries. One of them resembles, in some degree, the instrument called a *Celt*; the other is more like a *key*. But M. Mahé, who seems to have seen only the former (which was my case on my first visit, for the latter is more obscurely traced), called it an ιθύφαλλος. The conjecture is plausible, if the worship of the Phallus can be clearly proved against the Armoricans. That Asiatic and Egyptian ideas had, by some means or other penetrated into this country, is probable from several facts insisted on by M. de Penhouët. Thus, there is an artificially carved rock in the Morbihan which very closely resembles the god *Anubis*. Again, the Syrian deity *Lilith*, so celebrated in the mythology of the Jewish Rabbins, was once adored in the Morbihan. Her statue may be still seen in a perfect state at the chateau of Quinipili, near Baud, where it was placed upon a pedestal by a former owner of the domain. The only covering which the figure has is a cap with two flaps; and what is very re-

View of the Great Cromlech.



Inner View of the North West Support of the Grt Cromlech 7.8 in wide and 5.5 in high



Two Figures on the lower side of the table of the Great Cromlech.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 32nd [illegible] 43



J.C. Buckler sculp.

Obelisk at Locmariaker.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1835

markable, the head-dress of the female peasantry of the commune in which the statue stands, is precisely a copy of *Lilith's* cap, and worn in the same manner! For how many centuries that head-gear has been worn it is in vain to guess. Another peculiarity of dress, which savours of an oriental origin, is observable among the male peasants: they all wear a checked cloth, like the South-country plaid of Scotland, bound round the loins, and call it a "*turban.*" My friend M. de Penhouët conjectures that, when the Asiatic colony (whoever they were) emigrated to Britany, they transferred the turban from the head to the loins, retaining the name, though they lost the original use of the garment. Still, however, I do not see sufficient evidence of the worship of the Phallus in Armorica, which must have prevailed, if the hieroglyphic on the cromlech is a representation of the ἰθύφαλλος.

Within another tomb at Locmariaker (now I believe destroyed), M. de Penhouët discovered, in 1813, several very interesting hieroglyphics, which he has engraved in his "Archéologie Armoricaine." The *circle* (single and concentric), the *horse-shoe*, the *branch of a tree*, and the *harp*, are the symbols chiefly delineated. The first three are sometimes seen in conjunction with the horse and horse's head upon the coins of Armorica.

3. The third species of monument remaining at Locmariaker is the round Obelisk. A beautiful one stood at the head of Cæsar's tumulus; and it was sixty-three feet in length and fourteen feet in diameter at the thickest part, which is at about twenty feet from the base. From this point it tapers gradually both ways. Another obelisk, about thirty-five feet in length, lies at the entrance of the village; its tumulus was perhaps removed to make room for a house. Each of these is cut out of a single stone.

These obelisks probably denoted the burial-places of warriors of the first rank: and may have originated in the well-known custom still prevalent in the East, of planting an upright spear at the head of a Chief as he slept upon the ground. It was thus that David found Saul on the hill of Hachilah: "*Behold Saul lay sleeping within the trench, and his spear stuck in the ground at his bolster.*"[a] This custom was universal in the East. Homer mentions it, and it has been repeatedly observed by travellers in Persia and Hindûstan. The spear at the head, thus planted, always denotes a warrior of the highest rank.

[a] 1 Samuel, xxvi. 7.

Some mighty Celtic chief may in like manner be supposed to be sleeping at Locmariaker, under the tumulus of Cæsar, "with his spear stuck in the ground at his bolster:" only the sleep being that of death, the spear is of a material of corresponding duration; it is an obelisk of stone cut out of a single block.

The evangelizers of Britany, for they probably were the destroyers, suffered not the warrior's spear to mark his last resting-place. The obelisk was overthrown, as an object of superstitious veneration, and now lies broken in four pieces. The tomb also has been rifled of its sacred deposit; and the whole is but a variety of the continual work of ruin which in every country records the mutability of man, and the vanity of his earthly hopes.

The original weight of this column must have been about 260 tons! and the labour required to remove it from the quarry and to plant it at the head of the tumulus of Cæsar may be imagined, by calling to our recollection the power employed by Fontana to place the obelisk of the Vatican in its present site at Rome. The latter column was only fifteen feet longer than the obelisk before us; and, although it weighed only 150 tons, whereas that of Locmariaker weighed 260, yet it required the united efforts of eight hundred men and sixty horses, complex machinery, and the expenditure of £5000, to remove it for a short distance, and erect it as it now stands! We should also recollect that the erection of the obelisk of Locmariaker was the work of a rude age, ignorant, probably, of the mechanical powers, and mainly effected by human strength.

Such are the monuments in the *immediate* vicinity of Locmariaker; but the commune is covered with many vestiges of the religious and powerful people who once worshipped in the Dracontium of Carnac. From the number and nature of these Celtic remains, I cannot but think it probable that the Temple of Carnac extended to Locmariaker, the ancient capital of the district. This opinion may be erroneous; but the indications are strong.

With these remarks I conclude my observations on the Antiquities of the Morbihan; and remain, with great respect,

My dear Sir,

yours sincerely,

JOHN BATHURST DEANE.

Henry Ellis, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Read 28th March, 1833.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1832.

We the Auditors appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 7th day of March 1833, to audit the Accounts of their Treasurer for the year ending the 31st day of December 1832, having examined the said Accounts, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, do find the same to be just and true; and we have prepared from the said Account the following Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, for the information of the Society, *viz.*

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last year's Account				169	6	$5\frac{1}{2}$
RECEIPTS OF THE YEAR 1832.						
By Admissions of Members elected	109	4	0			
By annual Subscriptions including Arrears . . .	971	5	0			
By dividends on 7,200*l.* stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th January and 5th July 1832	216	0	0			
By Sale of Books and Prints	165	17	10			
By Stamp-duty on ten Bonds	15	0	0			
				1477	6	10
By Compositions in lieu of annual Subscription . .				241	10	0
				£1888	3	$3\frac{1}{2}$

Stock in the 3 per Cent. Consols, 7,200*l.*

DISBURSEMENTS OF THE YEAR 1832.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Artists and in Expenses of Publications by the Society	917	16	11			
For Taxes	22	4	8			
For Salaries	422	15	0			
For Tradesmen's Bills, *viz.* Coals, Candles, and House Expenses	130	0	9½			
For Incidental Expenses, *viz.*						
Insurance	22	11	0			
Anniversary Dinner	23	7	0			
Watering the street	2	2	0			
Postage, Parcels, Advertisements, and petty Cash . .	59	16	2½			
Collecting Subscriptions	47	14	3			
Stamps for Bonds	7	10	0			
				1655	17	10
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, 1st January 1833				232	5	5½
				£1888	3	3½

Witness our hands this 26th day of March 1833.

(Signed) E. LLANDAFF.
THO. PHILLIPS.
J. H. MARKLAND.

In addition to the foregoing Report, the Treasurer states, that, since the Audit of last year, the undermentioned sums have been subscribed towards the expences of the publication of Anglo-Saxon Works by the Society, *viz.*

	£.	s.	d.
By Sir John Swinburne, Bart. -	5	0	0
Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. - -	5	0	0
Rev. Joseph W. Niblock, D. D.	1	1	0
Richard Taylor, Esq. - -	10	0	0

amounting, with the former Subscriptions, to the sum of £236. 1*s.* exclusive of the Rev. William Conybeare's liberal donation of 100 copies (25 of which are on large paper) of his edition of the late Rev. John Conybeare's Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, to be sold at reduced prices in aid of the Saxon Fund. The Treasurer has already paid £150 for the transcribing and editing of Cædmon's metrical Paraphrase of parts of the Holy Scriptures, and £80 for transcriptions of the two manuscripts of Layamon's translation of Wace's Chronicle of the Brut, not yet in the press. As the publication of Cædmon has been accidentally delayed till the commencement of the present year, the bills for printing, and for other expenses attending it, have not yet been received, and its sale has hitherto been limited. The account therefore of receipts and disbursements for Anglo-Saxon Works is necessarily postponed till the Audit next year, when it will be included, under a separate head, in the next General Account of the Society.

Printed by J. B. Nichols and Son, 25, Parliament-street.

XIV. *The Anglo-Saxon Ceremonial of the Dedication and Consecration of Churches, illustrated from a Pontifical in the Public Library at Rouen, by* JOHN GAGE, *Esq. F.R.S., Director, in a Letter to the Right Honourable the* EARL OF ABERDEEN, *K. T. President.*

Read 28th March, 1833.

Lincoln's Inn.

MY LORD,

THE Dedication of Churches had its beginning under the OLD Law, and was observed by the holy Fathers in the NEW: whence the Synods both of St. Patrick[a] and of Calcuith[b] enjoined, that no priest should offer up sacrifice in any church to be built, unless the bishop of the diocess first came and hallowed it.

Gregory the Great, in his instructions to St. Augustine, bade him not destroy the Pagan temples, but the idols within them; directing the precinct to be purified with holy water, altars to be raised, and sacred relics deposited: and because the English were accustomed to indulge in feasts to their Gods, the prudent Pontiff ordained the day of Dedication, or the day of the nativity of the Saint, in whose honour the church should be dedicated, a festival, when the people might have an opportunity of assembling, as before, in green bowers round their favourite edifice, and enjoy something of former festivity.[c] This was the origin of our country wakes, rush bearings, and church ales.

That it was the early practice in the West, in imitation of the Eastern custom introduced by Constantine,[d] to invite many prelates to assist at the

a Wilkins, Concil. I. tom. 3. b Ibid. 169. c Bed. Hist. lib. i. c. xxx.
d Euseb. lib. iv. de Vitâ Constantini, cxliii. Sozomen, lib. i. c. 26.

dedication of a church, may be collected from the canons of the first Council of Orange, held in 441, and of the second and fourth Councils of Arles, held in 452 and 524; and among the English this solemnity was celebrated with the greatest pomp.

St. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, having built a church at Ripon, of wrought stone, with columns, and porticoes or ailes, had a solemn Dedication, which was attended by Egfrid, King of Northumbria, and his brother Ælwin, with the Abbats and Ealdormen of the kingdom. The church was dedicated in honour of the Prince of the Apostles, and the Archbishop consecrated the altar, and having covered it with purple and gold, all the people came and received communion, and every thing was canonically performed. From the altar Wilfrid enumerated the lands with which the church was endowed by consent of Bishops and Princes, and pointed out to the assembly the sacred places in different districts from which the British Clergy had been driven by his countrymen. The Kings feasted the people on the occasion for three days; and St. Wilfrid, for the good of his soul, presented to the church a copy of the Gospels written in gold on purple leaves, and cased with the purest gold and precious stones.[e]

To the Dedication of the church of Winchelcumbe, Kenulf, King of Mercia, brought with him Eadbert the captive King of Kent; and there were present Cuthred the titular King, thirteen Bishops, and ten Ealdormen, beside an immense concourse of people. At the conclusion of the ceremony Kenulf led his captive to the altar, and as an act of clemency, granted him his freedom. This was followed by a royal distribution of presents, consisting of vessels of gold and silver, and garments, and the fleetest horses: to such as had no lands, the King gave a pound of silver; to each priest a mark of gold; to every monk a shilling; and much was given to the people.[f]

At Ramsey[g] a conventual church had been founded by the Ealdorman, or half king, Aylwin, in 969, under the direction of St. Oswald, then Bishop of Worcester. It is described by the Monk of Ramsey, to have been raised

[e] Eddius, vit. St. Wilf. c. xvii. apud Gale, tom. iii. 59. This historian wrote in the same age in which the Saint lived.

[f] Malmsb. de Gestis Reg. 17 b.

[g] Hist. Rames. apud Gale, tom. iii. p. 399.

on a solid foundation, driven in by the battering ram, and to have had two towers above the roof; the lesser was in front, at the west end; the greater, at the intersection of the four parts of the building, rested on four columns, connected together by arches carried from one to the other. The historian, who wrote after the coming into England of the Normans, remarks, that the edifice was handsome enough for that mode of construction which was in use at that early time.[h] In consequence, however, of a settlement in the centre tower, which threatened ruin to the rest of the building, it became necessary, shortly after the church was finished, to take down the whole and rebuild it. To the Dedication of this second church at Ramsey, St. Oswald, who was become Metropolitan of York, invited all the thanes of the six neighbouring counties, and they were joined by Æscwin, Bishop of the diocese, Æselm, Bishop of Dorchester, and the Abbats of Ely, St. Alban's, Burgh, and Thorney. Before the ceremony began, all the assembly forming a ring, Aylwin, the founder of the church, from the midst of the people, read to them the charter of privileges granted to the monastery by King Eadgar, and he conjured those present to gainsay, if they could, the title of the monks to their lands. As no one came forward, *I call then on you all,* continued the Ealdorman, *to bear witness before God, that on this day we have offered justice to every adversary, and that no one has dared to dispute our right. Will you, after this, permit any new claim to be preferred against us?* Then placing his right hand on a copy of the Gospels, Aylwin swore to defend the rights and privileges, as well of Ramsey as of other neighbouring churches which were named; after which his sons, and others in turn according to their rank, took the same oath, and the book being laid on the altar, the Abbats present received each of their defenders into the fraternity of their respective monasteries. The ceremony of Dedication which followed, lasted until a late hour of the day, and was closed with a solemn feast.

Wulstan,[i] the Monk, has left us a poem on the Dedication of the cathedral church at Winchester, restored or rebuilt by St. Æthelwold. The Dedication was honoured by the presence of King Ethelred and nine pre-

[h] Hist. Rames. apud Gale, tom. iii. p. 399, 418, 422.

[i] Wulst. Carmen in Act. SS. Bened. Saec. v. p. 629.

lates, including the Archbishop St. Dunstan, and the Diocesan St. Æthelwold. The description which the Poet gives of the church and monastery is too long to be detailed here, but deserves the attention of the ecclesiastical antiquary; and such was the splendour of the Dedication of this church, that Wulstan says:

Nunquam tanta fuit talis que dicatio templi
In tota Anglorum gente patrata reor:
Qualis erat Vventa celebrata potenter in urbe
In Sancti Petri Cœnobio veteri.

The last act of the reign of Edward the Confessor was a solemn festival proclaimed throughout the realm on the occasion of the Dedication of the church at Westminster, and the King being on his death-bed at the time, the Queen officiated for him, in the presence of all the nobles and bishops of the realm.[k]

These examples of the pomp of the English in their Church Dedications will abundantly suffice, and the form of the Ceremonial may be seen in their rituals.[l] It appears from the Pontifical which bears the name of Egbert Archbishop of York, and the Missale Gellonense, that there was a particular form of notice or invitation given previously to a Dedication; and the Church of England in her present order of Consecration of Churches preserves this custom, for the canons require that an intimation of the Bishop's intention to consecrate the church, with the day and hour appointed for it, should be fixed on the church door at least three days before. We have also a verification of the acts of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors at the consecration of their churches in the present ecclesiastical canons of this country, which enjoin, that the endowment, and the evidence, of the church to be consecrated, should be laid before the Bishop, or his Chancellor, some time before the day appointed, in order to the preparing of the act or sentence of Consecration against that day: that all things should be prepared for a communion, and the church be kept shut and empty till the Bishop's coming, and till its being opened for his going in.[m]

[k] Aelred, Script. X. 398.
[l] Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit.
[m] Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani. Gibson, tom. ii. p. 1459.

Perhaps one of the earliest forms of Dedication which the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts afford, is to be met with in a Pontifical, now in the public library at Rouen, formerly belonging to the Abbey of Jumieges. According to this ritual, the following order was observed.

The Bishop in his pontificals, with the clergy, came at break of day, to the porch of the church about to be dedicated, singing the antiphon, *Zaccheus, make haste, and come down:* and twelve candles being lighted and placed round the outside of the church, the Litany commenced, which was chaunted by the clergy and the people in alternate choirs as they moved thrice in solemn procession round the building.

Then one of the Deacons going into the church, and shutting the door after him, while the rest remained without, the Bishop going up to the door began the antiphon, *Lift up your gates, O ye Princes, and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates, and the King of Glory shall enter in.* Whereupon all went in procession round the church, singing the twenty-fourth Psalm,[n] until they came again to the porch, when the Bishop knocking at the door of the church thrice with his crozier, repeated the same antiphon. This ceremony was observed a second and a third time, the Deacon within the church each time, as the Bishop gave out the antiphon, *Lift up your gates*, replying, *Who is the King of Glory?* After the third response, the choir sung, *The Lord of Hosts, He is the King of Glory*, and immediately the Deacon opened the door.

The Bishop now entered the church, crying, *Peace to this house and all who dwell in it, peace to those who enter, peace to those who go out;* and singing the eighty-seventh Psalm,[o] they proceeded up the church to the foot of the high altar, and lay prostrate on mats before it, while a short litany was chaunted. At its conclusion they rose, and the Bishop, with the end of his crozier, wrote two Roman alphabets on the floor, in the form of a cross, extending from the eastern to the western corners of the building.

Next came the blessing of water mixed with salt, ashes, wine, and chrism, and the Bishop putting some of the liquid upon lime, made mortar for closing up the relics to be deposited in the altar. This was followed

n "The earth is the Lord's," &c. o "The foundations thereof are in the holy mountains."

by the purification of the different parts of the edifice and the precinct, which were severally sprinkled in order with the holy water.

The Bishop, now standing in the middle of the church, dedicated it in formal words, and then sung the preface to the Consecration: and going up to the altar, proceeded to consecrate the altar stone, and afterward the walls of the church, anointing the same with chrism, in the form of a cross, in various parts.

Then the altar linen, vestments, corporal, paten, chalice, eucharistic vessels, censer, and other things necessary for divine service, were brought, in order, by the Sub-deacons and Acolyths to be severally blessed; after which the Bishop hallowed the cross, the bells, and the font, and consecrated the cemetery.

They then went to the place where the people in prayer watched the relics which had been brought the night before for the occasion, and the litany being said, the clergy raising the shrine, and singing canticles, carried it in full procession, with crosses, censers, candlesticks, and many lights to the church. The shrine was placed upon the new altar, and the veil being drawn between the clergy and the people, the Bishop with his own hand deposited, according to the Roman custom, the relics in the confessional,[p] or stone sepulchre of the altar, anointing the confessional with chrism: three particles of the eucharist, and three grains of incense were then added, and the whole closed up with mortar.

The Bishop and Clergy, now retiring to the sacristy, put on other vestments, and in the mean time the altar was dressed, and the church adorned and lighted up, and a solemn mass concluded the ceremony.

It may be added, that it was the ancient practice for the Bishop to deliver a discourse on the occasion, and the *Sermo de Dedicatione*, beginning, *Natalem templi hujus*, ascribed to St. Cæsarius of Arles, is to be found in another part of the Pontifical of which we are now treating.

Such is a summary of the order of Dedication in the Ritual to which I have referred; and should your Lordship, or any Member of the Society,

[p] *Confessio*, Μαρτυριον, the altar over the tomb of a confessor or martyr, that is to say, of one who has borne testimony to the faith by his holy actions, or by sealing it with his blood.

feel a wish to consult the form itself, it will be found annexed, and I shall be glad if it may possess interest enough to excuse its length. The venerable manuscript from which it is extracted, contains a remarkable miniature, illustrative of a portion of the ceremony. Before, however, I speak of this Illustration, or offer to your Lordship some notice of the manuscript, I have one or two observations to make.

The form agrees for the greater part both with the order of Dedication in the Pontifical of Egbert Archbishop of York, and the Benedictional or Pontifical at Rouen, probably of Æthelgar Archbishop of Canterbury, a predecessor of Robert whose name it bears. The Roman Ritual, whence it originally came, retains much of this form; and some portion of the ceremonial continues to be observed by the Church of England.[q]

The length of the ceremony necessarily occupied many hours; and, unless the Diocesan had been assisted by other Bishops, it would have been impossible for him to perform the whole of it in one day. Bishops therefore came not merely as witnesses, but as coadjutors; and, where a variety of things were required to be consecrated, different offices were going on at the same time in various parts of the church.

The bringing of relics to a church about to be dedicated, on the evening preceding the ceremony, was the occasion of a Vigil or *Wake*, that is to say, the night was spent in watching, fasting, and prayer: Chaucer uses *Wake* in this sense:

> Aaron, that had the temple in governance,
> And eke the other preestes everich on,
> Into the temple whan they shulden gon
> To praien for the peple, and do servise,
> They n'olden drinken in no maner wise
> No drinke, which that might hem dronken make,
> But ther in abstinence pray and *wake*,
> Lest that they deiden ——
>
> *The Sompnoures Tale.*

Succeeding ages used the term, *Wake*, to signify the Feast which was annually kept to commemorate the Dedication, on which occasion the young

q See Gibson's Codex Juris Eccl. Angl. tom. ii. p. 1459

and old were wont to meet at break of day, shouting *Holy Wakes, Holy Wakes.*[r] The ecclesiastical laws of King Edgar are particularly directed to prevent excesses at these meetings, and to maintain the religious observance of them.[s]

St. Ambrose, writing to his sister Marcellina on the occasion of the Dedication of the new Basilica at Milan, tells her, *Nam cum ego basilicam dedicassem, multi tamquam uno ore interpellare cæperunt dicentes: sicut Romanam basilicam dedices? respondi: faciam si martyrum reliquias invenero.* (Epist. xxii.); whence it has been inferred, that the deposition of relics at the dedication of a church was at first peculiar to the Roman Ritual. This deposition of relics was prescribed to the English by Gregory the Great; and the usage of it, as well as the ancient Roman custom of inclosing in the altar, with the relics, three particles of the eucharist, is confirmed by the canons of the Council or Synod of Calcuith, held in 816.[t]

In some instances scrolls were added, according to the directions in the Roman Pontifical, intimating what relics were deposited, and to what Saint the church was dedicated, and the name of the consecrator, and the year, month, and day of the consecration: sometimes these scrolls contained the Decalogue, or a capitulary of the Gospels. It may also be observed, that the national Council last noticed, required every Bishop dedicating a church, to see that on the walls or altars of the church there should be painted the Saint to whom they were respectively dedicated, a strong proof, if any were required, that there was no want among the Anglo-Saxons of native painters.

[r] Spelman, Gloss. under the word *Wakes*, which the learned antiquary derives from the Saxon pak, *Temulentia*. The writer of the text believes that the word is taken from peccan, *Vigilare*.

[s] Wilkins, Concil. tom. i. p. 227.

[t] "Ubi ecclesia aedificatur, a propriae diocesis episcopo sanctificetur; aqua per semetipsum benedicatur, spargatur, et ita per ordinem compleatur, sicut in libro ministeriali habetur. Postea eucharistia, quae ab episcopo per idem ministerium consecratur, cum aliis reliquiis condatur in capsula, ac servetur in eadem basilica. Et si alias reliquias intimare non potest, tamen hoc maxime proficere potest quia corpus et sanguis est Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Seu etiam praecipimus unicuique episcopo, ut habeat depictum in pariete oratorii, aut in tabula, vel etiam in altaribus, quibus sanctis sint utraque dedicati." Cap. II. *de modo consecrandi ecclesias.* Wilkins, Conc. tom. i. p. 169.

Gregory the Great, beside relics, also ordered hyssop to be used in our church Dedications; and Bede[u] relates, that St. John of Beverley having been sent for by Erle Puch, whose wife was dangerously ill at the time, to consecrate a church, miraculously healed the lady by means of some of the holy water that he sent her, which the Saint had hallowed in the dedication of the church.

The ancient altar stone, known by the crosses graven in the centre and at the angles, is now frequently to be found in our churches, generally applied to sepulchral purposes. The crosses upon it were intended to mark the spots anointed with chrism; and, if I do not mistake, this was the object of the crosses once inlaid with metal, cut in the external walls of some churches, as in the cathedral of Salisbury and the churches of Edindon in Wilts, Cannington in Somersetshire, and Brent Pelham in Herts. It may also be observed, that on one of the Norman pillars in New Shoreham church are two Jerusalem crosses, probably graven on the occasion of the Dedication.

Those who wish to understand the meaning of any of the mystical ceremonies, such as the lighting of the twelve candles, and placing them round the church, the writing of the alphabet by the Bishop with his crozier, in ashes spread on the pavement, and the like, may consult a tract, *De Dedicatione Ecclesiæ*, ascribed to Remigius, Monk of Auxerre.[x] There is but one other circumstance in the ceremony to which I shall call your Lordship's attention.

During the time the Bishop was depositing the relics in the altar, the veil, out of reverence, was drawn, *extenso velo inter eos et populum.* The veil here spoken of was the curtain that anciently hung on the *cancelli* or lattice of the choir, and which was drawn during the more solemn parts of the service.

The author of the Apostolic Constitutions, perhaps the earliest ecclesiastical writer who describes the shape of a Christian church,[y] tells us, that it resembled not only a ship but a fold, *non solum navis, sed etiam mandræ habet ecclesia similitudinem;* and he explains its resemblance to a fold, by shewing, that the clergy were separated from the laity, and that the laity

[u] Lib. v. c. iv. [x] Martene de Antiq. Ecc. Rit. tom. ii. p. 276. [y] Lib. ii. c. 57.

themselves, according to sex, age, and rank, had separate inclosures, under the care of different persons. From Eusebius we learn, that the choir [z] of the Apostles, built by Constantine at Constantinople, was inclosed by a lattice of brass and gold, and that the [a] choir of the church at Tyre was separated from the people by a lattice of wood beautifully wrought; and it appears from passages in St. Dyonisius,[b] St. John Chrysostom,[c] Theodoret,[d] and others, that there were curtains to the chancels. Lattices, with curtains, continue to be the custom of the Greek church; and though curtains have ceased to be used in the Latin church,[e] Durand, Bishop of Mende, in the latter years of the thirteenth century, says, that in his time there was commonly a veil, or a wall, between the clergy and the people.

But I have too long deferred describing the Pontifical from which is extracted the form on which I have been commenting. The manuscript is a folio, numbered 362, at present without a binding, and contains 196 leaves,[f] beside a fly leaf at each end. It measures twelve inches and a quarter by eight and a half. The rubrics, which throughout are given in colours, sometimes with alternate lines of red, green, and blue, occasionally occupy a whole page, and are written in the Roman hand. The text, rather more cursive than the rubrics, has plain Roman initials in colours, no gold being used in the manuscript. In the Pontifical the antiphons are often set to music, and on comparing the notes with those of some of the antiphons in Archbishop Robert's Benedictional, there appears to be very little difference between the two. By the favour of our worthy Associate, Mons. Hyacinthe Langlois, I am enabled to annex a fac-simile of parts of the manuscript, including a portion of the form of Dedication.

There are only two miniatures in the manuscript, and they stand as

[z] Lib. iv. de Vit. Constan. c. 59. [a] Lib. x. Hist. Eccl. c. 4. [b] Epist. ad Demophilum.
[c] Serm. iii. in Epist. ad Ephesios. [d] Lib. iv. Hist. Eccl. c. 17.

[e] Lib. i. Rationale, c. 3, 35. Durandus, beside the veil between the clergy and the people, speaks of a veil round the altar between the officiating priest and the clergy. There was also another veil used in Holy Week, to cover the ornaments of the altar, velum quadragesimale.

[f] The lower halves of folios 182 and 184 are cut away. The heading of the Consecratio Reginæ occurs at the bottom of a page, and between it and the formula itself several folios have been inserted, which seem to be part of the original text misplaced.

frontispieces; and the vellum on which they are drawn is of the same quality as that on which the original text is written. The first miniature[g] represents a Priest in his stole, holding the book before the Bishop, who is in the attitude of prayer, with his arms extended. Both the Bishop and the Priest hold the maniple in the left hand, between the finger and the thumb, according to the ancient usage of the Western Church; and the Bishop, bareheaded, wears the super-humerale over the chasuble, the form of which, from the disposition of the figure, is seen to advantage. The figure of the Bishop is in red outline, and that of the Priest in black and red: there is nothing new in the design, but there is something of character about the figure of the Bishop, and on account of the antiquity of the manuscript, I have added a fac-simile of this miniature.

The other miniature, in black outline roughly executed, faces the *Ordo qualiter domus Dei consecranda est*, with which the manuscript begins, and represents the introductory ceremony of the Dedication of a church. The Bishop is represented in the act of knocking at the door of the church with his pastoral staff, at the antiphon *Lift up your gates.* The prelate is without the mitre, and is habited in his cope, which is fastened by the pectorale; in his left hand he holds the maniple, and in his right the pastoral staff, called both in this, and in Archbishop Robert's manuscript, *cambutta*,[h] the head of which is round like a ball. Behind the Bishop, at a little distance, is a group composed of priests with the tonsure, and monks in their hoods; and further off is another group composed of the laity, some with swords in their hands, and one, bearded, preceding the rest, with a club in his hand. Nearer the building two barrels are seen, filled, as it may be presumed,[i] with water intended to be blessed and used in the Dedication. The building has a tower, and apparently there is a court on one side; and if a conjecture may be formed from the false perspective which exhibits the opposite ends of the same building, the curtain seen through a

g Notes have been barbarously written by Mons. Saas and others on the back of this miniature.

h Extat præterea S. Columbani baculum, quod Hibernice Cambutta dicitur, e ligni specie quod nos Hiberni *Cuilean* appellamus, Anglice *Holly*. Rerum Hib. Script. tom. i. c. xxx.

i In the Roman Pontifical, dedicated to Leo X., there is a vignette in the Ordo de Dedicatione, representing the Bishop blessing holy water, which is in a large tub standing near a table.

window may be that of the sanctuary, since the door of entrance is at the other end: the ornamental work of the door is not unlike the iron-work on many of our church doors: the steeple is, as usual, surmounted by a cock.

Dom Martene,[k] in his ancient Rites of the Church, has made frequent use of this Pontifical, which he styles, *MS. Pontificale Anglicanum Monasterii Gemmeticensis annorum* 900; and as the learned writer has set forth the principal forms contained in the manuscript, I shall content myself with collecting from it such evidence as will shew it to be an English Pontifical, and help to fix its date.

The very general conformity of this manuscript in many parts, and among others in the consecration of the King and Queen, to the Pontifical of Archbishop Robert, would lead me at once to consider it as an English ritual, were there not other circumstances leading to the same conclusion. One of the rubrics has an interlineation, being an Anglo-Saxon version of a few words of the rubric; the *excerptio*[1] *canonibus Catholicorum Patrum ad*

[k] Liber de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus, edit. Venetiis, impress. 1788, in which the following forms, extracted from this manuscript, occur: Ordo qualiter domus Dei Consecranda est; Consecratio Crucis; ad Signum Ecclesiæ benedicendum; Benedictio Fontis; Consecratio Cimeterii; ordo quomodo in sancta Romana ecclesiæ conduntur reliquiæ, tom. ii. p. 250; Reconciliatio loci sacri ubi sanguis fuerit effusus aut homicidium perpetratum vel aliqua res immunda, tom. ii. p. 285; Benedictio Virginum, tom. ii. p. 189. Benedictio Monachorum, tom. ii. p. 162. Gradus ecclesiastici, et ordo de Sacris ordinibus ex conciliatione Kartaginensi xii de Psalmis, tom. ii. p. 37; Benedictio super Regem noviter electum, tom. ii. p. 214; Qualiter suscipere debeant pœnitentes Episcopi vel Presbyteri, tom. i. p. 275; Ordo ad Benedicendum Oleum Infirmorum, Oleum Catechumenorum, et Sanctum Chrisma, tom. iii. p. 88; Exorcismus contra demonem, tom. ii. p. 347. Benedictio scrinii vel arcae, tom. ii. p. 300; Maledictio sive excommunicatio, tom. ii. p. 322.

Martene has omitted formulas which ought to have found a place in his laborious collection. In particular, the Oratio super Cereos in purificatione Sc'ae Mariæ, and the Ordo ad visitandum infirmum; the latter seems of much antiquity, it agrees with Archbishop Robert's Missal in the manner of anointing the sick, but differs in many other parts. There is also a variety which the learned ecclesiastic might have noticed in the forms used in ordeals, namely, Ordinatio ad ferrum, Exorcismus Aquæ ad iudicium demonstrandum, adiuratio ferri vel aquæ ferventis ad iudicium, and, exorcismus panis hordeacii et casei.

The Benedictio *lactis et mellis* is to be found in this manuscript.

[1] fol. 176.

remedium animarum, of Egbert, Archbishop of York, is set forth under his name; the festival of St. Cuthbert,[m] followed by those of St. Gregory and St. George, occur in the *cursus anni* for the episcopal benedictions; the name of St. Columbanus[n] is introduced into the litany for the order of Dedication, and occurs again in the order[o] for visiting the sick, together with the names of Saints Birinus and Cuthbert. Birinus, the Apostle of Winchester, whose memory was revered there and in the neighbourhood, was elsewhere less celebrated; St. Cuthbert also was a favourite at Winchester, as Frithestan's stole testifies; and perhaps this manuscript, like Archbishop Robert's Benedictional, may have been written by the monks of Winchester, or may have belonged, as I rather suppose, to some of the monasteries in the West of England. If some traces of the Gallican liturgy are observable, as for example, an episcopal benediction for St. Medard, and the insertion of the names of St. Anianus and Albinus in the long litany, and a precedence given among the confessors, in the same litany, to St. Hilary (whose name, however, is found in St. Dunstan's and Archbishop Robert's, and other early English litanies), these were not unlikely to occur in the rituals of some of our Western Churches, where the Gallican liturgy originally more or less prevailed. Weighing, therefore, these circumstances, and others which might be mentioned, I think this Pontifical may safely be pronounced English, and it is considered as such by Mabillon,[p] Martene,[q] and Montfaucon.[r]

An important fact remains to be noticed; at the latter end of the manuscript is a form of excommunication,[s] or malediction against depredators of Church property, headed, *Sic maledicendi sunt omnes resistentes Dei Omnipotentis voluntati et sanctae Dei ecclesiae, ab ore Sancti Petri Apostoli, Principis Apostolorum, et omnium azymorum Episcoporum sui subsequentium*, beginning in these words, *Divinitatis Suffragio* Lanaletensis *Monasterii Episcopus Omnibus Sanctae Dei ecclesiae fidelibus notum sit.*" Mabillon infers from this passage that the manuscript, admitted to be English, belonged to the Bishop of the monastery Lanaletense, all traces of which, he adds, are obliterated.

[m] fol. 137. [n] fol. 3. [o] fol. 185.

[p] Annal. Ord. S. Bened. tom. iv. p. 461. fol. Parisiis, 1707. [q] Antiq. Eccl. Rit. passim.

[r] Bibl. Biblioth. tom. ii. p. 1216. [s] fol. 183.

After a careful examination of the text it would seem that this singular document [t] forms no part of the original Pontifical, but is of somewhat later date, and in the manuscript may be seen another insertion, being a formulary in *Reconciliatione Atrii vel Ecclesiæ*, which, I think, is in the same hand-writing as the malediction. That the malediction is a form to be used on occasions merely is clear, from the circumstance of the Bishop's name being wanting, and since it is unquestionably a copy of the formula used in the diocess Lanaletensis, it was either extracted from the Pontifical of that place as worth preserving, or inserted expressly for the use of the diocess after the manuscript was brought over from England, presuming it English, and supposing such insertion, it follows, as it appears to me, that the manuscript belonged to the ancient bishopric of Alet, now St. Malo in Britany.

John, Bishop of Alet, who died in 1163, transferred [u] his see to the peninsula of St. Malo's or Maclou, which, according to Valesius,[x] was distant about a mile from Alet. The *Pagus Aletensis* is spoken of in the Chronicle [y] of Robert de Monte, as the district of the ancient bishopric of Alet, and the *Lan Aletensis*, I conceive, signified the church of Alet; for *Llan*,[z] so commonly used as a prefix with that signification, to names of places in Wales, frequently occurs prefixed to names of places in Britany.

It must be observed that the name of St. Maclou, who was the first Bishop of Alet, occurs no where in this Pontifical, which shews that, if it was at any time used by, it was not written for the Church of Alet, and this rather confirms me in my idea that the malediction was transcribed from the Alet Pontifical. However, it is very possible that the manuscript may have passed over to the people of Alet from their opposite neighbours the West Saxons; and nothing can be more natural, than that after the MS. had found

[t] It very much resembles the malediction from the Rochester archives, published in Sterne's works.

[u] Chron. Brit. ex collect. vet. MS. eccl. Nannetensis. Hist. de Bretagne, tom. ii. p. 34.

[x] Hadr. Valesii Notitia Gall. p. 12. Aleto diruto, sedes Episcopatus translatus est in peninsulam S. Maclovii, mille plus minus passibus inde distantem, et oceano fere circumfusam: quæ urbs S. Maclovii vocitatur, *Saint Malo, S. Maclovius de insula,* in Historia Majoris Monasterii, vulgo *S. Malo de l' Isle.* See also the Notitia Provinciarum, prefixed to Labbe's Concilia, and Hist. de Bretagne, p. 2.

[y] Not. Gall. [z] Llan, a church. Owen.

its way into Britany, there should have been inserted in it maledictions, the only weapons of the terrified monks in those unquiet days against ravagers, and forms for purification of sacred buildings defiled with blood, as in the ninth and tenth centuries the whole country was one scene of pillage and bloodshed.

But to proceed. It is evident that this manuscript is of the Benedictine school. The names of the founder of the order, and his sister Scholastica, are introduced both into the litany of the Dedication of the church, and of the sick, the founder's name being placed in the first litany immediately after those of St. Hilary and the Popes Gregory and Silvester, and before those of all other Confessors; and the formula for the profession of Monks, which occurs in the Pontifical, begins, *Ego frater Deodatus promitto stabilitatem meam et conversionem morum meorum et obedientiam secundum regulam Sancti Benedicti coram Deo et sanctis ejus in præsentia Dom'ni N. Abbatis.* In respect to the name of St. Columbanus, it was introduced as was St. Benedict's, as that of a celebrated *Pater Monachorum.*

All the Saints named in this Pontifical are, with one or two exceptions, mentioned in the genuine Martyrology of Bede, and the names of those omitted are found in the later additions to this work. St. Cuthbert, who died in 688, is the latest among the Saints named in our Pontifical, one proof of its antiquity. That it was written after the time of Egbert, Archbishop of York, who died in 766, is clear from the introduction under his name of the excerptio from the canons, and perhaps the insertion of this excerptio may be taken as another proof of the antiquity of the manuscript. Another argument for the early age of the manuscript may be drawn from the manner in which the Priest and Deacon are represented to bear the maniple between the finger and thumb; for it would seem from St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, that about the middle of the tenth century the English Priest and Deacon carried the maniple on the left arm, according to the present usage, whereas the figures on St. Frithestan's stole seem to shew, that at the beginning of the same century it was borne after the former manner.

Montfaucon ascribes to this manuscript too high a date, when he says it is of the seventh or eighth century; there is indeed one formula in the manu-

script which induces me to think that it was written much later. Amalarius, Walfridus, and Alcuin make no mention of the ceremony of blessing of candles on the feast of the Purification, although Alcuin incidentally speaks of the Bishop giving candles, and neither the Gelasian nor Gregorian Sacramentaries contain the ceremonial. In some of the early Gallican and English Pontificals, and among them I may name particularly St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, written in the latter half of the tenth century, a single prayer for this ceremony will be found, entitled *Oratio ad luminaria benedicenda*, and *Oratio ad benedicendos Cereos*, and *Benedictio super Candelas*; but a regular ordo for blessing candles on the feast of the Purification is not found in these Pontificals: our manuscript does contain such an ordo, under the title of *Oratio super Cereos in Purificatione Sanctae Mariae*, and it is clearly Roman, for it gives an antiphon to be sung at the station of St. Mary, that is to say, the church of St. Mary Maior;[a] and although the formula does not agree entirely with the present ordo in the Roman Ritual, parts of both are the same, whereas the ordo for Candlemas in the Sarum Ritual is totally different. Martene is of opinion that this manuscript was written about the year 900; but, from the circumstance just noticed, it may be doubted whether it was written much before the close of the tenth, or until the beginning of the eleventh century.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's

obedient humble servant,

JOHN GAGE.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen.

[a] Sacramen. Greg. Muratorii Liturg. Rom. p. 22. tom. ii. In the Missale of Archbishop Robert at Rouen, the Mass for Christmas Eve is headed, viii. kal. Jan. Natal. D'ni ad S'c'am Maria' maiorem.

Ex M.S. Pontificali Anglo Sax. in Bib. Pub. Rothomag. Nu. 362.

INCIPIT ORDO QUALITER DOMUS DĪ CONSECRANDA ÷

PRIMITUS DECET UT EPIS ET CETERI MINISTRI ECLESIE
INDUANTSE UESTIMENTIS SACRIS · CUM QUIBUS
DIVINUM MINISTERIUM ADIMPLERE
DEBENT · ET UENIANT ANTE OSTIUM AECLESIAE
QUE DICENDA Ē · CANTANDO ANTIPHAM ·

Zache festinans descende quia hodie indomo tua oportet me manere · at ille festinans
descendit & suscepit illum gaudens in domo sua hodie huic domui salus adeo facta est alleluia.

QUA FINITA DICATUR HAEC ORATIO . collt

DS QUINOS PASTORES INPOPULO UOCARI
uoluisti · presta qsumus hoc quodhumano ore
dicimur meruis oculis esse ualeamus ℣

SIC MALEDICENDI SUNT · OMS RESISTENTES DĪ OMNIPOTENTIS

. . . . . .

Diuinitatis suffragio · lanalecensis · monasteriu epis omnib; scae di aeccte fidelibus
notum sit.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 23rd April. 1834

G.E. Storm sc



Frontispiece to the Pontifical.

[illegible]ociety of Antiquaries of London 23rd April, 1834.

G.F Sturm sc



Ceremony of Dedication.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 23rd April. 1834.

ORDO AD BENEDICENDAM SEU DEDICANDAM BASILICAM.

Ex MS. Pontificali Anglo-Sax. Monasterii Gemmeticensis quod extat in Bib. Pub. Rothomag. nu. 362.

INCIPIT ORDO QUALITER DOMUS DEI CONSECRANDA EST.

Primit' enī decet vt epīs et ceteri ministri eclesie induant se vestimentis sacris. cum quibus divinv' ministerivm adimplere debent. et veniant ante ostium aeclesiae que dedicanda e' cantando Antiph'am.

Zachę festinans descende quia hodie in domo tua oport& me manere. at ille festinans descendit & suscepit illum gaudens in domo sua. hodie huic domui salus a Dño facta est alleluia.

Qua finita dicatur haec oratio. Cott.

Dš qui nos pastores in populo uocari uoluisti. presta q̃s ut hoc quod humano ore dicimur in tuis oculis esse ualeamus. p.

Et inlvminentvr. XII. *candele et ponant' de foris per circuitum eclesiae et facit Letaniā et cū hac Letania Sc̃orv' implorans suffragiv' ter circumeat ipsam quae dedicanda est ectam que hoc modo inchoanda est.*

Xp̃e audi nos iij.	Sc̃e Marcę.
Sc̃a Maria iij. or.	Sc̃e Luca.
Sc̃e Michael.	Om̃s Sc̃ Ap̃li orate pro nob.
Sc̃e Gabriel.	Sc̃e Stephane.
Sc̃e Raphael.	Sc̃e Line.
Om̃s Sc̃i Angeli.	Sc̃e Clete.
Sc̃e Johannes Bapt̃a.	Sc̃e Clemens.
Sc̃e Petre ij.	Sc̃e Dionisii.
Sc̃e Paule.	Sc̃e Syxte.
Sc̃e Andrea.	Sc̃e Urbane.
Sc̃e Johannes.[a]	Sc̃e Laurenti.
Sc̃e Jacobe.	Sc̃e Ypolite.
Sc̃e Philippe.	Sc̃e Corneli.
Sc̃e Thoma.	Sc̃e Cypriane.
Sc̃e Jacobe.	Sc̃e Cosma.
Sc̃e Bartholomeę.	Sc̃e Damiane.
Sc̃e Matheę.	Sc̃e Agapite.
Sc̃e Simon.	Sc̃e Maurici.
Sc̃e Taddeę.	Sc̃e Sebastiane.
Sc̃e Mathia.	Sc̃e Luciane.
Sc̃e Barnaba.	Sc̃e Saturnine.

[a] "Sancte Johannes" is interlined in a later hand.

Sc̃e Pancrate.
Sc̃e Simphoriane.
Sc̃e Geruasi.
Sc̃e Protasi.
Sc̃e Nazari.
Sc̃e Celse.
Om̃s Sc̃i Martyres.
Sc̃e Hilari.
Sc̃e Martine.
Sc̃e Gregori.
Sc̃e Siluester.
Sc̃e Benedicte.
Sc̃e Augustine.
Sc̃e Hieronime.
Sc̃e Eusebi.
Sc̃e Aniane.
Sc̃e Albine.
Sc̃e Remigi.
Sc̃e Columbane.
Om̃s Sc̃i Confessores orate.
Sc̃a Agnes.
Sc̃a Cecilia.
Sc̃a Anasthasia.
Sc̃a Scolastica.
Sc̃a Brigida.
Sc̃a Eulalia.
Sc̃a Tecla.
Sc̃a Praxedis.
Sc̃a Cristina.
Sc̃a Eugenia.
Sc̃a Genovefa.

Om̃s Sc̃ę Virgines orate.
Om̃s Sc̃i orate ꝑ nobis iij.
Propitius esto parce nob̃. Dñe.
Propitius esto libera nos Dñe.
Ab om̃i malo lib̃a nos Dñe.
A uentura ira lib̃a nos Dñe.
A peccatis nr̃is lib̃a nos Dñe.
Ab insidiis diaboli lib̃a nos Dñe.
Per crucē tuā lib̃a nos Dñe.
Peccatores te. rogamus audi nos.
Vt pacē nob̃ dones te r̃. audi nos.
Vt dōnū Ap̃tolicū & om̃s gradus ęcłę custodire & conseruare digñr te rogamus audi nos.
Vt ecłam tuā inmaculatā custodire & c̃servare dig̃.
Vt cuncto pop̃lo Xp̃iano pacē & unanimitatē larg̃.
Vt congregationē istā in sc̃am religionē conseruare digneris te rg̃ audi nos.
Fili Dī te rg̃ audi nos.
Agnus Dī qui tollis peccata mundi parce nobis Dñe.
Agnus Dī qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.
Agnus Dī qui tollis peccata mundi dona nob̃ pacē.
Xp̃e audi nos. ij.
Kyrie eleyson Xp̃eley$.
Kyrieeleyson.

Sequatur Oratio.

Prę̃ueniat nos q̃s Dñe misericordia tua & intercedentibus om̃ibus sc̃is tuis uoces nr̃as clem̃tia tuę ꝑpitiationis anticip&.

Alia.

Ascendant ad te Dñe praeces nr̃ę & ab ęclesia tua cunctā repelle nequitiā ꝑ.

Alia.

D$ caeli terręq. dominator auxiliū nobis tuę defensionis benignus inpende ꝑ Dn̄m.

Alia.

Actiones ñras q̃s Dñe & aspirando p̱ɾeueni & adiuuando prosequere ut cuncta ñra op̱acio & a te semp̱ incipiat. & p̱ te cɋpta finiatr p̱.

Tc̃ ingrediat' unv' ex diaconib' ecc̃tam et clavso hostio ante ipsv' ceteris omnib' p̱ forib' remanentib. tunc et pontifex accedens ad hostiū ecc̃te incipiat Antiphonā.

Tollite portas principes ṽtras & elevamini portɋ ɋternales. *Et itervm circumeat eclesiam versificando psalmv'. usqve qvo veniat ad hostiv'. percutiensque in primis ter cū virga sua ipsud hostium. dicat directe.* Tollite portas principes ṽras *et reliqua. Respondeat minister infra stans.* Quis est iste rex gloriae. *Episcopvs secvndo circūeat ecc̃tm psallendo versvs eiusdem psalmi qui supersunt cū Antipho' supradicta quo ad usq; veniat ad hostiv' quod prius. p'cutiensq; iterum ipsud hostiv' dicat directe ut supra* Tollite portas. *et minist' respondeat* Quis est iste. *Itē tertio circumeat ecc̃tam psallendo quod supest eiusdē psalmi cum Antiphona supradicta. Quo psalmo expleto cū Antiphona stans ante hostiū tertio p'cutiat ipsud hostiū dicatq; directe sine sono* Tollite portas principes vestras *et Diaconus respondeat* Quis est iste. *Tunc omnis clerus Episcopo rɋspondeat dicens.* Dñs virtutū ipse est rex gḻɋ. *Et statim Diaconvs aperiat hostium hanc orationē ante hostivm Episcopo dicente.*

Oremus.

Domum tuam q̃s Dñe clementer ingredere. & in tuorum tibi cordibus fidelium p̱petuam constitue mansionem. ut cuius ɋdificatione subsistit huius fiat habitatio preclara p̱.

Hac oratione finita ingrediantr omnes ecc̃tam Episcopo crucē in manu [*gestantem*] *et stando dicatq: An'.*

Pax huic domui & om̃ibus habitantibus in ea. pax ingredientibus & regredientibus. Alla.

Crux pellit hostem. Crux Xp̃i triumphat. *Dehinc an'.*

Benedic Dñe domum istam quam ɋdificavi nomini tuo [&] venientes in loco isto. exaudi preces in excelso solio glorię tuɋ. *Pl'.* Fundamenta eius. *Et sic canendo usq; ad mediū ecc̃te solū deveniant. Qua finita dicat Epīs sonora voce* Orem^{9} *et Diacon'* Flectam^{9} *et post paululv' dicit* Levate. *Et Pontifex.* Orem^{9}.

Ds̃ qui invisibiliter omnia contines et tamen pro salute generis humani signa tuɋ potentię visibiliter ostendis. templum hoc potentię tuɋ habitatione illustra. ut om̃s qui huc deprecaturi conveniunt. ex quacumq: ad te tribulatione clamaverint. consolationis tuɋ beneficia consequantr p̱.

Itē dicat Pontifex. Oremus *et diaconus. ut supra* Flectam^{9} genua *et post paululv' dicit* Levate *deinde Ep's dat orat' hanc.*

Tabernaculum hoc ingredere q̃s Omp̃s sempiterne Ds̃. & famulos tuos congregatos ad honorē & laudem nominis tui adque beatɋ Marię sacrɋ Virginis benedic sicut benedicere dignatus es domos patriarchum. Abrahā Isaac & Jacob. pusillis cum magnis. ita benedicere & sc̃ficare eos dignare. p̱ Dñm.

Deinde incipit clerus Letaniā et cv' venerint ante altare Pontifex et Sacerdotes sive Levite prosternant se sup̱ stramenta vsq: dvm dicatur Agnus Dei.

Kyrrieleyson.
Xp̃e leyson Domine Miserere.
Xp̃e miserere.
Xp̃e audi nos.
Sc̃a Maria
Sc̃e Michael ora p̱ nob.
Sc̃e Gabriel
Sc̃e Raphael.
Om̃is Chorus Angł̇oz̨.
Om̃is Chorus Patriarcharū.
Om̃is Chorus Ꝑph&arum.
Sc̃e Petre.
Sc̃e Paule.
Sc̃e Andrea.
Om̃is Chorus Ap̃lorum.
Sc̃e Stephane.
Sc̃e Line.
Sc̃e Clete.
Om̃is Chorus Martyrum.
Sc̃e Gregori.
Sc̃e Silvester.
Sc̃e Leo.
Om̃is Chorus Confessoz̨.
Sc̃a Felicitas.
Sc̃a Perp&ua.
Sc̃a Agatha.
Omnis Chorus Virginum.
Om̃es Sc̃i orate p̱ nobis.
Xp̃e audi nos.
Ab inimicis ñris defende nos Xp̃e.
Afflictionē ñram benignus vide.
Dolorē cordis ñri respice clemens.
Peccata po p̃li tui pius indulge.
Orationē ñram exaudi Xp̃e.
Hic & in perp&uum nos custodire digneris Xp̃e.
Fili Dī vivi miserere nob̃.
Exaudi nos Xp̃e. exaudi. exaudi nos Xp̃e.
Kyrieeleyson. Xp̃e eleyson.
Domine miserere. Xp̃e miserere.
Miserere nob̃ pie rex Dñe. Jh̃u Xp̃e.
Xp̃e audi nos. T'.

Ut autē surrexerint ab oratione non dicit Pontifex Dñs vobisc̃ *sed tantū inchoat et dicit* Oremus *et Diacon' ut sup* Flectam⁹ genua *et iterv'* Levate. *sequit' oratio.* Magnificare Dñe Dꝭ ñr in sc̃is tuis & hoc in templo edificationis appare. ut qui om̃ia in filiis adoptionis op̱aris. ipse semp̱ in tua hereditate lauderis. p̱ Dñm. *Deinde incipit pontifex de sinistro angulo ab oriente scribens p̱ pavimentv' cū cābvta sua A. B. C. dariv' usq. in dexterv' angulv' occidental. et dicit hanc antiphonā.*

Fundamentū aliud nemo potest ponere præter illud deniq. quod positū est a Xp̃o Dño. *Pl'.* Fundamenta eius. *Et a dextro angulo orientaṫ scribat similiṫ A. B. C. dariv' vsq: in sinistrv' angulum occidentalē Basilice canendo Antiphonam.* Haec aula accipiat a Deo gratiam benedictionem & misericordiam a Xp̃o Jh̃u *Pl.* Magnus Dñs. *Deinde veniens ante altare dicat.* Dꝭ in adiutoriv̄ meum intende. cū gloria. *absque* Aṫ *Deinde benedicens salem et aquam cum cinere dicat hanc orationem.*

Exorcizo te creatura salis. p̱ Dm̃ vivum p̱ Dm̃ verū p̱ Dm̃ sc̃m. p̱ Dm̃ qui te p̱ Eliseum proph&am in aquam mitti iussit. ut sanaretr sterilitas aquae. ut efficiaris sal exorcizatum in salutem credentium. ut sis om̃ibus te sumentibus sanitas animę & corporis. & effugiat atq. discedat ab eo loco quo aspersus fueris. om̃is fantasia & nequitia vel versutia diabolicae fraudis. om̃isq. spiritus inmundus adiuratus p̱ eū qui venturus est iudicare vivos & mortuos & seculum p̱ ignem. Amen.

Benedictio salis.

Inmensam clementiam tuam omp̃s ҫterne Ds̃ humiliter imploramus. ut hanc creaturam salis. quā in usum generis humani tribuisti. benedicere & sc̃ificare tua pietate digneris. ut sit om̃ibus sumentib3 salus mentis & corporis. & quicquid eo tactum ł respersum fuerit. careat om̃i inmunditia om̃iq. inpugnatione spiritalis nequitiҫ. ꝑ Dn̄m nr̄m Jh̄m Xp̃m filium tuū qui venturus est iudicare vivos & mortuos.

Exorcismus aquae.

Exorcizo te creatura aquҫ in nomine Dī patris om̃ipotentis. & in nomine Jh̄u Xp̃i filii eius & Sp̃s Sc̃i. Om̃is virtus adversarii. om̃is incursio diaboli. om̃e fantasma. omnesq. inimici potestates eradicare & effugare ab hac creatura aquae. Vnde exorcizo te creatura aquҫ ꝑ Dm̃ verum ꝑ Dm̃ vivum ꝑ Dm̃ Sc̃m. & ꝑ Dn̄m nr̄m Jh̄m Xp̃m ut efficiaris. aqua sc̃a. aqua benedicta. & ubicumq. effusa fueris vel aspsa sive in domo sive in agro. effuges omnem fantasiam omnēq: inimici potestatē quatinus consecratio huius aecłҫ ut per eam & benedictionē divinā auxiliante Dn̄o. sive per os. & ꝑ manus atq. officium nr̄m. hæc domus Dn̄i Dī nr̄i divinitus per gr̄am Sp̃s Sc̃i consecret[r] ꝑp&ualiť ad invocandum nomen Dn̄i consecrata ꝑmaneat. & Sp̃s Sc̃s habit& in domo hac. ꝑ Dn̄m nr̄m.

Benedictio Aquae.

Ds̃ qui ad salutem humani generis maxima quҫq. sacramenta in aquarum substantia condidisti. adesto ꝑpitius invocationibus n̄ris & elemento huic multimodis purificationibus ꝑparato. virtutem tuҫ benedictionis infunde. ut creatura mysterii tui tibi serviens ad abiciendos demones morbosq. pellendos divinҫ gratiҫ sumat effectum. ut quicquid in domibus vel in locis fidelium haec unda respserit. careat om̃i inmunditia. liberet[r] a noxa. non illic resideat sp̃s pestilens. non aura corrumpens. abscedant om̃s [b] inimici. & si quid est quod aut incolomitati habitantiū inuid& aut quieti. aspersione huius aquҫ effugiat. ut salubritas ꝑ invocationē tui nominis expetita ab om̃ibus sit inpugnationibus defensa ꝑ Dn̄m.

Benedictio Cinerum.

Omp̃s Sempiterne Ds̃ parce metuentibus propitiare supplicibus. & mittere dignare sc̃m Angł̄m tuum de cҫlis. qui benedicat & sc̃ific& cineres istos. ut sint remedium salubre. om̃ibus nomen tuum humiliter inplorantibus. ac sem& ipsos ꝑ conscientiā delictorum suoꝫ accusantibus. atq. conspectui divinҫ clementiҫ tuҫ facinora sua deplorantibus. vel serenissimā pietatē tuā supplicit̃ obnixeq. flagitantibꝫ. presta q̃s ꝑ invocationē sc̃issimi nominis tui. ut quicumq. eos super se asperserint ꝑ redemptione peccatoꝫ. corporis sanitatē & animae tutelam ꝑcipiant. ꝑ Dn̄m.

Post hoc miscetur sal et cinis faciens crucē ter super ipsā aquā et dicat hanc orationē.

Ds̃ invicte virtutis auctor et insuperabilis imperii rex ac semp̃ magnificus triūphator. qui adversҫ dominationis vires reprimis. qui inimici rugientis sҫvitiam supas. qui hostiles ne-

[b] "insidiæ latentis," in a later hand.

quitias potens expugnas. Te Dñe trementes & supplices deprecamur ac petimus. ut hanc creaturam salis & aquę dignanter accipias. benign⁹ illustres. pietatis tuę more sc̃ifices. ut ubicuq̃. fuerit aspsa[c] p̨ invocationē sc̃i tui nominis oñis infestatio inmundi sp̃s abiciat[r] terrorq. venenosi serpentis p̨cul pellatur. & presentia Sc̃i Sp̃s nobis misericordiā tuā poscentibus ubiq. adesse dignet[r] p̨.

Deinde misceat' vinv' cv' aqua et dicat hanc orat'.

Ds̃ creator & conservator humani generis. dator gratię sp̃italis. largitor aeĩnę salutis. Tu Dñe emitte Sp̃m tuū Sc̃m sup̨ vinum hoc aqua mixtum. ut armata virtute cęlestis defensionis ad consecrationē huius ecl̃ę vel altaris p̨ficiat. p̨.

Dñe Ds̃ Rex universarum caelestium & terrestrium creaturarum qui de cęlo descendisti & p̨ misteriorum tuorum archana ecl̃ae tuae iter ad cęlos ascendendi prebuisti. qui que inter cætera cęlestium terribilia mysteriorum miracula etiā ex proprio latere undam sanguinis & aquae ob animarum ñrarum medelam p̨fluxisse p̨misisti. concede q̃s ut sacro sc̃a sanguinis tui mixtura in vino cum unda sanguinis. celesti benedictione ecl̃a tua consecret[r] & ad ñrę opationis confirmationē consecrata p̨maneat p̨ Dñm.

Et mittat in ea crisma. ct condat ex ipsa aqua calcē et faciat maldā unde recludere debet ipsas reliquias. deinde faciat crucē cū digito suo cum ipsa aqua in dexterā partē p' quatuor cornua altaris cantando Asperges me. *Inde veniens ante altare cū ysopo asperget illud altare in circuitu septē vicibus canendo Antiphonam.* Asperges me ysopo & mundabor lavabis me & sup̃ nivē dealbabor *cum psalmo* Miserere mei Ds̃. *Quā sequatur Orat'.* Pateant ad hoc altare aures misericordię tuę q̃s Dñe precibus supplicantiū & ut petentibus desiderata concedas. fac tibi eos placita postulare p̨.

Et vadat in circuitu altaris spargendo deinde in dextera parte p̨ parietes ecl̃e usq. dum veniat ante altare. Deinde Antiphona.

Sc̃ificauit Dñs tabernaculū suum & hęc est domus Dī in qua invocet[r] nomen eius de qua scriptū est erit nomen meum ibi dicit Dñs *Pl.* Ds̃ ñr refugiū *quo pacto sequatur orat'.*

Hic benedictionem tuam Dñe populus fidelis ad honorē & laudē nominis tui veniens accipiat. qua corpore salvet[r] ac mente. hic gratam tibi semp̨ exhibeat servitutē & propitiationis tuę beneficia iugiter inveniat p̨ Dñm.

Solus & effabilis supernorum rex Dñe Ds̃ auxiliare quesumus ęcl̃ę tuę ut quicumq: hic ad laudē & exaltationē nominis tui conveniunt. sacrę devotionis proficiant incrementis. & tuo munere semp̨ gubernentur. & ad redēptionis aeĩnę p̨tineant te ducente consortium p̨ Dñm.

Sparget iterv' trib: vicib: desup in circuitv altaris vel ecl̃e deintus cv' Antiphona.

In dedicatione huius templi laudate Deum oñes militię cęlorum & oñis terra laudent nomen Dñi quia exaltatum est nomen eius solius.

Deinde p̨gat extra ecl̃am cv' omni scola spargendo ter per parietes in circuitu et desuper cantando.

Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi in protectione Dī cęli commorabit[r]. Dicet Dño.

Adiutor altissime Ds̃ & protector caelestis. preces ñras quesumus clementer exaudi.

c " uel degustata," in a later hand.

nobisq: misericordiam tuā poscentibus concedas. ut quicūq. in parietes huius ęcłę ad te clamaverint. om̃ium veniam peccatorum & gaudia p̨cip̨e mereantur ęterna. p̨.

A. Asperges me Dñe. *Pl.* Miserere me Dš.

Fundamenta tēpli huius sapientia sua fundavit Dš in quo dñm cęli conlaudant Angeli. surruant venti. & fluant flumina. non possunt eam movere umquam fundata enim erat supra petram. *Pl.* Fundamenta eius. *cum toto psalmo. Finito hoc ingrediat' pontifex in ectam cum omni schola et incipiat Antipho'.*

Dš qui Jacob famulo tuo prę̨electo ascendentes & descendentes in prefigurationē sc̃orum predicatorū angelos ostendisti. concede q̃s om̃s ad hanc dedicationē venientes apostolorū tuorum tueri p̨sidio. quatinus qui sursum sc̃m caput ęclesię videlic& Dñm contēplantr p̨ his intercedere non desistant qui in imis versantur p̨ D'.

Benedic Dñe domum istam quam edificavi nomini tuo ut sint oculi tui apti sup̨ eā die & nocte *Pl.* Magnus Dñs.

Et vadat de ipso altari spargendo p̨ mediv' ecte in longū et ī latū faciendo crucē sup̨ omne pavim'tv' cū Antipho'. Benedictus es in templo sancto glorię tuę quod edificatū est ad laudē & gloriā nominis tui Domine *Pl.* Benedicite om̃a opa Dñi Dño.

Et veniens in medio ecte dicat Oremus. *Et Diacon'* Flēc. gen. *p°ea dicat.* Lē. *Et dicat Ep's hanc orationē.*

Dš qui loca nomini tuo dicata sc̃ificas. effunde sup̨ hanc orationis domū grām tuam. ut ab om̃ibus hic invocantibus nomen tuū auxilium tuę misericordię sentiatr p̨ Dñm.

Et iterv' dic'. Oremus. *et Diacon' ut sup̨. Sequit' Oratio.*

Dš sc̃ificationum Omp̃s dominator cuius pietas sine fine sentitur. Dš qui cęlestia simul & terrestria moderaris. servans misericordiā tuam populo tuo ambulanti ante conspectum glorię tuę exaudi preces servoz̨ tuoz̨. & presta ut sint oculi tui ap̨ti sup̨ domū istā die ac nocte. hancq: basilicā in honore Sc̃i *itt.* sacris mysteriis institutā. clementissimus dedica. miserat9 illustra. proprio tuo splendore clarifica & benedicito. omnc̃q. hominē venientē adorare te in loco hoc placatus admitte propitius dignare respicere & propt̃ nomen tuum magnum & manum fortē & brachium excelsum. in habitaculo hoc supplicantes libens p̨tege. dignanter exaudi. & ęterna defensione c̃serva ut sēp̨ felices sēp̨ tua religione lętantes. constanter in Sc̃ę Trinitatis fide catholica p̨severent p̨.

Prefatio in medio ecte. Sursū Corda. *R.* Habem9 ad Dñm. Grat̃ agam9 Dño Dō ñro. Dignv̄ et justv̄ ē.

VD. *usque* aeterne Dš. adesto p̃cib. ñris. adesto sacram̃tis. adesto & iā piis famuloz̨ tuorū laborib; noƀ; misericordiā tuā poscentib; descendat quoq. in hanc ęclesiam tuam quam sub invocationem sc̃i nominis tui in honore Sc̃i *itt* indigni consecramus Sc̃s Sp̃s tuus septiformis gratiae ubertate p̨fusus. ut quoties cumq. in hac domo tua sc̃m tuum nomen fuerit invocatum. eorum qui te invocaverint a te pio dño prę̨ces exaudiantr. O beata Sc̃a Trinitas quę om̄ia purificas. omnia mundas. om̄ia exornas. O beata maiestas Dī quę cuncta inples. cuncta contines. cunctaq. disponis. O beata & sc̃a man9 Dñi quę om̄ia sc̃ificas. om̄ia benedicis. omnia sacrificas. O sc̃e Sc̃orum Dš. tuam clementiā humillima devotione deposcimus. ut hanc ęclesiam p̨ ñrę humilitatis famulatum. in honore sc̃i martyris

tui. *ill.* purificare. benedicere. consecrareq; digneris ꝑp&ua sc̃ificationis tuę ubertate. Hic quoque sacerdotes sacrificium tibi laudis offerant. hic fideles populi vota ꝑsolvant. hic peccatorum onera solvantr. fideliumq. lapsa reparentr. In hac ergo qs̃ Dn̂e domo tua sp̃s sc̃i gratia ęgroti sanentr. infirmi restituantr. claudi curentr. lep̃si mundentr. ceci inluminentr. demonia eicientur. cunctoꝫ ergo debilium ęgrotationes. te Dn̂e annuente pellantr. Om̄ium etiā vincula peccatorum absolvantur. ut om̃s qui hoc tēplum beneficia iusta dep̃caturi ingrediuntr. cuncta se inp&rasse l&entur. ut concessa misericordia quam precamur. perp&uo miserationis tuę munere gloriemur. ꝑ.

Ipsa expleta ingrediendū ē ad alt'. post extensv' velū. Pst̃. Ant'.

Introibo ad altare Dei ad Dn̂m qui lętificat iuventutem meam. *Pl.* Judica me Ds̃.

Vadat ant' altare effundat quod remansit de ipsa aqa ad basī altaris et ext'gat altare. de linteo cū Ant'.

Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus & sp̃s Dī habitat in vobis templum enim Dei sc̃m est quod estis vos pro cuius amore celebratis hodie gaudia tēpli tempore festi *Pl.* Laudate Dn̂m om̃s gentes.

Et benedicat tabulā altaris. que tam' tabula prius lota erit ex aqa sacrata.

Benedictio tabule.

Dn̂e sc̃e pater omp̃s aeterne Ds̃ misericordiam tuam vocibus exultantibus deprecamur. ut qui per omnem mundum fidem sparsisti. ecꝫam congregasti. quiq: lapidem abscisum de monte sine manibus angulari cōpage solidasti. hanc quoque tabulam serenus inlustra. eamq. ęt̃no lumine irriga. ita diversis ꝑ membra crismatibus locupletes. ut ꝑ illam admirandam filii tui hostiam. ipse benedicas inpositā. ipse suscipias consecratam ꝑ Dn̂m.

Itē alia.

Dn̂e sc̃e pater Omp̃s aeterne Ds̃. creator cęli & terrae maris & om̄ium elementorum. supplices maiestatem tuam exoram9 & petimus. ut benedicere & sc̃ificare digneris tabulam istam ex lapide tuę creaturę manu hominis adquadratam. sicut benedicere dignatus es altare illud quod Noe post transactum cataclisma ꝑ uerbum sc̃m tuum in nomine Dī patris Omnipotentis ędificavit. Super quod defuncta animantia terrę oblata sunt munda & inmunda. sed inmunda in figura gentilium. quae a Sp̃u Sc̃o mundata & in odore suavitatis accepta. scriptura commemorante cognovimus. Suscipiatr apud te hic superpositum sacrificium. quodcumq. ꝑ manus sacerdotum offeratur. Qui vivis.

Singulare illud repropitiatoriū quod se in ara crucis nobis redimendis optulit inmolandum. Cuius prefiguratione patriarcha Jacob lapidem erexit in titulum quo fier& sacrificium & porta caeli de sup aperiretr. oraculum. suppliciter tibi Dn̂e preces fundim9 ut metalli huius expolitā materiē. supnis sacrificiis inbuendo. ipse tuę dotari sc̃ificationis ubertate p̃cipias. qui quondam lapideis legem scripsisti in tabulis. ꝑ dn̂m.

Item alia.

Ds̃ Omnipotens. universarum rerum rationabilis artifex. qui intr cęteras creaturas formam lapidei metalli ad obsequium tui sacrificii condidisti. ut legis libatorium tuo prepararetr.

altari. annue dignanter huius institutor Mysterii. ut quicquid hic oblatum sacratumve fuerit. nomini tuo assurgat. religioni ꝑficiat. spei innitatr fidei sit prꝯcipue dignum honore. ꝑ Dñm.

Postea mittat olev' svp' altare in medio crucē faciens. et svp' iiijor *angulos cum Antiphona.* Erexit Jacob lapidem in titulum fundens oleum desuper. *pl.* Quam dilecta.

Dm̃ universitatis artificem. & inmensꝯ molis admirabilem conditorem fr̃s Km̃i votis exultantibus deprecemur. ut qui ꝑ totum mundum fidem aspersit. et ꝯcꝛiam congregavit. quam lapis excisus sine manibus angulari compage solidavit. ut adtoller& caput in cꝯlū qui de cꝯlo accepit fundamentum. lapidem hunc ad conficiendum in eo vitꝯ sacramenta compositum. ita crismate divinꝯ sc̃ificationis ꝑfundat. ut suꝑ illud adorandam filii sui hostiam ipse benedicat inpositam. Ipse suscipiat consecratam. sit hic uictima unitati substantiꝯ & personarū Trinitati grata & acceptabilis. ut hunc lapidem quē ꝑ invocationem nominis pio dedicamus officio presentiꝯ suꝯ visitatione inlustr&. & sc̃ificatione benedictione perpetua inhabitatione possideat.[d] ꝑ Dñm.

Alia.

Ds̃ qui ad sacrificandvm primogenitum tibi populum tabernaculi exemplar in monte Sina Moysi famulo tuo mysticis significationibus demonstrasti. scd̃m caelestium formam terris sc̃m disponens. ut ad te ipsum quꝯ nr̃a videntur adtraheres & supnis terrena sociares. quatinus eminentia spiritalis illuc tender& te vocante fastigium. unde te ordinante sumsit exordium. hunc quoq; lapidē salutarib: celebrandꝯ redemptionis Mysteriis preparatū rore caelestis unguenti aspge. & aromatibus divinꝯ sc̃ificationis ꝑfunde. ac munus gratiꝯ consecrantis suꝑ illū sacrificia inpone. digneq; sic supra quod electas ad sacrificium creaturas in corpus & sanguinē redemptoris virtus secreta convertat & in sacras agni hostias invisibili mutatione transcribat. ut sicut verbū caro factum est. ita in verbi substantia benedicta oblationis natura ꝑficiat & quod prius victui fuerat alimonia. uita hic efficiatr ꝯt̃na ꝑ Dñm.

Et unguat manus sua ipsv' lapidē sup' et in circuitu ipsius altaris p' iiijor. *cornua. expleto psalmo mittat iterv' olev' similiter sicvt prius canendo.*

Mane surgens Jacob erigebat lapidem in titulum fundens oleum desuꝑ. votum vovit Dño vere locus iste sanctus est & ego nesciebam. *Pl.* Ds̃ ñr refugium.

Ipso expleto mittat crisma similit' canendo.

Vidit Jacob scalam. summitas eius cꝯlos tangebat & descendentes angelos & dixit vere locus iste sc̃s est. *Pl* Fundamentum eius.

Deinde in circuitu ecte p' parietes a dextro et a sinistro faciens. crucē cv' pollice de ipso crismate dicens.

Sc̃ificetur hoc templū ꝑ istam unctionē & nr̃am benedictionē. in nomine patris & filii & Sp̃s Sc̃i *cvm Antiph.* O quam metuendus est locus iste vere non hic aliud nisi domus Dei & porta cꝯli. *Pl.* Magnus Dñs. *Et it'ū dicat A.* Lapides pretiosi om̃s muri tui & turres Hierusalem gemmis edificabuntur. *Pl.* Lauda Hierusalem.

[d] Et s'c'ificatione benedicat. & perp&ua inhabitatione possideat. Bened. Roberti Archiep.

Oremus.

Omp̃s sempiterne Dš. effunde super hunc locum gratiam tuam. & oñibus in te sperantibus auxilium tui muneris ostende. ut hic & sacramentorum tuorum uirtus. & uotoꝝ optinetʳ. effectus. ꝑ Dñm.

Alia.

Dš qui de uivis et electis lapidibus ꝯtnum maiestati tuę condis habitaculum. auxiliare populo supplicanti. ut quod eclesię tuę corporalibus proficit spatiis. spiritalibus amplificetur augmentis. ꝑ Dñm.

Inde faciens crucē cū incenso svp altare cū Antiph. fumificante tvrribvlo.

Domine ad te dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu maiestati tuę. *Pl.* Dñe clamavi ad te. *Att.* Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri quem benedixit Dñs. *Pl.* Lauda Hierusalem Dominum.

De hinc oratio hec.

Dñe sc̃e pater clemens. cuius nec initium nec finis aduertitur. qui tantus es quantus esse uoluisti. scilic& sc̃s atq; mirabilis. Dš cuius maiestatem elementa non capiunt. te benedicim². te supplices deꝑcamur. ut sint tibi altaria haec sicut illud quod Abel saluariis misteriis in passione precursor. iugulatus a fratre. nouo sanguine inbuit & sacrauit. Sint tibi Dñe altaria haec sicut illud quod Abraham pater ñr quia uidere te meruit fabricauit. in quo sacerdos Melchisedech sacrificii formam triumphalis expressit. Sint tibi Dñe altaria haec sicut illud quod Isaac puteum profundę puritatis inveniens. habundantię ei nomen imponens. tuę maiestati dicauit. Sint tibi Dñe altaria haec sicut ille lapis. quē Jacob subponens capiti suo. ascendentes & descendentes angelos ꝑ misteriū somno revelante cognouit. Sint tibi Dñe altaria haec sicut illud quod Moyses susceptis mandatis tuis in prefiguratione Apostolica. xijcim lapidum constructione firmauit. Sint tibi Dñe altaria haec sicut illud quod Moyses. vijte' dierū purificatione mundauit. & cęlesti tuo alloquio Sc̃m vocauit sicut locutus es ad Moysen dicens. si quis tetigerit altare hoc. sc̃ificatus habeatʳ. In his ergo altaribus inguletur luxuria. om̃is q; libido feriatʳ. Offeratʳ pro turturibus sacrificium castitatis. ꝑ pullis columbarū innocentię sacrificium. ꝑ Dñm.

Iterv' dicat Orem' *Diacon⁹. vt supª.*

Seqvitvr oratio.

Dī patris Omnipotentis misericordiam delectissimi fr̃s deprecemur ut haec altaria sacrificiis spiritalibus consecranda. uocis exoratus officio. presenti benedictione sc̃ific& ut in eo semꝑ oblationes famulorum suorum studio sc̃ę devotionis inpositas benedicere & sc̃ificare dignetʳ. & spiritali placatus incenso precanti. familię suę prōptus exauditor assistat. ꝑ Dñm.

Iter' dicat Orem' *Diaconvs vt svpra.*

Seqvitur Orat'.

Dſ Oм̃ipotens in cuius honore altaria hęc sub invocatione nominis tui indigni consecramus. clemens & propitius. preces nr̃ę humilitatis exaudi. & presta ut in his mensis sint tibi libamina accepta. sint grata. sint pinguia. & Sp̃s sc̃i tui semp rore p̣fusa. ut oм̃i tempore in hoc loco supplicantis tibi familię tuę anxietates releues. egritudines cures. preces exaudias. uota suscipias. desiderata confirmes. postulata concedas. p̣ Dñm.

Prefatio svper altare.

Svrsvm corda. *R'*. Habem⁹ ad Dñm. Gratias agamus Dño Dõ ñro. *R.* Dignum et iustum est.

Vd. ętерne Dſ ut propensiori cura. & adtentiori famulatu. tibi servitutis officia deferamus. hoc presertim in tempore. quo religiosarum mentium habitura reuerentiam altaria dedicamus. Dignare igitr dominator Dñe haec quesumus altaria cęlesti sc̃ificatione p̣fundere & benedicere. ut sc̃i Sp̃s illustratione prefulgeant. Sint illius quoq. apud te gratię cuius fuit illud quod Abraham pater fidei nr̃i filium immolaturus extruxit. quod Isaac in conspectu tuę maiestatis instituit. quod Iacob Dñm magna uidens visione erexit. ut hic orantes exaudias. hic oblata sc̃ifices. hic quoq. supposita benedicas. hinc quippe benedicta distribuas. Sint mensę cęlesti spiritaliq. conuiuio paratę. Tu enim Dñe p̣prio tuo ore hostias sup̣ eas impositas benedicito & benedictas suscipito. atq. nobis oм̃ibus tribue. ut participatione earum. uitã adquiramus sēpiternã p̣.

Ornauerunt faciem templi coronis aureis & dedicaverunt altare Dño. Alleluia. Magnus Dñs.

Oratio super altare.

Maiestatem tuam Dñe imploramus humilit̃. ut altare hoc ad suscipienda populi tui munera inunctū potent̃ benedicere & sc̃ificare digneris. & quod nunc a nobis indignis sub tui sc̃i nominis inuocatione in honore & nomine sc̃i Martyris tui. *ill.* sacro sc̃i crismatis unctione est dilibutum. placeat tibi Dñe altare. maneat in p̣petuum. ut quicquid deinceps sup̣ eū oblatū sacratumue fuerit. dignum tibi fiat holocaustū atq. oм̃ium hic offerentium sacrificia. a te pio Dõ benigne suscipiantr & p̣ ea peccatorum nr̃orum & eorum uincula absolvantr. maculę deleantur. venie imp&rentr. gratię adquirantr. quatenus unacum sc̃is & electis tuis. vitam p̣cipere ętернam mereamur. p̣ Dñm.

Confirma hoc Deus quod op̣atus es in nobis a templo sc̃o tuo quod est in Hierusalē. Alleluia. Alleluia. *cum* Gloria.

Deinde tenentib⁹ subdiaconib⁹ et acolitis linteamina vel omnia ornamenta ecte sev vasa sacra qvec̃q: ad cvltv' D'i ecte p'tinere videntr. benedicat ea pontifex sicvt in sacramentorio continentr.

Benedictio linteaminv' vel ad omnia in usv' Basilice.

Dñe Dſ Oм̃p. qui ab initio hominibus utilia & necessaria creasti & quem ad-

modū vestimenta pontificalia sacerdotibus & levitis ornamenta quęq. & lintheamina. fierī famulo tuo Moysi ꝑ quadraginta dies docuisti. sive etiā ea quę Maria texuit. & fecit in usū ministerii tabernaculi foederis. sc̄ificare. benedicere. consecrareq: digneris hęc lintheamina in usū altaris tui ad tegendū involuendūq: Corp^{9} & Sanguinē fili tui Dn̄ī nr̄i Jh̄u Xp̄i. qui tecū uiuit.

Alia.

Dignare Dn̄e D^{s} Om̄ipotens regū & Dn̄s dominantiū. sacerdos omniū & pontifex universoꝝ per quē una cū Patre. Sc̄oq: Sp̄u facta s̄ universa. Xp̄e Jh̄u benedicere c̄secrare & sc̄ificare digneris ornam̄ta hui^{9} altaris ꝺ ęclesię. quē admodū sc̄ificasti officia tabernaculi testimonii. ita nunc manens in ęt̄nū sum̄s sacerdos sacerdotū. ut dixim^{9} ornam̄ta & om̄nia instrum̄ta altaris hui^{9} eclesię seu basilicę quę int̄ nostras palmas habent^{r}. corde puro p̄cam^{r} ut benedicas. purifices. c̄secres. & c̄sum̄es ꝑ.

Incipiunt orationes ad vestim^{t} sac̄dotalia sev levitica.

Om̄ps Sēpit̄ne D^{s} q^{i} ꝑ Moysen famulū tuū pontificalia seu sacerdotalia atq. levitica vestim̄ta. ad explendū in c̄spectu tuo mysteriū divinū & ad decorē seu laudē nominis tui fieri decreuisti. adesto ꝓpitius invocationib; nr̄is. & hęc indum̄ta sacerdotalia desup̄ gratia tua irrigante. tua ingenti benedictione ꝑ nr̄e humilitatis servitiū purificare. benedicere. c̄secrareq. digneris. ut diuinis cultib; & sacris mysteriis apta & benedicta existant. his q^{o}q. sacris vestib; sacerdotes siue levitę tui induti. muniti. & defensi. ab omnib; impulsionib; seu tēptationib; malignorū sp̄ituum tuti ēe mereant^{r} tuisq; misteriis apte & c̄digne servire & inhęrere. atq; in his placide & devote ꝑseverare tribue. Salvator mundi. q^{i} cū Patre & Sp̄u Sc̄o uiuis & regnas ꝑ omnia.

Alia.

Dē D^{s} Pater Om̄ps rex magnificus triūphator. qui sc̄is patrib; nr̄is ac sacerdotib; tibi servientib; q^{i} tibi in sacerdotali ordine placuer̄. diversi generis ornam̄ta & vestim̄ta sacerdotalia fieri & ornari uoluisti. exaudi ꝓpici^{9} orationē nr̄am. & hanc planetā ac casulā atq; sup̄ humerale seu poderē. albā ac stolā. cingulū. orariūq; dextera tua sc̄a benedicere. sc̄ificare. consecrareq; & purificare digneris. q^{a}tin^{9} hęc vestim̄ta. ministris & levitis ac sacerdotib; tuis. ad divinū cultū ornandū atq; explendū ꝓficiant. sc̄is q; altarib; tuis mundi & ornati his sacris vestib; ministri tui inrep̄hensibiles in actu. & dictu. interius exteriusq; appareant. tibi soli Dō puro corde & mundo corpore omnib; dieb; vitę eoꝝ inrep̄hensibiliter sc̄orū patrū exēpla sequentes. servire valeant hisq; sacris mẏnisteriis sc̄d̄m tuā voluntatē quando tibi placuerit expletis. cęlestis regni gloriā cū om̄b; sc̄is sibiq; cōmissis ꝓcipe mereant^{r} ꝑ.

Item Alia.

D^{s} Om̄ps bonarū uirtutum dator. & omniū benedictionū largus infusor. supplices te rogamus ut manib; nr̄is opem tuę benedictionis infundas. & hęc uestimenta sacerdotalia seu leuitica divinis cultib; ministris tuis preparata. virtute Sc̄i Sp̄s benedicere. & sc̄ificare dig-

neris. & omnib; eis utentibus gratiã sc̃ificationis sacri misterii tui benignus concede. ut in conspectu tuo sc̃i & inmaculati atq; inrep̃hensibiles appareant. & tuę auxilium misericordię adquirant. Sed & aliis bene ministrandi & uiuendi exemplū prebeant. atq. eternę beatitudinis p'mia consequi mereantur. ꝑ Dn̄m nr̄m.

Oratio ad Corporale benedicendum.

Clementissime Dn̄e cuius inenarrabilis virt^{9} cuiusq; misterium archanum mirabiliter ꝑ totū mundū celebrat^{r} tribue q̃s ut hęc Corporalia tuę propitiationis benedictione sc̃ificentur ad consecrandū suꝑ illa corpus Dī & Dn̄i n̄ri Jh̄u Xp̃i filii tui qui tecū vivit & regnat Ds̄ in unitate Sp̃s Sc̃i ꝑ om̃a.

Alia.

Ds̄ qui pro generis humani salvatione verbum caro factus es. & habitare totus in nob̄ non dedignat̃ es. quiq; traditori tuo ꝑfido osculum piū dedisti dum pro omniū vita pius voluisti agñ mactari. atq; in sindone lino texta. Iosep totum te inuolui ꝑmisisti. respice propit̃ ad voces nr̄as. quia tua fidelit̃ carismata amplecti cupim^{9}. q̃s Dn̄e sc̃ificare. benedicere. consecrareque digneris hęc corporalia in usum altaris tui. ad consecrandū suꝑ ea. sive ad tegendum involvendūq: Corpus et Sanguinē filii tui Dn̄i nr̄i Jh̄u Xp̃i. dignis que pareant famulatib; ut q^{i}cq^{i}d. tibi sacro ritu super hęc inmolabit^{r} sicut Melchisedech oblatū holocaustū tibiq; acceptabile optulit. sic sacrificia nr̄a acceptabilia fiant. Te quoq; humilit̃ rogamus ac petim^{9} ut hęc corporalia tuę sc̃ificationis ubertate. ꝑ sp̃s Sc̃i gratiã purifices. & sc̃ifices. qui te pro nob; omnib; sacrificiū offerre voluisti. & prę̃sta ut suꝑ his sint tibi libamina ꝺccepta. sint grata. sint pinguia. & Sp̃s Sc̃i tui semper rore ꝑfusa ꝑ dn̄m.

Alia.

Ds̄ qui digne tibi servientium nos imitari desideras famulatum. respice propitius ad humilitatis nr̄ę servitutē. & haec corporalia nomini tuo dicata. servitutis nr̄ę usib; preparata. cęlestis virtutis benedictione sc̃ifica. purifica. & consecra. quaten^{9} suꝑ ea Sp̃s Sc̃us tuus descendat. qui & populi tui oblationes benedicat. & corda siue corpora sumentiū benign^{9} ꝑficiat. ꝑ Dn̄m.

Oratio ad patenam consecrandam.

Consecramus & sc̃ificamus hanc patenã ad conficiendum in ea Corpus Dn̄i n̄ri Jh̄u Xp̃i. patientis crucem pro omnium salute. qui cum Patre & Sp̃u Sc̃o uivit & regnat Ds̄ per omnia sc̃la sc̃lorum. amen.

Deinde facit signum de oleo sc̃o s'r patenam. et benedicit eam his verbis.

Consecrare et sc̃ificare digneris Dn̄e Ds̄ Omp̃s patenã hanc per istam unctionem. & nr̄am benedictionem. in Xp̃o Jh̄u Dn̄o n̄ro qui Te cum & cum Sp̃u sc̃o vivit & regnat Ds̄ in sc̃la sc̃lorum.

Ds̄ Omp̃s universarum rerum rationabilis artifex. qui inter ceteras creaturas formam lapidei metalli ad obsequium tui sacrificii condidisti. ut legis libatoriū tuo prepararetur

altari. annue dignantr huius institutor. mysterii ut quicquid hic oblatū sacratum ve fuerit. dignum tibi fiat holocaustū. atq; omnium hic offerentium sacrificia a te pio Dō benigne suscipiantur. & per ea peccatorū nr̃orum & eorum vincula absolvantur. maculę deleantur. venię impetrentur. gratię adquirantur. quatinus una cum sc̃is & electis tuis. vitam p̨cipere ę̨ternā mereamur p̨ Dn̄m.

Ds̄ qui post tipicum pascha & ę̨sis agni carnibus panem ex catino sumere in proprii comparatione corporis. & discipulis distribuere dignatus es. te supplici deuotione deposcimus. utquicūq; ex hac patena ore panem sacratum p̨cip̨int. Te uiuum & verum panem corde concupiscant & capiant. & benedictionem mereantur p̨cip̨e sempiternam p̨.

Ad Calicem.

Oramus te Dn̄e Ds̄ nr̃. ut calicem istum iu usū ministerii tui consecrandum cę̨lestis gratię inspiratione sc̃ifices. & ad humanam benedictionē plenetudinē diuini fauoris accommodes. p̨ Dn̄m nr̃m.

Ds̄ qui accepto & distributo pane uetus determinans pascha & nouum insinuans. calicem accipiens benedixisti. & discipulis tuis ad bibendum porrexisti. quiq; in cruce p̨ mundi salute positus. aquā ex latere p̨pio unacum sanguine profluxisse sup̨na sanctione uoluisti. respice propitius ad humilitatis nr̃ę famulatū. & p̨ te inpositam benedictionē. & pręsta ut quicumq; ex hoc calice mysticam sanguinis tui memoriam mundato corde p̨gustent. peccatorum om̃ium a te misericordissimo ueniam & gaudia imp&rari mereantr ę̨t̃na p̨ Dn̄m nr̃m.

Item ad Calicem benedicendum.

Oremus dilectissimi fr̃s ut Dn̄s Ds̄ nr̃ calicem istum in usum ministerii consecrandum. cę̨lestis gratię̨ inspiratione sc̃ific& & ad humanam benedictionem plenitudinem diuini favoris acc̃mod&. p̨.

Item Alia.

Dignare Dn̄e Ds̄ nr̃ calicem istum in usum ministerii tui pia deuotione formatum ea sc̃ificatione perfundere. qua a Melchisedech famuli tui sacratum calicem p̨fudisti. & quod arte uel metallo effici non potest altaribus tuis dignum. fiat tua benedictione pretiosū atq; sc̃ificatum. per dn̄m nr̃m.

Benedictio Eucharistialis Vasculi.

Oremus dilectissimi et fr̃s karissimi. ut Ds̄ om̃ps hoc mysteriale corporis filii sui Dn̄i nr̃i Jh̃u X̃pi gerulum benedictione sc̃ificationis tutamine defensionis & dominatione salutis implere dignetur orantibus nobis. p̨ eun.

Eucharistiaꝫ.

Ds̄ qui sacra scriptura testante tribus diebus & tribus noctib; servata integritate diuinitatis sponteq; peracta humani corporis fractione insinuans casurum quod corruptibile c̃. & resurrecturum quod sp̃itale in sepulchro iacuisti. Eucharistiale q̃s quod nos indigni ad mystici Corporis tui custodiam consecramus & benedicimus Tu in nomine sc̃ę Trinitatis

angeꝭm tuū custodē deputans consecrare & benedicere digneris. quatinus quicumque ex eo in acceptione Corporis tui uiarum p̃sumpserint uiaticum paternarum. cęlesti hic & in futuro te miserante non destituantr auxilio ꝑ Dñm.

B'. Turrib'.

Dš ad cuius sepulchrum cum aromatib; in specie sc̃arum animarum virtutes sc̃orum operum gestantiū diluculo mulieres venisse memorantur. et in cuius conspectu angelus aureum habens turribulum stetisse. & datis incensis in orationib; sc̃orum omnium ante thronū Dñi adoleuisse cęlesti uisione diuulgatur. adesto propitius & hoc turribulum cęlesti benedictione ꝑfunde ut quicumq. ex eo timiamatis vel turis flagrantiam sentiant. tua donante inmensa clementia odores orationum ante conspectum maiestatis tuę sc̃arum per manus Sc̃orum emittant angelorum ac ꝑsolvant. ꝑ Dñum.

Alia.

Dñe Dš Om̃ps cui adsistunt exercitus Anĝloz cum tremore. quorum seruitus in uento & igne conuertitur. dignare respicere & benedicere hanc creaturam incensi. ut om̃s languorum insidias odorem ipsius sentientes effugiant. & separentur a plasmate tuo quos p̃tioso sanguine filii tui redemisti. & numquam lędantur a morsu antiqui serpentis. ꝑ.

Alia.

Veniat ergo Om̃ps Dš suꝑ hoc incensum larga tuę benedictionis infusio. ut quocumq; ex huius aliquid purificationis fuerit ministerio deportatum. expulsa diabolicę fraudis nequitia. uirtus tuę maiestatis adsistat.

Alia oratio quando erga altare deportatur.

Exorcizo te omnis inmundissime Sp̃s. om̃e phantasma inimici. in nomine Dī patris omnipotentis & in Jħu Xp̃i [filii] eius & Sp̃s Sc̃i. ut exeatis & recedatis ab hac specie timiamatis siue incensi. cum omni fallacia ac nequitia uŕa. ut sit hęc species sc̃ificata in nomine Dñi nr̃i Jħu Xp̃i. ut om̃s gestantes tangentes odorantes eā. virtutē & auxilium percipiant Sp̃s Sc̃i. ita ut non ibidē ubi hęc incensa vel timiamata fuerint adpropinquare audeatis nec adversa inferre presumatis. adiuro te per nomen & ꝑ virtutem Dei patris omnipotentis & Jħu filii eius. qi uenturus est in Sp̃u Sc̃o iudicare uiuos ac mortuos & nos preuaricatores. & seculum ꝑ ignem. Am̃.

Alia.

Aeternã ac iustisimam pi&atem tuam depcamur Dñe sc̃issime pater om̃ps ęterne Dš. ut benedicere digneris hęc timiamata uel incensi speciem. ut sit incensum maiestati tuę in odorem suavitatis acceptum. sit a te hęc species benedicta. sit per inuocationem sc̃i nominis tui sc̃ificata. ita ut ubicumque fumus eius ꝑvenerit. exstricetur & effug&ur omne genus demoniorum sic̃ incensu iecoris piscis quem Raphahel Archangelus Tobiam famulum tuū docuit cum ascendit ad Sarrę liberationem. descendat benedictio tua super hanc speciem

incensi & timiamatis. sicut in illo de quo Dauid Proph&a tuus cecinit dicens. Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo. Sit nobis odor consolationis suavitatis & gratię. ut fumo isto effugetur omne phantasma mentis & corporis. ut simus Pauli apł̄i. voce bonus odor Dō. Effugient a facie incensi huius & timiamatis oñs demonū incursus sicut puluis a facie venti. & sicut fumus a facie ignis. presta hoc piissime pater bonę odoris incensum ad opus ecclesię tuę ob causam religionis iugiter p̄manere. ut mystica nobis significatione spiritalium uirtutū flagrans ostenderet odor suavitatū. Tuae ergo q̃s Omp̃s D̃s inmensę maiestatis dextera hanc creaturā benedicere ex diuersarū rerum commixtione infectam dignare. ut in virtute Sc̃i nominis tui oñs inmundorū Spirituum. phantasticos incursus effugare. omnesque morbus reddita sanitate expellere. ubicumque fumus aromatū eius affluerit. mirabiliť possit atque in odore flagrantissimo tibi Dñe perp&ua rodoleat suauitate p̄ D' nr̃m.

Consecrat' Crucis.

Benedic Dñe hanc Crucem tuã per quã eripuisti mundum a potestate dęmonum. & superasti passione tua suggestionem peccati. qui gaudebat in preuaricatione primi hominis per vetitum lignū.[e] Sc̃ifica Dñe istud signaculum passionis tuę. ut sit inimicis tuis obstaculum. & credentib; in te p̄p&uū perfice vexillum. qui vivis.

Alia.

Rogamus te Dñe sc̃e pater Omp̃s ęterne D̃s. ut digneris benedicere hoc signum crucis tuę. ut sit remedium salutare generi humano. sit soliditas fidei. profectus bonorū operum. redēptio animarum. protectio ac tutela contra sęua iacula inimicorum p̄.

Alia.

Omp̃s Sempiťne D̃s qui per lignum p̄dito mundo. lignum redemptionis tuę crucis predistinasti quesumus ut benedicere digneris hoc lignum similitudine crucis tuę signatum. & p̃para in ea tuis fidelibus virtutē. inimicis autem obstaculum. ad augendum nomini tuo credentium chorum virtute caelesti p̄.

Hic lavas illā Crucē cv' aqua Bened' et dic Or'.

Omp̃s aeterne D̃s pater Dñi nr̃i Jh̄u Xp̃i tu conditor cęli conditor animarum[f] & siderū. tu fundasti terram super stabilitatē suam. tu creasti mare. tu solus Omp̃s D̃s sine principio & sine fine. benedic hanc crucem fabricatā ad instar & ad imaginem Crucis in qua passus ē. filius tuus unigenitus Jh̄s Xp̃s pro salute mundi. quę erat diffusa rore proprio decorati sanguinis Jh̄u Xp̃i filii tui. benedicim̃ & consecramus istā crucem in honorē & memoriam nominis tui. ut sit benedicta & consecrata hęc crux inter Mysteria ęcclesiastica in honore Trinitatis. Patris & Filii. & Sp̃s Sc̃i. qui te cum uiuit.

[e] tristis tam' dimisit p' lignu' crucis tuæ quos antea seductos habuit, added in a later hand.

[f] Vel ang'lorս' interlined in a later hand.

Hic ext'gas crvcē cv' lintheo et postea offert' īcensv' in circvitv' crvcis. et dic̃. or'.

Dš głç excelse Sabaoth. fortissime Emanuel. Dš pater ueritatis. pater sapientiae. pater beatitudinis bonę & pulchrę. pater uigilationis atque inluminationis nr̃ae. qui mundum regis. qui cuncta regna disponis. qui es bonorū conlator munerum. & bonorum omnium tributor. cui gentes & populi serviunt. cui omnis Angłorum religio famulatur. qui largiris famulis tuis unde ad laudem nominis tui debita tibi vota persoluant. cui prius fides offerentium complac&. deinde sc̃ificatur oblatio. q̃s exorabilem misericordię tuę pietatē. ut sc̃ifices atque consecres tibi hoc signum crucis. quod tota mentis deuotione famuli tui religiosa fides construxit tropheum scilic& uictorię tuę & redemptionis nr̃ę. quod in amore Xp̃i tui triumphalis in ęuum gloria consecrauit. accipe hoc signum crucis insuperabile. quo & diaboli examinata ẽ potestas. mortalium restituta libertas. licet fuerit aliquando in pęna. sed nunc versa ẽ in honorem ꝑ gratiā. et quę quondam reos puniebat supplicio. nunc obnoxios absoluit a debito criminum cunctorum. ꝑ quod tibi placuit nos redimere. nullum tibi dilectum amplius munus est. quam quod corporis tui dedicauit adfixio. nec tibi ẽ magis familiaris oblatio. quam quę manuum tuarum extensione sacrata est. Illis ergo manibus hanc accipe. quibus illam amplexus es. & sc̃itate illius hanc Sc̃ifica. ac sicuti ꝑ illam mundus expiatus est a reatu ita offerentium famulorum tuorum animę devotissimę huius crucis signo & obsecrationib; sc̃orum tuorum omnium omni careant ꝑp&rato peccato. & verę crucis virtute. obtecti enitescant successibus assiduis triumphorum ꝑ.

*Hec dicant*r *si crvx adornet*r *alioquin p't'mittant*r.

Radi& hic unigeniti filii tui splendor diuinitatis in auro. emic& gła passionis eius in ligno. in cruore rutil& nr̃ae mortis redẽptio. in splendore christalli nr̃e vitae purificatio. sit tuorum protectio spe certa fidutia. nos simul cum gente & plebe fide confirm&. spe solid&. pace consoci&. augeat triumphos. Amplific& secła. proficiat nobis ad perp&nitatem temporis. & ad uitam ęternitatis. ut nos & temporali florentes gloria muniat. & ꝑp&ua redimitos corona. ad regna caelestia virtutum ꝑducat. Prę̃sta huius crucis benedictionē ꝑ ꝑpiciationē sanguinis tui quo effuso mundi deluisti crimina. qui exaltat in ligno crucis tuae principatus & potestates humiliasti. qui tecum sidereo consid& in throno indissolubili conexione Sp̃s Sc̃i ꝑ infinita sc̃la sc̃lorum. Amen.

Hic fac signv' de oleo sc̃o svp crvcē et benedic eā his verbis.

Consecrare & sc̃ificare digneris Dne Dš Omp̃s hanc crucē per istā unctionem & nr̃am benedictionem in Xp̃o Jh̃u Dño nr̃o qi tecum viuit.

Item Benedic̃.

Sc̃ifica q̃s Dñe crucē istam quam dignatus es pro mundi salute ascendere ad redimendū per passionem tuam humanum genus. quia diu in captivitate diaboli & laqueis capiebatr itaque nunc istud salutiferum ꝑ medicinā unctionis tuę. olei et aspersionis huius aquę ad liberationē generis humani & ad effugandū demones. ac expellendos morbos. & oñis languores animarum ꝑ invocationē nominis tui restaurare digneris. per te Jh̃u Xp̃e qui uiuis.

Alia.

Dꝭ cui cunctę obediunt creaturę. & omnia in uerbo tuo fecisti in sapientia. quiq; & iam per lignum Sc̃ę crucis filii tui pio nos cruore redimere dignatus es. supplices q̃s ineffabilē clementiā tuam. ut tu qui es lignum vitę. paradisiq; reparator a nobis omnibus in te credentibus & signum precelsę admirationis colentibus dira serpentis uenena extinguas. & per gratiā Sp̃s Sc̃i poculum nobis salutis sempiternum infundas. p̨.

Ad signv' ecclesie Benedicendv'.

Primitus lauetur signum de aqua benedicta ita dicendo.

Benedic Dñe hoc signum benedictione cęlesti & assistat super illud virtus Sp̃s Sc̃i. ut cum hoc signum ad mutandos filios ecłę preparatum atq; benedictum fuerit. ubicumque sonuerit eius tinnibulum longe recedat uirtus inimicorum. umbra phantasmatum. incursio turbinum. p̨cussio fulminum. lęsio tonitruum. calamitas tēpestatū. omnis sp̃s procellarum. & cum clangorem illius audierint filii Xp̃ianorum. crescat in eis devotionis augmentum. ut festinantes ad pię matris gremium. cantent tibi in ecła canticum novum cū choro sc̃orum. deferentes in sono tubę prędconium modulationis. per psalterium exultationis. per organum suavitatis. p̨ timpanū iocunditatis. p̨ cimbalum lętificationis. quatinus valeant in templo sc̃o tuo suis obsequiis & precib; exercitum angelorum. sibi in adiutoriū p̨uocare p̨.

Post hec cantabis psalmos sex. id. ē. Lauda anima mea Dñm *usq: in fine Psl.*

It'v'. laves eam de aqva cv' oleo et sale[g] *et dic. Or.* A. In civitate Dñi clare sonant iugiter organa sc̃orum ibi cinnamomū & balsamū odor suavissimus q[i] ad Dm̃ p̨tin&. ibi Angeli & Archangeli ymnū novū decantant ante sedē Dī. All. *Pl.* Lauda Añi.

Benedic. deinde dicis Collec̃.

Dꝭ qui per Moysen ligiferum famulum tuum tubas argenteas prędcepisti fieri. quas dum levitę tempore sacrificii clangerent. sonitu dulcedinis populus monitus ut te adorandum fier& p̄parar̃. quarum clangore ortatus ad bellum. magnalia tela prosterner& aduersantium. presta ut hoc tintinnabulum tuę ecłę preparatum sc̃ificetur ab. Sp̃u Sc̃o ut per illius tactum uel sonitum fideles inuitentur ad prędmium. & cum melodia eius auribus insonuerit populorum. crescat in eis deuotio fidei. procul pellantur omnes insidię inimici. fragor grandinum. procella turbinum. impetus tempestatum. temperentur infesta tonitrua. ventorum flabra fiant salubriter ac moderate suspensa. Prosternant se aerię potestates dexterę tuę virtute. ut hoc audientes tintinnabulum tremescant & effugiant ante sc̃ę crucis vexillum. prędsta salvator cui flectit[r] omne regnum celestium terrestrium & infernor̃ & omnis lingua confitetur quia Dñs noster Jh̃s Xp̃s absorpta morte per patibulum crucis regnat in gła Dī Patris. cum Sp̃u sc̃o per omnia sęcula s̃culorum. Amen.

Tunc exterges eā lintheo et tangas eam de crismate de foris[h] *et ītus quater. et dic orat'.* Uox Dñi super aquas Dꝭ maiestatis intonuit. Dñs sup aquas multas. *usque in finē psalmi.*

[g] "consecrata," interlined in a later hand.

[h] "vij" interlined in a later hand.

Sequitur Oratio.

Omp̃s Sempiterne Dš qui ante arcam foederis per clangorem tubarum muros lapideos quib; adversantium cingebatur ex̃citus cadere fecisti. tu hoc tintinnabulum cęleste benedictione perfunde. ut ante sonitum eius longius effugentr ignita iacula inimici. percussio fulminum. impet̃ lapidum. lęsio tempestatum. ut ad interrogationē proph&icam quid est mare quod fugisti. suis motibus cum Jordane retracta fluenta respondeant. a facie Dñi commota ẽ terra. a facie Dĩ Jacob. Qui conuertit solidam petram in stagnum aquę & rupem in fontes aquarum. Non nobis Dñe. non nobis. sed nomini tuo da gloriā super misericordia tua. ut cum prẹsens uasculum sicut reliqua altaris vasa sacro crismate tangitr oleo sc̃o unguitur. quicumque ad sonitum eius conuenerint. ab omnibus inimici temptationib; liberi semper fidei documenta Catholicę sectentur p̱ Dñm.

Tunc inponas in arcernum ignem et super iacias timiama et myrrā. et erigas cloccā super incensum ut totū fumū colligat et dicas versus. Dš in sc̃o via tua quis Dš magnus sicut Dš noster. Tu es Dš qui facis mirabilia solus. *Pl.* Viderunt. *usq: in finē psalmi.*

Sequitur Oratio.

Omp̃s semt̃ne Dš dominator Xp̃e cui secundum assūptionem carnis dormienti in mari dum ab orta tempestas mare conturbasset te protin9 excitato imperante dissoluitur. tu necessitatibus populi tui benignus succurre. tu hoc tintinnabulū sc̃i sp̃s rore perfunde. ut ante sonitum illius semper fugiat inimicus. invitetur ad fidem populus Xp̃ianus. hostilis terreatur exercitus. confiteatur in Dño per hoc populus evocatus. atq; sic p̱ Daviticam cytharam delectatus. descendat Sp̃s Sc̃s atque ut Samvel crinigerum agnum mactans in holocausto tuo rex ẹterne imperio fragore aurarum turbam reppulit adversantem. ita dum huius uasculi sonitus transit. p̱ nubila. eclesię conuentum manus servet angelica. credentium mentes & corpora salvet protectio sempiterna. p̱.

(*Dedicatio fontis.*)

Omnipotens sempiterne Dš hoc Baptisterium cẹlesti uisitatione dedicatū Sp̃s tui illustratione sc̃ifica. ut quoscumq; fons iste lavaturus ẽ trina ablutione purgati. indulgentiā omnium delictorum tuo munere consequantr. p̱.

Multiplica Dñe benedictionē tuā. & Sp̃s tui munere fidem nr̃am corrobora. ut qui in hęc fluenta descenderint. in libro vitę adscribi mereantr. p̱.

Omnipotens sempiterne Dš fons omnium uirtutum & plenitudo gratiarum. dignare hunc fontem sacro baptismati. preparatū maiestatis tuę presentia consecrare. ut qui ubiq; totus es &iam hic adẽe te in ñris precib; sentiam̃. & quicūq; hic trinę confessionis & sacrę regenerationis effectū percipiunt. gaudia ẹterna se adepturos sine fine lętentur. p̱.

INCIPIT CONSECRATIO CIMITERII.

Primit' cum aqua benedicta episcopus cum suis clericis circumdare debet omne Cimitīvm cum A. Asperges me Dñe. *Ps'* Miserere mei Dš secundum magnã.

Postea Letania. deinde dicat. Dñs vobiscum.

Dš qui es totius orbis conditor. & humani generis redemptor. cunctarumque creaturarum visibilium & inuisibilium ꝑfectus dispositor. te supplici voce ac puro corde exposcim⁹. ut hoc cymiterium siue poliandrum. in quo famulorum famularumque tuarum corpora requiescere debent. post curricula huius vitꝫ labentia. sc̃ificare purgare atque benedicere digneris. quique peccatorum remissionem ꝑ tuã magnam misericordiam in te[i] fidentibus prestitisti. corporibus uero eorum in hoc cymiterio quiescentib; & tubam primi Archangeli hic expectantibus. consolationem perpetuam largitor inpertire ꝑ.

Item Alia.

Dñe pater Omꝑs trina Maiestas. & una diuinitas. pater & filius necnon Sꝑs Sc̃s iustitiꝫ auctor. veniꝫ largitor. bonorum dator. sc̃itatis origo. charismatum distributor. omniumque ad te venientium pius receptor. prꝫsta propitius ut hoc cymiterium in honore nominis tui compositum. benedicere & sc̃ificare concedas. Qui Abrahꝫ beato Patriarchꝫ famulo tuo terram a filiis Hebron comparatam causa sepulturꝫ benedixisti. & qui populo Israelico promissionis tellurem in ꝫvo durantem concessisti. famulorum famularumque tuarum corporibus in hoc cymiterium intrantibus. quietis sedem ab omni incursione malorum spi̇̃tuum. tutelam benign⁹ largitor tribuas. ut post animarum corporumq; resurrectionem coadunatam. te donante atq; concedente beatitudinem sempiternam percipere mereantur. ꝑ.

Alia.

Dñe ds pastor ꝫternꝫ gloriꝫ. lux & honor sapientiꝫ. custos & vigor prudentiꝫ. salus egrotantium. valitudo potentium. mꝫstorum solam̃. vita iustorum. gloria humilium. te flagitamus. ut hoc sc̃orum tuorum cymiterium ab omni spurcitiꝫ inquinamento spi̇̃tuum inmundorum. custodire. mundare. benedicere. digneris. atque corporibus humanis huic loco advenientibus. sinceritatem perp&uam tribuere non desinas. & quicumque Baptismi sacramentum perciperint & in fide Catholica usque ad vitꝫ terminum perseuerantes fuerint. atque de curso huius ꝫui termino corpora sua in hoc cymiterio requiei commendauerint. angelicis tubis concrepantib; materiam corporis & animꝫ prꝫmia cꝫlestium gaudiorum sempiterna percipiant. ꝑ.

Alia.

Omꝑs Dš qui es custos animarum & tutela salutis. fides credentium. respice propitius ad nr̃e servitutis officium. ut ad introitum nr̃m benedicatur. consecretur. & sc̃ificetur. hoc cymiteriū quatinus humana corpora hic post vitꝫ cursus pausantia in magno iudicii die simul cum felice anima mereantur adipisci uitꝫ perennis gaudia. ꝑ.

[i] "con" interlined in a later hand.

Alia.

Adesto q̃s Dñe Dš officio nr̃o hunc locum uisitanti & nr̃ę fragilitatis mynisterio. & sicut benedixisti per manus patrum maiorum. scilic& Abrahę. & Isaac. & Jacob. terram sepulturę & postmodum nr̃ę salutis remedio traditus. flagellaꝑ. tandemque cruci adfixus. per te ipsum Joseph diuinitus preparante terrenum sc̃ificasti sepulchrū. ita hoc cymiterium benedicere. consecrare. & ab invisibilium machinamentis hostium roborare digneris. quo omnes quorum post laborem uitę hic corpora pausauerint. perpetuę felicitatis prȩmia consequantur. ꝑ Dñm.[k]

INCIPIT ORDO QUOMODO IN S'C'A ROMANA ECL'A RELIQUIAE CONDANTUR.

Primū vadat Ep's ad eū locū in quo Reliquie preterita nocte cū vigiliis fuer'. ut elevet eas. et facit letaniā et quando levantur reliquiae dicat oratiō hanc.

Aufer a nobis Qš Dñe iniquitates nr̃as ut ad sc̃a sc̃orum puris mereamur mentibus introire ꝑ D.

Finita vero oratione elevent sacerdotes ipsas reliquias cum feretro et portent eas ad ectā cum honore dignissimo. cum crucibus et turribulis adq. candelabris et luminib. multis. Laudes Dō. *Cum Letania atque his Antiphonis.*

Antiphon. Cum iocunditate exibitis & cum gaudio deducimini. nā & montes & colles exilient expectantes uos cum gaudio. *A.* De Hierusalem exeunt reliquię & salvatio de monte Sion protectio erūt huic ciuitati & salvabitur propter David famulum eius. *A.* via iustorum recta facta ẽ. iter sc̃orum preparatum est. *A.* Hierusalem ciuitas sc̃a ornamenta martyrum decorata cuius plateę resonant laudes de die in diem. *A.* Ambulate Sc̃i Dī ingredimini ædificata ẽ enim vobis ecta noua ubi populus adorare debeat maiestatem Dī. *A.* Ambulate Sc̃i Dī ad locum destinatum qui uobis paratus ẽ ab origine mundi. *A.* Sc̃m ẽ verum lumen & admirabile ministrans lucem his qui permanserunt in agone certaminis. recipiunt ab ipso splendorem sempiternum in quo assidue felices lętentur.

Dum aut' peruenerint ante ianuam aecl'e dicat Ep's hanc or.

Oremus.

Dš qui in omni loco tuae dominationis dedicator adsistis exaudi nos q̃s. ut inuiolabilis huius eccłę permaneat consecratio. ut beneficia tui muneris quę supplicat mereatur. ꝑ.

Tunc intrent ectam. Cum A. O quam metuend̄ est locus iste.

Domum tuam quesumus Dñe clementer ingredere. & in tuorum tibi cordibus fidelium perpetuam constitue mansionem. ut cuius ędificatione subsistit. huius fiat habitatio preclara. ꝑ.

Dš qui invisibiliter omnia contines. & tamen pro salute generis humani signa tuę potentię uisibiliter ostendis. templum hoc tuae potentię inhabitatione inlustra. ut omnes qui huc

[k] After the ordo for blessing the cemetery comes, "Reconciliatio loci sacri ubi sanguis fuerit effusus."

depcaturi conueniunt. ex quacumque tribulatione ad te clamauerint consolationis tuę beneficia consequantur. p.

Benedic Dñe domum istam.

Tabernaculum hoc ingredere quesumus Omps Ds sempiterne. & famulos tuos congregatos ad honorem & laudem beatę Mariae sacrę virginis benedic sicut benedicere dignatus es domus patriarcharum. Abraham Isaac & Jacob. pusillis cum magnis. ita benedicere & sc̃ificare eos dignare. p.

Ipsa expleta suscipiat ipsas reliquias a presbytero. et portet eas cū letania sup altare nouū. extenso uelo inter eas et populū recondat pontifex propria manu ipsas reliquias in confessione altaris et antequam recludantur ponat crisma intvs in confessione per angulos IIII. *in modum crucis ita dicendo.*

In nomine patris & filii & Sps Sc̃i. pax tibi. & cum sp̃u tuo.

Deinde ponit tres portiones corporis D'ni intus in confessione altaris et tres de incenso. et recluduntur intus reliquie canentes.

A. Sub altare Dñi sedes accepistis intercedite pro nobis p quem meruistis. *Pl.* Beati inmaculati. *A.* Exultabt sc̃i in gloria lętabvntur in cubilibus suis. *Pl.* Cantate Dño canticum novum laus eius in ec̃la sc̃orum.

*Subponat*r *etiam tabula sacra sup quā infundatur oleū sacratū et p*o*ea p.* iiii^{or} *angulos altaris ex ipso Crux figuret*r. *Finito hoc dicat hanc orationem.*

Ab oriente portę tres. ab occidente portę tres. ab aquilone portę tres. ab austro portę tres.

Ds qui ex omni coaptatione Sc̃orum ęternum tibi condis habitaculum. da ędificationi tuę incrementa caelestia. ut quorum hic reliquias pio amore amplectimur. eorum semper meritis adiuvemur. p.

Post hæc vestiatur altare cum A.

A. Ornaverunt faciem templi coronis aureis. & dedicaverunt altare Dño. alt. *cu'* Gła Patri.

Oratio post velatum altare.

Descendat q̃s Dñe Ds nr̃ sps sc̃s tuus super hęc altaria. qui & populi tui dona sc̃ific&. & sumentium corda dignanter emund&. p.

Via Sc̃orum Omniū Jħu Xp̃e. qui ad te venientib; claritatis gaudium contulisti. introitum templi istius sps Sc̃i luce perfunde. qui locum istum sc̃orū tuorum. *itt.* merito ł nomine consecrasti. presta quesumus Omps Ds ut omnes isti intercedentes obtineant veniam p delictis. ab omnibus liberentur angustiis. inpetrent quicquid petierint p necessitatib; suis. placere semper valeant coram oculis tuis. quatinus per te & per sc̃m Petrum militem tuum muniti mereamur aulam Paradisi introire. p.

Confirma hoc Ds quod operatus es in nobis a templo Sc̃o tuo quod ẽ in Hirłm. Exsurgat Ds.

Omps & misericors Ds qui sacerdotali ministerio tibi adseruiendum & supplicandum uti digneris. q̃s inmensam clementiam tuam. ut quicquid uisitamus uisites. quicquid benedi-

cimus benedicas. sitque ad nr̃ae humilitatis introitum sc̃orū tuorū meritis. fuga dęmonum. angeli pacis ingressus. p̨.

Tibi sc̃a Dī genetrix virgo Maria. vel tibi Sc̃e Johannes Baptista Dñi. vel apostoli Dī. uel martyres Xp̃i. vel confessores. vel virgines Dñi. commendamus hanc curam templi huius quod consecrauimus Dño Dō nr̃o. ut hic intercessor existas. preces & vota offerentium hic Dño Dō conferas. custosq; p̨uigil. & ianitor insegregabilis huius domus đni p̨seueres. Inimici humani generis temtamentis scutum interpellationis tuę opponas. ne precum sc̃arum & uotorum hic fidelium malitiosus infector efficiatur. sed omnibus sc̃is intervenientib; teque precipue cui hauc curam commendamus. interveniente clipeo divini tutaminis omnes hic orantes a Dō exaudiantur. Odoramenta orationū plebis Xp̃ianę in libatorio uasis aurei. angelico comitatus iuvamine ad patris thronum conferas. precerisque quatinus iugi Dñs Ds̄ nr̃ intuitu hic ingredientes & orantes tueri & gubernare dignet^{r} p̨ omnia sęcula.

Inde vertatur pontifex in sacrarium cum ordinibus suis et induant se uestimentis aliis solemnibus. interim ornetur ecc̃a et accēdantur luminaria multa. et cantor antiphonam incipiat ad introitum. et procedet pontifex de sacrario cum ordinibus suis sicut consuetudo ē in festiuitatibus.

A. Terribilis ẽ locus iste hic domus Dī est & porta caeli & uocabitur Aula Dī. *Pl.* Dñs regnavit deč. *cum* Gloria Patri.

Ds̄ qui invisibiliter omnia contines *(ut supra).*

Alia.

Ds̄ qui sacrandorum tibi auctor es munerum. effunde super hanc Orationis domum benedictionē tuam. ut ab omnibus invocantibus nomen tuum. defensionis tuę auxilium sentiatur. p̨.

Lec' Lib' Apocalipsis Joh'is Apt̄i. In diebus illis. vidi civitatem sc̃am Hierusalem. &c. *(usque ad)* Ecce noua. facio omnia.

Gr'. Locus iste a Dō factus ẽ. inestimabile sacramentum inreprehensibilis ẽ. uš. Ds̄ cui adstat angelorum chorus. exaudi preces servorum tuorum. Alleluia. Adorabo ad templum. O quam metuendus &c. Alleluia. *Seq. Sc̃i Ev' sc̃d' Lucam.* In illo tēpr̃ dixit Jħs discipulis suis. Non est enim Arbor bona. &c. (*usque ad)* fundata enim erat supra petram.

Sup. Obl.

Or. Dñe Deus in simplicitate cordis mei lętus optuli universa & populus tuus qui reptus ẽ vidi cum ingenti gaudio Ds̄ Israhel custodi hanc uoluntatē.

V. Maiestas Dñi edificavit tēplū. videbant omnes filii Israhel gloriā Domini descendentē sup domū & adoraueř & laudaueř Dominum dicentes. Ds̄ Isrł.

V. Fecit Salomon sollempnitatem in tēpore illo & prosperatus ẽ & apparuit ei Dominus Deus Israhel.

Omp̃s sempiterne Ds̄ altare nomini tuo dedicatū caelestis virtutis benedictione Sc̃ifica. &

omnibus in te sperantibus auxilii tui munus ostende. & hic sacramentorum virtus. & uotorum obtineat[r] effectus. per.

Prefatio.

Vᴅ. ꝑ Xp̃m Dn̄m nr̄m. per quem te suppliciter deprecamur. ut altare hoc sc̄is usibus preparatū cęlesti dedicatione Sc̄ifices. ut sicut Melchisedech sacerdotis precipui oblationem dignatione mirabili suscepisti. ita imposita novo huic altari munera semper acceptare digneris. ut populus qui in hanc ecłę domum sc̄am conuenit. ꝑ haec libamina cęlesti sc̄ificatione saluatus. animarū quoque suarum salutem perpetuam consequatur. Et ideo cū angelis. &c.

Co. Domus mea domus orationis. &c. Dn̄s regnavit *cum* gła.

Qs̄ Omp̃s Ds̄. ut hoc in loco quem nomini tuo indigni dedicavimus. cunctis petentibus aures tuę pietatis accommodes. ꝑ.[l]

[m]*Benedictio in dedicatione ecłe.*

Inclina Dn̄e aurem tuam ad me & exaude me respice de Cęlo Xp̃e super gregem & agnos tuos.

Porrige manum tuam super ipsos. & benedic corpora & animos eorum. ut in consortio sc̄orum. accipiant benedictionem cęlestem. lumen angelicum. Sp̃m sc̄m paraclytum.

Qui ex aqua & sp̃u sc̄o sunt renati. qui pretioso sanguine tuo in terra sunt comparati. qui signū tuum Xp̃e in frontibus eorum acceperunt. tuos esse concedas in die iudicii. & quos p̃tioso sanguine redimisti. in tuo regno iubeas adunari.

Et sicut benedixisti patriarchas & proph&as. Apłos. Martyres. et Confessores. Uirgines & sacerdotes. sic benedic Dn̄e gregem istum. qui in nomine tuo in ecła ista hodie sunt congregati.

Et sicut liberasti tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis per angelum tuum. sic libera Dn̄e gregem istum de inferno & de diaboli potestate. & terrena cupiditate. & de uariis languoribus.

Culpis parcas. peccata remittas. ut mundos & inmaculatos in die iudicii recipias ipsos sicut recipisti Heliam & Enoch in secr&a sc̄ae requiei habitacula.

Quod ipse prestare dignetur. Amen.

Completa missa postea per totam ebdomadā. Missa publica in ipsa ecclesia celebretur & in ipsis octo diebus semper ibi luminaria ardere aut de cera aut de oleo debent ne absque luminaribus & officiis nocturnis diurnisq. in predictis octo diebus ullo modo reperiat[r].

[l] In the MS. here occur, Item alia Missa, and Missa specialis edificantis ecclesiæ.

[m] This benediction is different from the form in St. Æthelwold's Benedictional. See Archæolog. vol. XXIV. p. 116.

XV. *An illustration from the Church of St. John, Syracuse, to accompany Mr.* Gage's *Dissertation on the Anglo-Saxon Ceremonial of the Dedication and Consecration of Churches; in a Letter from* Sydney Smirke, *Esq. F.S.A., to Sir* Henry Ellis, *Secretary.*

Read 13th June, 1833.

12, Regent Street, June 12th, 1833.

Dear Sir,

On hearing lately read at the Society a very able and interesting Paper by Mr. Gage, on the Consecration of the Anglo-Saxon Churches, a passage in it, intimating his belief that crosses cut on the face of the walls marked the spots touched by the Chrism at the ceremony of the Consecration, brought to my recollection a case bearing much on the subject, and affording corroborative evidence of the correctness of Mr. Gage's supposition.

There is outside the walls of the city of Syracuse a small church of high antiquity dedicated to St. John: it has been built over a still more ancient place of worship, being a subterranean chapel or crypt, which there is reason to believe was one of those caves resorted to by the early Christians for the celebration of their forbidden rites, when harassed by Pagan persecution. Pirro, in his Sicilia Sacra, relates that in anno Sal. 59, Saint Paul stayed three days at Syracuse, where he was received with incredible joy by St. Martianus, the first Bishop of that city: during his sojourn there, he is related to have dwelt in a cavern which is under the very ancient church of St. John, outside the city walls, and which, it is to be presumed, is the

crypt I have above alluded to. Pirro adds, that Martianus afterwards suffered martyrdom, and was buried in this subterranean part of the church of St. John.

I am aware of the caution with which those details of sacred history are to be received, which are freely given by the old ecclesiastical writers, but which are too traditional to justify their reception as facts: in the present case, however, they certainly afford presumptive evidence of the great antiquity of this Crypt, evidence strongly borne out by the existing remains.

I send you a Sketch I made of the interior on the spot (Plate XXXI.), which I think you will consider picturesque, as well as interesting in an antiquarian point of view, the more so as there seems some ground for supposing that this Church may be the only existing edifice in which Christian rites were performed by St. Paul in person.

It is obvious that there is much variety in the dates of the several parts of this building; the plain semicircular vaults forming the ceiling, although repaired subsequently, may be supposed to be the earliest: the ribbed and pointed vaulting beyond is decidedly posterior, and in the forepart of the sketch are a few indications of modern work.

You will observe some stones carved in almost classic style, which form part of the piers supporting the vaulted roof, and which, from the manner they appear let into the wall, must have belonged to some previously existing work of, however, Christian builders, for there is carved on one stone an Eagle with the nimbus round its head, which bird, as the Lion was the representative of St. Mark, appears to have been the emblem of St. John the Evangelist, to whom this spot is dedicated.

On another piece of sculpture are seen two smaller birds amidst foliage, which may have been intended to represent Doves, symbols of Christian love often seen upon monuments of the earliest ages of Christianity; but I regret that, owing to the circumstances under which the sketch was made, the details are too hurried and too slightly indicated to convey satisfactory information.

What I wish especially to call your attention to is the plain cross cut on

the face of the corbel on the left hand: near to it is an inscription, of no great antiquity, to the following effect:

> "Crux superior recens cæteræ vero
> antiquiores sunt et antiquissimi
> consecrationis signa referunt
> templi hujus quo non habet tota
> Sicilia aliud antiquius."

Thus then it appears that the lower cross, that carved on the corbel, is to be considered as one of the signs of the original consecration of the church, as supposed by Mr. Gage with regard to similar figures observable at Salisbury cathedral, Shoreham church, &c.[a]

I send you also an outline sketch, made on the spot, of the exterior of this church (Plate XXXII.), which you will perceive is now in a ruined state. You will just be able to distinguish the sculpture of a sort of entablature over the door, on which is a rude representation of Doric triglyphs with a cross in the metopes; over this entablature is the strange anomaly of a pointed arch. The artists of Italy in the middle ages seem to have been sadly puzzled in their style: they were so much accustomed to see around them the examples of classic art, then of course much more numerous and perfect than at present, that they came unwillingly and therefore awkwardly into the new style, and were the first to apply themselves to the renewed study of the style of their forefathers.

There is nothing else particularly to be remarked in the example before you, except the enriched rose-windows, a form of window frequently met with in the architecture of the middle ages throughout Italy.

So little attention has been usually paid to the monuments of the middle

a Since the above was written Mr. Gage has done me the favour to refer me to a Pontifical, printed at Rome in 1595, and now preserved in the British Museum, where the ceremony of Consecrating a Church is set forth at length: the Bishop is enjoined to mark with his thumb, dipped in the chrism, twelve crosses on the walls of the Church and others on the door, altar, &c. &c. The prints embellishing this Pontifical show the Bishop so engaged, mounted on a moveable stage six steps high, the rubric requiring that the said crosses shall be 10 palms (7 feet 5 inches English measure) above the floor.

ages in this classic land, that I have sought in vain for any notice of the date to be assigned to this building. I hope that some future traveller visiting the spot will have leisure to pursue the inquiry with better success.

I remain, dear Sir,

very faithfully yours,

SYDNEY SMIRKE.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S. Secretary,
&c. &c. &c.



View towards the West of St. John's Church, Syracuse



Interior of the Subterranean Chapel, under the Church of S.t John, Syracuse

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1834

XVI. *An Account of the Discovery at Hexham, in the County of Northumberland, of a brass vessel containing a number of the Anglo-Saxon Coins called Stycas; Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by* JOHN ADAMSON, *Esq. M.R.S.L., F.SS.A., London and Edinburgh, F.L.S. Corresp. Memb. Roy. Acad. of Sciences at Lisbon, Memb. of the Roy. Soc. for Ancient Northern Literature at Copenhagen, one of the Secretaries of the Lit. and Phil. Soc. and of the Antiq. Soc. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, &c. &c.*

Read 2nd May 1833.

THE accidental discovery of a number of these Coins, greater than any hitherto made, having been communicated to me by the Reverend William Airey, the Perpetual Curate of Hexham, I am enabled to lay the following account before the Society of Antiquaries.

On Monday the fifteenth day of October last, the sexton and his assistant were employed in preparing a grave, at the west side of the north transept of the present church of Hexham, about three yards from the wall. It was in that part of the church-yard now used, which is called the Campey Hill; and which many years ago was an eminence, but has since been levelled; and, though not originally any portion of the burial ground, has been of late years appropriated for that purpose. Why this place received its name of the Campey Hill we have not at the present day the means of ascertaining; but the hill would appear to have been principally formed by the ruins of part of the church, and the consequent accumulations of soil and rubbish since the time at which the Coins were concealed, which was prior to the erection of the present building.

From some local cause it was desirable that the grave should be made about seven feet deep; yet, although it was so dug, there is no reason to believe that the person who hid the money, went to any such depth.

During the operation of making the grave, the vessel containing the Coins was struck. From the appearance of several of them, the persons employed imagined that the treasure contained gold and silver, and their first idea was to secure as much as possible before the event should become known.

Mr. Airey, actuated solely by a desire that the best advantage should be taken of so important a discovery, by his prompt interference secured the safe deposit of the great bulk of the Coins. Thus much spoliation was prevented. A very considerable number, however, was dispersed; a circumstance much to be regretted, as had the whole been preserved the means of investigation would have necessarily been more complete.

Supposing there came into the hands of Mr. Airey a few Coins of Heardulf, 2000 of Eanred, 2000 of Ethelred, 100 of Redulf, 60 of Archbishop Eanbald, and about 800 of Vigmund, to which adding about 2000 dispersed on the first discovery, and several which probably remain amongst the rubbish, we may estimate the total number at nearly eight thousand.[a]

It was at first contemplated that a perfect series should be deposited in the Cabinet of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. That idea, however, was abandoned in consequence of an application on behalf of the British Museum; to which Institution, as the National Depository, it was properly urged that the primary consideration should be given. To this Mr. Airey, who had reason to suppose that by virtue of his office he was entitled to the Coins, readily consented; and proceeded to make arrangements accordingly. Subsequently Mr. Beaumont, one of the members of Parliament for the Southern Division of the County of Northumberland,

[a] Five hundred and forty-two were in 1808 turned up by a plough in the parish of Kirk Oswald in Cumberland, *viz.* 99 of Eanred, 350 of Ethelred, 14 of Redulf, 15 of Osbercht, 1 of Eanbald with the title, 58 of Vigmund, and 5 of Archbishop Wulfhere. The next discovery of any moment was of the Coins of Ecgfrid in the year 1813, in the Chapel-yard at Heworth, in the County of Durham. See Ruding's Annals of the Coinage of Britain, vol. i. p. 223. Archæologia Æliana, vol. i. p. 124.

claimed the articles found, as lord of the Regality and Manor of Hexham, and substantiated his right to the satisfaction of Mr. Airey. Mr. Beaumont, however, fully appreciating that gentleman's views, immediately signified his desire that no deviation in the intended distribution of the Coins should be made. The Country therefore is indebted to those gentlemen jointly, for the great addition which has thus been made to the national collection of Coins at the British Museum, amounting to above three hundred specimens.

The Drawings, which have been kindly and liberally contributed by Mr. Gibsone, and which are as faithful as they are beautiful, greatly exceed in number the Coins sent to the Museum. The originals of those which differ are in the hands of private individuals.

In offering an account of this discovery to the Society, I do not pretend to do more than to furnish materials, from whence perhaps very interesting deductions and facts may be drawn; and it will be a source of gratification to me if these materials shall call forth the attention of persons, to whom the subject may be more familiar. I shall continue to have drawings made of any varieties, which the advantage of my local situation may enable me to inspect, and, if successful, make a further communication to the Society.

The Vessel, in which the Coins were contained, was seriously injured by the blows it received. It does not seem ever to have had a cover, nor were there found near it any remains, which could have had any connection with the concealment.

Perhaps not the least curious fact relating to these Coins, is the variety of dies which have been used in their fabrication. The dots, which so frequently occur upon them, render it not improbable that they have some meaning beyond being merely ornamental.

The dispersion of so considerable a number of the Coins on the discovery being made, the destruction of the legends of many others by the operation of time, the false striking and blunders of the moneyers, altogether prevent any very accurate account being furnished, either as to the number of each king or prelate, or of their respective moneyers. I propose following the plan of Mr. Ruding, taking the monarchs and archbishops, and noticing in each reign or prelacy any thing which may appear curious or interesting;

previously giving a description of the vessel in which the Coins were concealed.

Plate XXXIII. fig. 1, shows the size of the vessel ten inches and three quarters high, exclusive of the handle, which rises from the rim four inches. Fig. 2, is the section of the vessel showing its construction. The width at the bottom is nine inches and three quarters, and at the top seven inches and a quarter. It is made of brass plate, and at those places where it is least corroded, is from one-sixteenth to one-twentieth of an inch in thickness. The upper part is ornamented with twelve frames rivetted on the body of the vessel (see Pl. XXXIV. fig. 1), each formerly holding a piece of latten brass, stamped with the impression of a plait, only two of which now remain. The body is divided below by three rows of double beads stamped in the brass. The bottom (Plate XXXIV. fig. 2) has a circular bead in the centre, of similar description, but broader. It is not soldered in, but is fixed with rivets, as are also the handle and its ornaments. The upper edge and bottom of the vessel are bound with brass, as shown in fig. 2. The handle is fixed by two heads with pendant draperies (see Pl. XXXIV. figs. 3 and 4), and two brass plates. (See Pl. XXXIV. figs. 3 and 5.)

The ornament round the top is given of the full size, Plate XXXIV. fig. 1; part of the bottom, fig. 2, to half the scale, the bottom being complete in the original. The front view of the handle, fig. 3, full size; a profile view of the same, fig. 4; the plait on the inside of the handle is exhibited, fig. 5, and as in the profile, fig. 4.

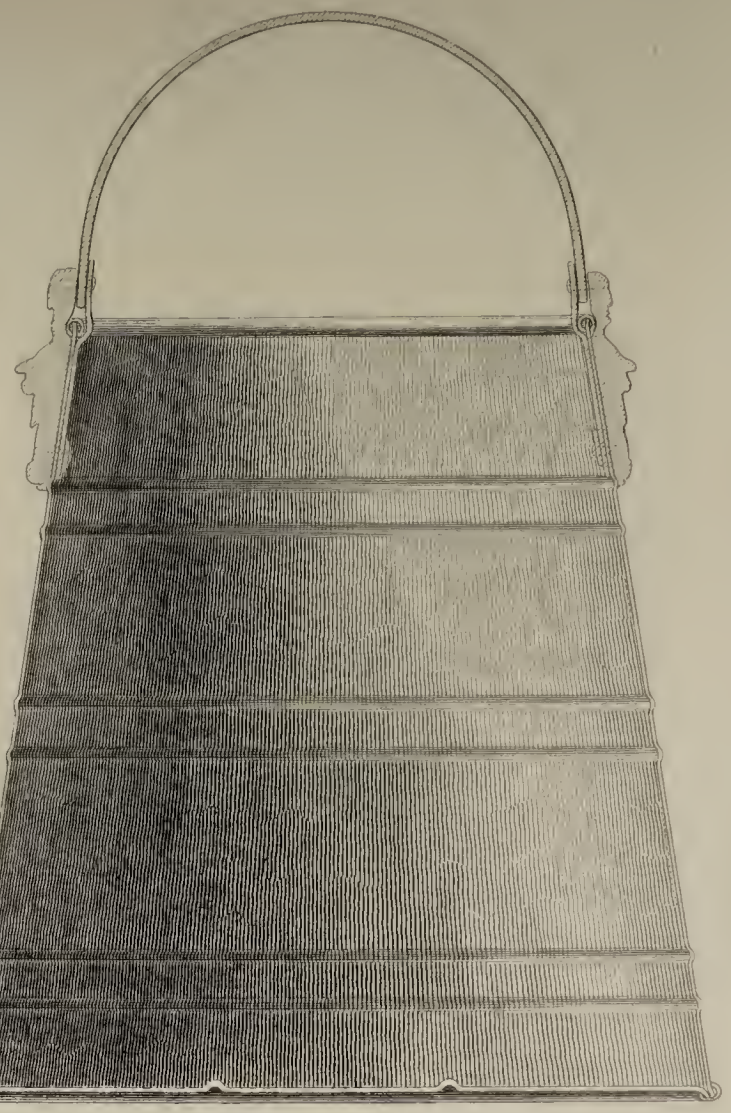
The Coins were found very dry and covered with dust, which, when removed by washing, left them generally of a blackish colour. Some, however, varied from this appearance, which led the discoverers to imagine they were gold and silver; and so much do some of them assume the appearance of silver, that they would without an examination be decidedly supposed to be composed of that metal. It is worthy of remark also that this distinction applies to the coins of different moneyers; in some cases the coins of one moneyer having the silvery appearance, whilst those of another give the brighter or golden colour.

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Johnston, the newly appointed Reader of Chemistry and Mineralogy at the University of Durham, for the

Fig 1



Fig 2





Vessel in which the Anglo Saxon Styeas were found at Hexham.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1834.

Fig 1.



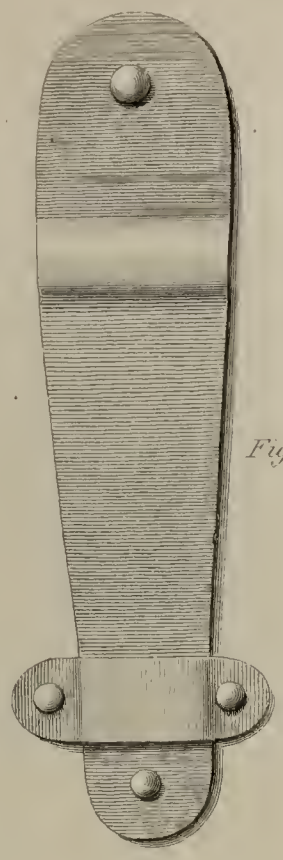


Fig. 5.

Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

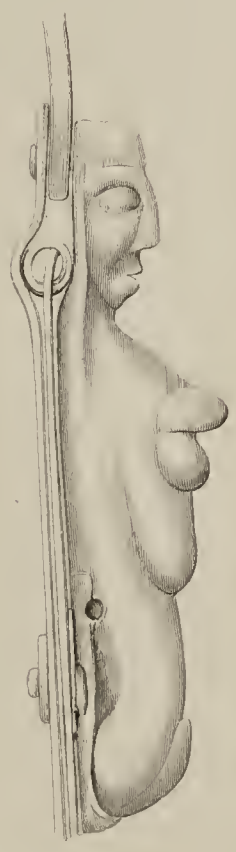
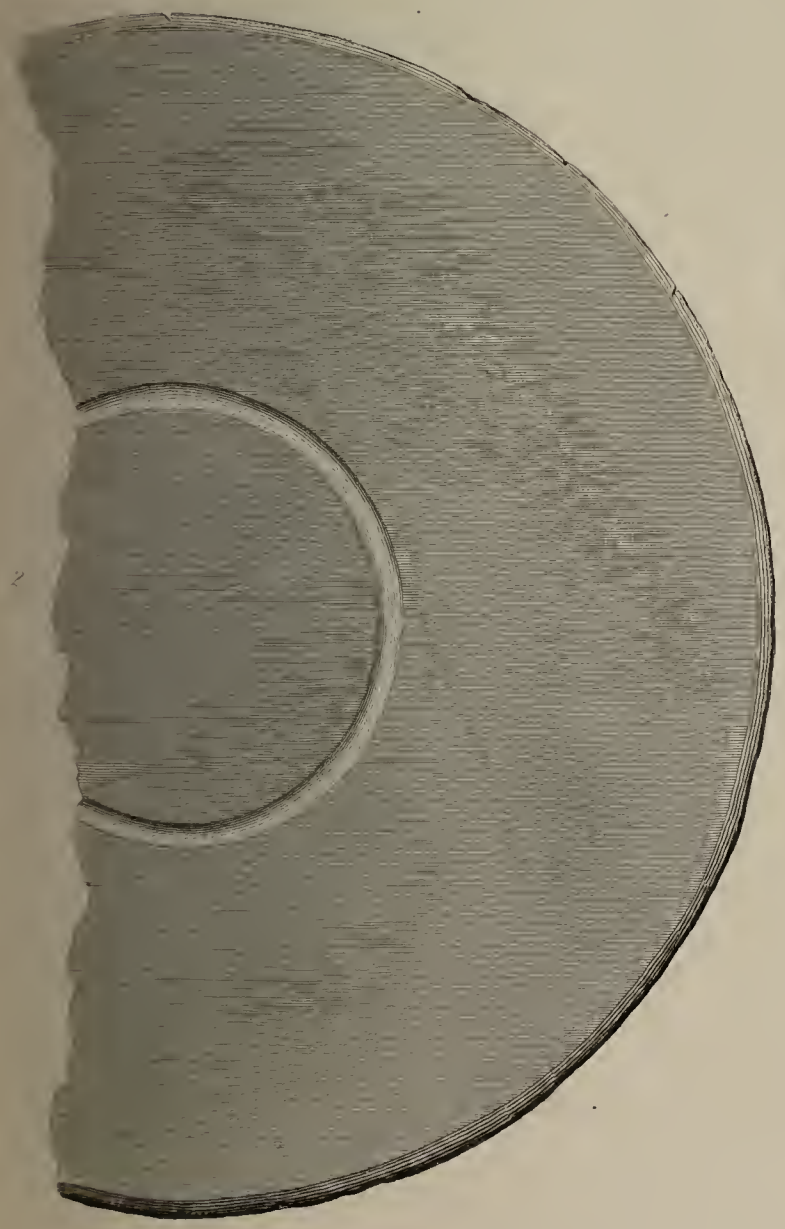


Fig 2



Basire ltd et sculp

Details of the Vessel found at Hexham.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1834.

following analysis of some of the Coins, which he says appear all to be varieties of the Corinthian brass of the ancients, though it can scarcely be supposed that the Saxons made these mixtures from any previous knowledge of the effect, either as regarded the beauty or the durability of the Coin, which would result from the respective quantities of the metals employed. It is supposed that those metals which exist in small quantities were often derived from the impurities in the copper. The large proportion of silver which they contain, in Mr. Johnston's opinion, forms one of the most interesting circumstances connected with the composition, and it is his intention to analyse a larger number of them in the hope of throwing light upon some other points connected with their history.

From the analysis Mr. Johnston finds that the vessel itself is a true bronze, consisting of tin 10·91, copper 89·09.

A Coin of Eanred of the moneyer Monne, weighing 16·58 grs. much crusted and of a brass colour, gave—

Tin coloured by gold	4·34
Silver . .	6·11
Copper . .	70·14
Zinc . .	19·24
	99·83

Another Coin of the same king of the moneyer Eadvini, weighing 20·35 grs. and of a dull white colour, but in remarkable preservation, gave,

Gold . .	0·34
Tin . .	1·47
Lead . .	0·77
Silver . .	11·46
Copper . .	60·14
Zinc . .	25·82
	100

The Zinc, owing to an accident, was determined in this case from the loss.

Another Coin of EANRED of the moneyer FORDRED, weighing 18·58 grs. gave, of gold 0·48, of tin 3·24 per cent.

Towards the bottom of the vessel, where the principal weight had pressed, some of the Coins had become cemented together, and the round figures of some of them are marked by this pressure upon it, but they have not become masses, as was the case in some discoveries before made, and particularly at Heworth when the coins of ECGFRID were found. Thepresent show merely two coins adhering to each other, and, on detaching them, beautiful minute crystals of copper of a ruby colour are disclosed. These are red oxide of copper, in modified regular octahedrons. In these cases also the coins are nearly covered with a green coat of carbonate and muriate of copper, and in many instances the legends are entirely defaced. An interesting account may be seen as to the changes which take place in ancient alloys of copper by consulting the paper of Dr. Davy, published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1826, pt. 2, p. 55.

It was most probably about the year 867 that the concealment of these coins took place, for the reason assigned at the end of the account of the supposed Coin of King AELLA.

There not being any complete chronological list of the Kings of Northumberland, I have thought it not unappropriate to give the present, which my researches on this occasion have enabled me to compile, and which may serve as a general table of reference to any one pursuing the Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon History. In this and in other respects I have been materially assisted by the kind co-operation of Mr. John Trotter Brockett, junior.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

547—559. IDA, 1st King of Bernicia.

560—588. ÆLLA, 1st King of Deira, and, on the death of THEODORIC, King of Bernicia, A. D. 587. ÆLLA united the two provinces of Deira and Bernicia with the kingdom of Northumberland.

560—567. ADDA (1st son of IDA by his Queen) 2d King of Bernicia.

567—572. GLAPPA, 3d King of Bernicia.

572—573. THEODWALD, 4th King of Bernicia, brother to GLAPPA.

573—580. FRETHULF, 5th King of Bernicia, brother to GLAPPA.

580—587. THEODORIC (3d son of IDA by his Queen), 6th King of Bernicia.

587—588. ÆLLA, 1st King of Northumberland.

588—593. ETHELRIC, 2d King of Northumberland.

593—617. ETHELFRITH, 3d King of Northumberland. *Sax. Chron.* ETHELFERTH. *Matt. West.* ETHELFRID. He was slain by REODWALD.

617—633. EDWINE (son of ÆLLA) 4th king of Northumberland. *Sax. Chron.* EADWIN. He was converted to Christianity by Augustin's vicar, Paulinus, in 627, and was the 4th Anglo-Saxon who held universal sway over the whole Island; "majore potentia cunctis," as Florence of Worcester has it. Slain in battle against the Britons in 633.

After EDWINE the provinces were again divided.

634 *Sax. Chron.* EANFRID, 7th King of Bernicia (son of ETHELFRITH).

634 OSRIC, 2d King of Deira, son of ÆLFRIC, the brother of King EDWINE's father.

After whom the provinces were united.

634—642. OSWALD, 5th King of Northumberland. He was the 6th King who preponderated in the Anglo-Saxon octarchy.

In the following reign Northumberland was again divided.

642—670. OSWEO, 8th King of Bernicia, brother of OSWALD. He is ranked by Bede and other Chroniclers as the 7th of the preponderating Saxon monarchs.

642—651. OSWIN, 3d King of Deira (son of OSRIC the 2d King of Deira). On the death of OSWINO in 651, OSWEO, King of Bernicia seized the throne of Deira, and ruled over the Northumbrian kingdom for two years. In 653, ETHELWALD, the son of OSWALD, became a competitor with OSWEO for the crown of Deira; but it is not known how long he continued in his disputed possession.

670—685. ECGFRID (son of OSWY), 6th King of Northumberland. *Sax. Chron.* ECVERTH. He was slain in battle against the Picts at Drumnechtan, and his body was taken and buried at Icolmkill.

685—705. ALCRED, ALEFRID. *Sax. Chron.* ALDFRITH, EALDFRITH (eldest, but natural son of OSWY), 7th King of Northumberland. He died at

Driffelda, in Yorkshire. He is distinguished by Eddius with the epithet of the " most wise."

705. Eadwulf was a fleeting monarch of two months. He seized the sceptre on the death of Alfred, but was driven out by Osred.

705—716. Osred, the son of Alcfred by Kenburg, the daughter of Penda the Mercian. He was assassinated near the Southern Borders in 716, by his two kinsmen, Cenred and Osric.

716—718. Coenred or Cenred, the son of Cuthwin. He was a descendant of Ida.

718—731. Osric, son of Alfred.

731—737. Ceolwulf, the friend and patron of the venerable Bede, disgusted with the perils of monarchy, took the cowl.

738—759. Eadbert, Eadbryght, Eadberht (the son of Eata), followed the example of his predecessor, and retired to a cloister.

759. Osulf or Oswulf, was slain at Methelwongtune on the ix kal. August.

759—765. Moll Ethelwald or Edelwold.

765—774. Aldred, Alured, Alchred, Alhred, " suis destitutus mutavit regnum exilio."

774—778. Ethelred, Ædelred, son of Moll Edelwold. He was banished in 778; or, according to the *Chron. Mailros*, in 779.

778—789. Alfwold, Elfwold. He is called " Rex innocentium," by the Chronicle of Mailros. He was slain by his patrician Sigan, and his body was buried at Hexham.

789—790. Osred, " nepos Alfwoldi," expelled in 790.

790—794. Ethelred, son of Moll Edelwold, was again restored in 790; but his subjects, disgusted at his deeds of blood, assassinated him in 794.

794. Osbald. He was deposed at the end of 27 days.

794—806. Eardulf or Heardulf, Ardulf, Aldulf (*Brompton*), the son of Eanulf.

806—808. Alfwold or Ælfwold, " per biennium regnum tenuit." *Sim. Dun.*

808—840. Eanred succeeded on the death of Alfwold, and held the sceptre for 32 years.

840—844. Ethelred, Edilred, Edelred, Aeilred, Ædelred, Elred, son of Eanred. He was expelled in 844, and restored in the same year.

844. Readwlf, Redulf, who "confestim diademati insignatus," was slain in battle against the Pagans at Aluetheleie. *Matt. West. sub anno* 844.

844—848. Ethelred was again restored in 844, but slain in 848.

848—862. Osbercht banished in 862, but restored in 867 to share the throne with Aella.

862—867. Aella, "non de regali prosapia."

867. Osbercht and Aella. They joined their forces against the Danes, and were both cruelly slain at York on the 12th April 867. After the death of Osbercht and Aella, Northumbria was again divided into two provinces. The Danes took possession of the ancient Deira, while the Saxons ruled in Bernicia.

867— . . . Inguar the Dane reigned a long while in Deira, and died without issue.

867—873. Egbert. "Quidam genere Anglicus, sub Danorum potestate regnum adeptus," was banished in 872, and died in 873. He was sovereign only of the tract of country between the rivers of Tyne and Tweed.

873—876. Ricsig (of Bernicia). "He died with grief at the distresses of his country." *Turner.*

Halfden, a Dane. In 875 he invaded the whole of Northumberland. "Nec multo post (accessionem Ricsig) Halfdene rex Danorum, assumpta de Reoppandune ubi tunc sederat plurima parte prædicti exercitus, multa cum classe Tinam ingrediens, circa Tomemuthe hyematurus applicuit totam ad aquilonalem plagam prædicti fluminis provinciam, quæ pacem eatenus habuerat per acta hyeme depopulaturus." *Sim. de Dun. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. 6. Will. Malmsbury makes this in 876. It would be prior to the death of Ricsig at all events. Halfden died in 876.

876— . . . Egbert ruled "super Northumbros ultra amnem Tynam." He was reigning in 883.

883—894. Guthred, son of Hardecnut, "regnavit super Eboracum." See

a curious legend in the Chronicle of Mailros, sub anno 883. The same is repeated in both the histories of Simeon. "Ex servo factus est rex."

GUTHRED died in 894, in which year the Danes, who inhabited Northumbria, made a treaty of peace with King ELFRED. *Will. Malmesbury. Sax. Chron.*

901—904. ATHELWOLD, brother of EDWARD the Elder, was chosen *chief* monarch of all Northumberland in 901. The Chronicle of Mailros, sub anno 901, has "recessit Northumbriam, et ibi Rex et Princeps Regum eorum factus est." A number of petty kings, whose names have not come down to us, reigned during this period in Northumbria, which accounts for the expression, "Princeps Regum." The language of Henry of Huntingdon (lib. v. ad finem), is "confuse autem regnaverunt Daci, ita quod ibi rex unus erat, modo duo, modo reguli multi." Athelwold relinquished the throne in 904.

. . . —914. NIELL. I do not find when he commenced his reign. He was slain by his brother SIHTRIC in 914.

914—926. SIHTRIC, the son of INGUAR, and grandson of RADNAR LOGBROK, slew his brother NIELL in 914. He married ORGIVA, the illegitimate daughter of EDWARD the Elder, by EGWINA, a shepherd's daughter of great beauty, in 925. SIHTRIC afterwards repudiated her, and returned to Paganism, from which he had been converted. He died in 926, meditating a hostile expedition against ETHELSTAN.

919—944. REIGNWALD or REGINALD. From Simeon we learn that "quidam Rex Paganus vocabulo REIGNWALD" came with a great fleet into Northumberland, gained possession of York, and occupied "totam mox terram Sancti Cuthberti." He made peace with Edward in 921, and was banished by EDMUND in 944.

926—927. GUTFERTH or GODOFRID, the son of SIHTRIC, succeeded his father, but was expelled in 927 by ETHELSTAN, who annexed Northumberland to his own kingdom. The Saxon Chronicle has "927. Þeȝ Æðelstan cyning ȝeondfar Norðhymbra cyneȝ."

In the reign of ETHELSTAN's successor the Northumbrians again swore fealty, but soon broke their oath.

Circa 927— . . . ERIC, EYRIC, YRIC. Mr. Turner (vol. ii. p. 201, of his

Anglo-Saxons) states from the Norwegian Annals, that "ATHELSTAN placed him in Northumbria, to reign in feudal subordination to himself. ERIC was baptized, and fixed his habitation at York." "In the reign of EDMUND, perceiving that this King, or his unquiet subjects, desired a new Regent, he hastened to his beloved ocean and its splendour." Ibid. p. 229. He was again chosen in 949, and banished 950.

939—941. ANLAF. "Anno DCCCCXLI. Northumbri fidelitatem, quam EDMUNDO juraverant, postponentes, Noreganorum Regem ANLAFUM sibi elegerunt in Regem, qui Hamtonam veniens eam obsedit, nihilque proficiens, vertit exercitum ad Tamewrtham, et, vastatis omnibus, cum rediret, occurrit ei Rex Edmundus, et mox committeretur prælium, nisi sedassant eos duo Archiepiscopi Odo et Westan. Pace igitur facta, utriusque Regni terminus erat Wathlingestrate. Anlafus, incensa et vastata ecclesia sancti Baldredi in Tiningham, mox periit. Filius vero SIHTRICI nomine ANLAF regnavit in loco patris sui." *Chron. Mailros.*

The division between EDMUND and ANLAF was made in 939 [*Simeon de Gest. Reg. Ang.*] ; the latter died in 941.

941?—944. ANLAF, the son of SIHTRIC, "regnavit in loco patris." There is much confusion in the authorities with respect to this and the preceding King. In the place where the passage quoted above occurs, it is uncertain whether the "in loco patris" means immediately *subsequent to his father's decease*, or merely "in loco," i. e. "in regno," dating his accession from the decease of the Norwegian ANLAF. I should prefer the latter explanation. He made an attempt to gain the kingdom in 937, but was defeated by ATHELSTAN at Brunnanburgh. He was expelled along with REGINALD in 944 by EDMUND. "An. DCCCCXLIV. ᚦᛖᚱ Ēaðmunð cýniᵹ ᵹecoðe eal Norþ hýmbra land him to ᵹepealde. ⁊ afлýmðe ut tpeᵹen cýninᵹar. Anlaf Syhtpecef funu. ⁊ Reᵹenalð Eaðpeþðef funu." *Sax. Chron.*

"944. Rex EDMUNDUS, ANLAFUM, et REINOLDUM de Northumbria expulit, quia pacem cum eo factam infregerunt." *Chron. Mailros.* Simeon [*de Gestis Reg. Ang.*] makes this event happen in 945. He says, "945. EDMUNDUS Rex expulsis duobus regibus regnum obtinuit Northanhymbrorum." EDRED succeeded to his brother EDMUND on

the throne of England in 946, and "Northumbriam sibi rebellantem conquisivit." *Mailros.*

947—948. ANLAF, who had been expelled in 944, returned with a fleet, and was restored 947. He was again banished in the following year, and the Northumbrians swore fealty to King EDRED; but they speedily broke their oath, for in 949 (the Saxon Chronicle says 952) they again set up

(949[b]—950.) EYRIC, HERIC, HUTH, "de stirpe Danorum," the son of HAROLD. Him, however, they expelled in 950 (Saxon Chronicle 954) through fear of EDRED, who had devastated their territories, and burnt the famous monastery built by St. Wilfrid at Ripon. EYRIC made a fruitless resistance. Being betrayed by OSULF, he was slain, and was the last of the royal line of Northumbria, "nam ei successerunt comites."

"948, moxque (this must refer to a following year) Northumbriam (EDREDUS) circuiens totam possedit, sed post juratam ei fidelitatem Northymbrenses quendam Danum EIRICUM præfaciunt regem." *Sim. de Gestis Reg. Angl.* In the year 952, Simeon has, "defecerunt hic reges Northanhymbrorum; et deinceps ipsa provincia administrata est per comites." In the following year (953) he adds, "comes OSULF suscepit comitatum Northanhymbrorum."

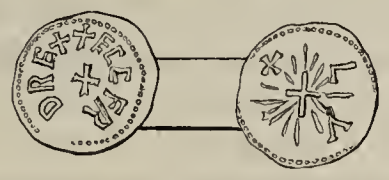
Subjoined is an epitome of the subsequent history as to the government of Northumberland, taken from the Chronicle of Mailros.

950.—Anno DCCCCL. Rex *Anglorum* EDREDUS *Northumbriam* devastat, in qua vastatione combustum est Monasterium quod sanctus Wilfridus construxerat in *Ripun*. *Northumbrenses* timore coacti regem, quem sibi fecerant, abjecerunt EYRICUM, filium HAROLDI, qui fuit ultimus rex illorum; nam ei successerunt comites, primus OSULFUS, qui postea socium habuit OSLACUM, quibus successit WALLEVUS senior, post quem UHCTREDUS filius ejus, post Uhctredum EDOLF CUDES frater ejus, post hunc frater ejus ALDREDUS: Illi successit EADULFUS filius Cospatrici

[b] Chron. Mail. Sim. de Gestis Reg. Angl.

filii Uhctredi predicti. Eadulfo successit Siwardus; post eum Tostius frater Haraldi regis; Tosto Morkarus, qui comitatum commisit Osulfo filio Edulfi Comitis, cui expulso successit Cospi; post eum Cospatricus filius Maldredi, quem Cospatricum Maldredus habuit ex Aldgitha filia Uhctredi Comitis et Elfgivæ filiæ Ethelredi regis. Iste Cospatricus erat pater Dolfini, Wallevi, Cospatrici. Post eum datus est comitatus Walthevo Siwardi Comitis filio. Capto Waltheuo, commissa est comitatus cura Walthevo Episcopo. Quo interfecto Rex dedit comitatum Albio; cui reverso patriam, successit Rodbertus de Mulbreio: sed eo capto, ipsi Reges deinceps tenuerunt comitatum in manu sua, Primus Willielmus junior, deinde Henricus, postea Stephanus, et post eum Henricus Secundus.

Before describing the Coins found at Hexham, it may not be irrelevant to notice the discovery of some stycas appropriated to a king who reigned long antecedent to the first of the present series. I allude to the small number of the Coins of Ecgfrid, which were found at Heworth.

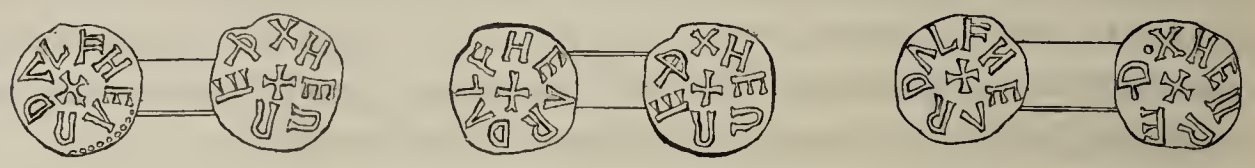


The Rev. John Hodgson, the author of the History of Northumberland, and then the Perpetual Curate of Jarrow and Heworth, in a paper printed in the first volume of the Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, after stating the probable connection between this King and the church of Jarrow, proceeds to give an ingenious explanation of the reverse of the Coins, which he observes were all from the same die. The legend on the reverse, however, instead of lux, as was supposed at the time, appears to be rather lvn, at least on the Coin in my possession, which may either be the name of the moneyer or the place of mintage. The u is formed like y, and the n is very indistinct. The ornamented cross has probably its

meaning, and none more likely than that assigned to it by the reverend and learned gentleman himself.

Ecgfrid ascended the throne in 670 in preference to his elder, though illegitimate brother, Alfred. He invaded Mercia in 679, and in 684 made a similar inroad into Ireland. His invasion of the Picts in the same year was fatal to him, for his enemies, by stratagem entangled him in a defile, near Drumnechtan, where he was slain.

Our series commences with Heardvlf.



On the flight of King Osbald, the Patrician Heardulf[c] was called from exile,[d] and invested with the regal dignity. He was consecrated at the altar of St. Paul in the church of St. Peter, at York, "ubi," adds Simeon, "illa gens primum perceperat gratiam baptismi," by the northern Archbishop Eanbald, assisted by Bishops Ethelberht, Higbald and Badewulf, on the vii kal. Jun. 796.

Ethelred, the predecessor of Osbald on the Northumbrian throne, among innumerable other enormities, was the chief party in the intended assassination[e] of Heardulf, who in the year 792 was dragged to the gates

[c] "Ex semine regio." *Johannis Wallingford Chron.* 530.

[d] The year of his accession is stated variously by the Chroniclers. The Saxon Chronicle has the 2 id. Maii 795, and adds that he was consecrated and "to hiꝛ cine-ꝛtole ahoꝛen," vii. kal. Junii. The Chronicle of Mailros makes it 794. Simeon of Durham "de Gestis Regum Anglorum," has the following, "Anno dccxcvi (796) Eardulf filius Eardulfi de exilio vocatus, regni infulis est sublimatus, et in *Eboraca* in ecclesia Sancti *Petri* ad altare beati Apostoli *Pauli*, ubi illa gens primum perceperat gratiam baptismi, consecratus est vii. kal. Junii." Matt. Westmin. says 797.

[e] Both the Chronicle of Mailros and the Monk Simeon make particular mention of this act of Ethelred's cruelty. From the latter we learn that it happened in the second year of Ethelred's reign, that is in 792. I subjoin their respective accounts: "Qui (Ethelredus) *Eardulfum* ducem capiens, et ad Ripum producens ibi eum occidit extra portam monasterii: Dilato autem corpore ipsius, in ecclesiam, et psallentibus circa eum et pro eo fratribus, post mediam noctem vivus inventus est." *Chron. Mailros sub anno* 790; under the year 794 it adds, "*Eardulfus* vero filius

of the monastery of Ripon, and there left for dead. The charitable monks, however, finding the body so near their precincts, carried it into the church, and were the means of his safe recovery before the morning. HEARDULF escaped, visited Rome, and sought the protection of Charlemagne, "who, in conjunction with the papal Legate, assisted him in his efforts"[f] to gain the throne.

In 798,[g] the murderers of ETHELRED conspired against their former idol HEARDULF. The King met the rebels, and, after a severe contest, and much slaughter on both sides, the royal army was victorious, and the insurgent leader WADA was obliged to fly.[h]

Two events stain the government of HEARDULF, but they were only in accordance with the character of the times. One, the death of MOLL, is thus recorded by Simeon: "MOLL quoque dux paulo post (799) *jussione urgente* EARDULFI regis occisus est."[i] The other is the massacre of ALCMUND. The same authority says, "Eodem anno (800) ALCHMUND[k] filius

EARNULFI, qui ut supra diximus post occisionem revixit, de exilio revocatus, Rex est constitutus." In the "Historia Simeonis de Gestis Regum Anglorum III." we find, "cujus (Ethelredi) anno secundo (the same authority makes his reign commence in 790) Eardulf dux captus est et ad *Ripun* perductus, ibique occidi jussus extra portam monasterii à rege præfato. Cujus corpus fratres cum *Gregorianis* concentibus ad ecclesiam portantes, et in tentorio foris ponentes, post mediam noctem vivus est in ecclesia inventus."

f Turner, Ang. Sax. vol. i. p. 400, who quotes Ann. Franc. ap. Duchesne, vol. ii. p. 45.

g In this year the great Synod was held by Eanbald at Finchale. See after, in the account of the Archbishop.

h Anno DCCXCVIII Conjuratione facta ab interfectoribus ETHELDREDI regis, WADA dux in illa conjuratione cum eis bellum inierunt contra EARDWLFUM regem in loco qui appellatur ab Anglis BILLINGAHOTH juxta WALALEGE, et ex utraque parte plurimis interfectis WADA dux cum suis in fugam versus est, et EARDWLFUS rex victoriam regaliter sumpsit ex inimicis." *Sim. Dun. de Gestis Regum Anglorum.* "Anno DCCXCVIII Interfectores ETHELREDI Regis cum duce WADA bellum inierunt contra EARDULFUM successorem apud BILLANGAHO juxta WALELEIE, in quo multi ceciderunt, sed, duce WADA in fugam verso, victoriam habuit EARDULFUS." *Chron. de Mailros sub anno.* "Per idem tempus rex Northanhumbrorum EARDULFUS, in loco qui BILINGEHO dicitur, prelium commisit contra WADUM ducem, et alios quosdam conspiratores suos. Sed demum multis hinc inde interfectis, rex regaliter victoriam obtinuit ex hostibus supradictis." *Matt. Westm. sub anno* 798.

i De Gestis Reg. Anglor. 115—sic etiam Chron. de Mailros sub anno 799.

k Sic Matt. West. et Chron. de Mailros sub anno 800.

Alcredi regis, ut dicunt quidam, à tutoribus Eardwlfi regis est apprehensus, ejusque jussione cum suis profugis occisus est."

After these transactions, the Northumbrian King turned, in 801, his arms against Kenwlf of Mercia; who, meeting his hostilities with equal alacrity, soon raised an army, and was quickly in the field. The Clergy and "Principes Anglorum," however, interfered, and with their advice a reconciliation was effected, and peace agreed upon by both parties;[l] the two kings swearing "in evangelio Christi ut in diebus eorum quamdiu vita potirentur præsenti, et regni essent infulis suffulti, pax firma veraque inter eos amicitia inconcussa et inviolata persisteret."

In 806[m] Heardulf was deserted by his subjects and banished the kingdom; "et deinceps," adds the Chronicle of Mailros, "Rege *diu* carebat." The limit of the *diu* was two years; for in 808 Alfwold was chosen his successor.[n] Of Alfwold not any Coins have been found, and the only historical memorial of him is, that he held the reins of government for the short space of two years.

The Stycas of Heardulf,[o] which are unnoticed by Mr. Ruding, and a very limited number of which were found amongst the Hexham Coins, are, in point of execution similar to those of his successors Eanred, Ethelred, and Redulf. The legends differ from the majority of them in the omission

[l] Anno dccci. Eardulfus *Northumbrorum* Rex et Kinewlfus *Merciorum* ad bellandum convenerunt, sed Episcoporum ac Principum consilio pacem inter se jurejurando confirmaverunt, quamdiu viverent tenendam. *Chron. de Mailros sub anno.* In Simeon (*de Gestis Reg. Angl.* 117) we find, "801. His temporibus Eardulf Rex *Northanhymbrorum* duxit exercitum contra Krnwlfum regem *Merciorum* propter susceptionem inimicorum ejus. Qui et ipse congregans exercitum secum aliarum promovit auxilia Provinciarum plurima, longa inter eos expeditione facta. Tandem cum consilio episcoporum ac principum *Anglorum* ex utraque parte pacem inierunt per gratiam regis *Anglorum*. Factaque firmissimæ pacis concordia inter eos, quam sub jurejurando in evangelio Christi ambo reges confirmaverunt, Deum testem et fidejussorem interponentes, ut in diebus eorum quamdiu vita potirentur præsenti, et regni essent infulis suffulti, pax firma veraque inter eos amicitia inconcussa et inviolata persisteret."

[m] An. dccccvi. "Þær ꝥe mona aþiꝥꝥoðe on kl' Sept. ȝ Eaþðulf. Norþanhýmbra cininȝ . pæꝛ oꝛ hiꝛ pice aðpiꝥen." *Chron. Sax. sub anno.* [n] Matt. Westm.

[o] Sir Andrew Fountaine in Tab. x. at the end of his Dissertation on Saxon Coins in Hickes's Thesaurus, gives five Stycas of a king Heardulf, all of different moneyers, amongst which are Odilo and Broder.

of the title Rex, which omission however is not unusual in the Coins of the subsequent reigns. The only moneyer which as yet has been found amongst the Hexham Coins, is HERRETH.

EANRED.

After the expulsion of ALFWOLD, the crown was worn by EANRED for the long space of thirty-two years.[p] During the reign of this latter prince, the superiority of Wessex under its King EGBERT was fully established. After conquering Mercia, whose military strength had been completely exhausted by the imprudence of the usurpers BEORNWULF and LUDECAN, EGBERT moved his army beyond the Humber, and assumed a hostile position towards Northumberland, at this time in a state of internal weakness, the fruits of many years of anarchy and misrule. EANRED knew full well his inability to compete, in his present situation, with the successful EGBERT, and aware that none but peaceful measures could safely be adopted, he met his opponent at a place called Dore; and there, to use the words of the Worcester Chronicler, whose account of this transaction I have given in a note, "occurrens pacifice, ei concordiam humilemque subjectionem obtulit;" and, as we find in Matthew of Westminster, "regem Eandredum statuit sub tributo."[q]

Although Northumbria was, on this as on many other occasions, reduced to a temporal submission, yet she still preserved her position as a separate kingdom. It was not until the victory of EDRED over ERIC in 946, and his

p "Post ALFWODUM EANREDUS (successit) qui regnavit XXXIX annis." *Chron. Joan. Wallingford.* This is a mistake which a little further down the same Chronicler corrects; his words are, "qui XXXII annis regnavit in Northimbria."

q "Ⅎnd ꝑe Ecgbꝑyht læddɐ ꝑyꝑdɐ to Dore ꝑið Norþanhymbre ⁊ hy him þæꝑ eaþmedo budon ⁊ gef pæpneꝑꝑe. ⁊ hy on þam to-hpuꝑꝑan." *Saxon Chron. sub anno* DCCCXXVII.

"827. Eodem anno Rex Occidentalium Saxonum Egbertus, expulso regno Wiglafo, regnum Merciorum suo abjecit imperio. Deinde suam movit expeditionem ultra Humbri flumen. Cui Northimbrenses (in loco qui Dore vocatur) occurentes pacifice, ei concordiam humilemque subjectionem obtulere; absic ab invicem divisi sunt magna mentis alacritate." *Flor. Wigorn.* 288.
"Anno gratiæ 829. Cum Egbertus rex Occidentalium Saxonum omnia australia Angliæ regna obtinuisset, exercitum grandem in Northanhumbria ducens, provinciam illam gravi depopulatione contrivit, regemque Eandredum statuit sub tributo." *Matt. West. sub anno.*

subsequent partition of it into counties under the government of an Earl, that she lost her independence, and was inseparably annexed to the realm of England.

EANRED, unlike many of his near cotemporaries, finished a long reign without being banished, and died in 840 in possession of his throne.[r]

The moneyers of EANRED, as given by Mr. Ruding, exclusive of the silver penny, are:

ALDATES	FORDRED	HERRED
BRODER	FVLCNOD	HRRED
BRODR	GADVTES	HVAETRED
DAEGBERCT	GADVTEIS	MONNE
EADVINI	HEARDLF	VVLFHEARD
EANRED	HEARDVLF	VVLFRED.
EARRDVVLF		

The following have been found amongst that portion of the Coins discovered at Hexham, which have undergone a careful examination.

ALDATES	DAEXBERC	FOLCNOD
ALFHEARD	ÞAEXBERC	FORDRED
BRODER	DAEXBERCT	FVLCNOD
BRODR	EADVINI	FVLNOD
BROER	EADVNI	GADTEIS
BRÞMR	EANRED	GADVTEIS
CVDHARD	EANRETH	GADVTELS
CVNVVLF	EARAINI	GADVTES
CNAALF }	EARDVLF	HEARDVLF
CψAALF }	EARRDVVLF	HEARDVVLF
CψAANLF } pro	EDILVARD	HEARETHI
CVAVLF } CVNVVLF	EDILVEAD	HERRD
CVVNψEF }	EORDRED	HERRED
CψVVNF }	ERDRED	HERREDA
CψVHF }	EVNVALF } pro	HERRETH
DAEGBERCT	EψVVNLF } CVNVVLF	HRRED

r "Anno gratiæ 840, defuncto rege Northanhumbrorum EANDREDO, ÆTHELREDUS filius ejus septem annis successit." *Matt. West.*

HVAETRED	THADIGILS	VVLFRED
IEADVINE	TIDVINI	WINTRD
MONNE	TIDVNI	WINTRED
ODILO	VILHEAH	ÞINTRMᚻ
TEVEH	VVLFHEARD	WINTRR.

Being, with the exception of one of the readings of HEARDULF in Ruding, all that were known to that author; and shewing as new moneyers of this King, or readings of their names—

ALFHEARD	EARDVLF	HERRETH
BROER	EDILVARD	IEADVINE
BRÞMR	EDILVEAD	ODILO
CVDHARD	EORDRED	TEVEH
CVNVVLF	ERDRED	THADIGILS
(with all its various readings.)	FOLCNOD	TIDVINI
	FVLNOD	TIDVNI
DAEXBERC	GADTEIS	VILHEAH
ÞAEXBERC	GADVTELS	WINTRD
DAEXBERCT	HEARDVVLF	WINTRED
EADVNI	HEARETHI	ÞINTRMᚻ
EANRETH	HERREDA	WINTRR.
EARAINI	HERRD	

Of EDILVARD, EDILVEAD, ERDRED, HEARETHI, IEADVINE, TEVEH, TIDVINI, and TIDUNI, single specimens have only hitherto been found, which may be considered as most probably unique. Several of the other moneyers, as CVNVVLF, EADVINI, FORDRED, and MONNE, afford numerous specimens.

The drawings render any particular explanation of the Coins unnecessary. The peculiarity as to the dots may be seen in several of them. On a Coin of the moneyer VVLFHEARD, we find a very singular distribution of the legend; the D, instead of being with the other letters in the usual manner, usurps the place which is usually occupied by a cross in the centre. FOLCNOD and ODILO are the only moneyers in this reign, who have added their designation of office. Thus, in all the Coins of FOLCNOD we find the letter M after the name. In one Coin of ODILO we have the letters MON, and in another the letters MO., abbreviations of the officer MONETARIVS.

The moneyers BRODER, HEARDULF, HERRED, and WINTRED, according to

a practice not uncommon at the time, have in some instances abbreviated their names by leaving out the final vowel; thus BRODR, HEARDLF, HERRD, and WINTRD.

The Runic letters on a Coin of the moneyer BROTHER, and also on one of WINTRED, are worthy of attention. In the inscription BRᚩ ᚹMR, the letters BR and ᚹ are common to both the Saxon and Runic alphabets, but the ᚩ and M are peculiar to the latter only; the one being an O and the other an E. In the other inscription ᚹINTRMᛞ the first five letters are also common to the two alphabets; the latter letters E and D, however, are peculiarly Runic; see the "Litterarum Runicarum varietas universa collecta," given in the first volume of Hickes's Thesaurus. On the knowledge which the Anglo-Saxons possessed of the Runic characters, Mr. Turner gives a very interesting account in the fourth chapter of the Appendix to his work, vol. i. p. 232.

ETHELRED.

ETHELRED, or as his name is variously spelled AEDELRED, AIDELRED, AEILRED, ÆTHELRED, ATHELRED, ETHELRED, EDELRED, EDILRED, ELRED, and ETHERED,[s] the son of King EANRED, mounted the throne at his father's death, in 840.[t] Of the transactions of this reign no satisfactory information can be gleaned from our early Chroniclers and Historians. The comparative beauty of various Stycas of Ethelred's coinage, are however so many evidences of improving taste and execution, if not in the kingdom at large, at least in individuals; and shews that the arts were not totally neglected. The long reign of EANRED, and the undisturbed state of the country after

[s] The present is only one amongst the many instances of variations in the orthography of Anglo-Saxon names. In a note in vol. i. p. 472 of Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, that gentleman, speaking of the different modes of writing the name of ETHELWULF the successor of EGBERT, says, "The name of this king has been disfigured by that variety of orthography which prevailed at this time, and often confuses history. ETHELWLFUS, ETHULFUS, ATHULFUS, ADULFUS, AITHULFUS, ADHEHOLFUS, ATHELWLFUS, ATWULFUS." The cause of this fluctuation was no doubt owing in a great measure to the writers of subsequent ages, having, in the absence of contemporary originals, to depend so much upon oral tradition, received perhaps through the medium of a vitiated or provincial pronunciation.

[t] Matthew of Westminster makes him reign *seven* years. In the Chron. Joannis Wallingford 531 we find ATHELREDUS qui regnavit IX annis.

Egbert's hostile visit, had perhaps tended in some degree to soften down the ruggedness of the Northumbrian character; and to produce a few shoots of that intellect, which had flourished so healthily during the reigns of their Kings Alfred and Ceolwulf.

In the year 844 Ethelred gave offence to his people, and was expelled to make room for Redulf; on whose death he was recalled, "et tunc iterum regnavit."[u] He was slain in 848.[x]

Mr. Ruding gives as moneyers of Ethelred:

ALDHERE	EDILREED	MONNE
ALGHERE	EORDRED, pro	ODILO
ANRED	FORDRED?	OLDVN
BROTHER	HNIFVLA	TIDVLF
CEOLBALD	IEVVBE	VBRODER
CVDHEARD	INRED	VENDELBERHT
EADMVND	LEOFDEG	VVLFRED
EANBALD	LEOFDEGN	WINTRD
EANRED	LEOGDEGN	WINTRED.
EARDVVLF		

In the Hexham collection have been found:

ALDHERE	EAFDVVLF	GADVTES
ALGHERE	EANRED	HNIFVLA
ANRED	EANREDE	HVNLAF
BRODER	EARDVVLF	LEODEGN
BROTHER	ELEHOJH	LEOFDEG
CEOLBALD	EORDRED	LEOFDGN
COENRED	ERWINNE	LEOFDEGN
CVNEMUND	EVDRTEDA	LEOFDEGNX
EADVIN	FORDRED	LEOFDEXN

[u] Matt. West.

[x] "Anno gratiæ 848 Athelredo rege Northanhumbrorum interfecto, Osbertus successit pro eo annis 18." *Matt. West. sub anno.* Simeon the Monk, in his History of the Church of Durham, lib. II. cap. v. makes this event happen in 849, His words are, "anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCCXLIIIJ imperii autem Osberti, qui occiso Ethelredo in regnum successerat anno quinto."

MONNE	VVLFSIC	WINTNRE
ODILO	VENDELBERHT	WINTRD
VBRODER [y]	VINTRED	WINTRED.
VVLFRED	WINTNRD	

Therefore we do not find amongst them,

CVDHEARD	EDILREED	LEOGDEGN
EADMVND	IEVBBE	OLDVN
EANBALD	INRED	TIDVLF

But we have as new,

BRODER	ERWINNE	LEOFDEGNX
COENRED	EVDRTEDA	LEOFDEXN
CVNEMVND	GADVTES	VVLFSIC
EADVIN	HVNLAF	VINTRED
EAFDVLF	LEODEGN	WINTNRD
EANREDE	LEOFDGN	WINTNRE.
ELEHOJH		

Single Coins only have occurred of Ceolbald and Hnifvla, differing in each case from those figured by Mr. Ruding. Those of Coenred, Eadvin, Eafdvlf, Eanrede, Evdrteda, Gadvtes, Hvnlaf, Leodegn, are unique, so far as the examination has proceeded.

The same peculiarity of dotting runs through the money of this reign. Some of the Coins of Alghere shew curious instances of it.

The moneyer Leofdegn appears to have been a man of infinitely more taste than any either of his predecessors or cotemporaries. The beautiful devices upon several of the pieces of his minting, particularly those whereon we see the figure of a horse, probably the first deviation from the usual marks of crosses, circles, and pellets, will not fail to obtain for him the admiration he deserves.

At the beginning of the money of this King we have placed three Coins, and in the supplemental Plate will be found two others, having on the reverse the name and title of his father Eanred. We have been induced to give them this situation, under the idea that they might be the first Coins struck

[y] A single specimen of this moneyer's coin was found by Mr. Airey, and has been unfortunately mislaid or lost.

in his reign. At the end are two Coins, both of which have EDILRED REX on the obverse; the one has very distinctly AIELREDA on the reverse, the other is not so distinct, but the legend appears the same.

We have again, in the coinage of this King, some of the moneyers adding their designation of office. ODILO, as in the former reign, having the letters MO on his Coins, and LEOFDEGN, on some of his, MONET. This latter moneyer has also gone through all the various ways of spelling the name of ETHELRED.

In the centre of the obverse of some of the Coins we have the Saxon ꝏ, and, in numbers 193, 194, we also find an A in a similar situation. Had the M occurred on the reverse, it might have been supposed an abbreviation of the word MONETARIUS; but, placed as it is, we are at a loss to conjecture either the meaning of it or of the A. It may be proper to observe, however, that these letters do not unfrequently occur upon other Coins of the Saxons. Had this not been the case, we might have hazarded the conjecture, that they designated the places of mintage, and that the M might stand for ꝏUNELAEASTER, MONKCHESTER, the present NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE; and the A for AGUSTALD, one of the Saxon names for HEXHAM.

REDULF.

REDULF[z] or READWLF, on the banishment of King ETHELRED, succeeded in 844. The only chronicler who notices his possession of the sceptre is Matthew of Westminster,[a] all the other historians assigning it to OSBERCHT, and passing by unnoticed ETHELRED's expulsion and subsequent elevation. Here the value of the Northumbrian Stycas, as historical monuments, is strikingly apparent; for, had no money with this monarch's name and title been discovered, the Monk of Westminster's testimony might have been

z Mr. Ruding writes that he had not been able to discover the date of the accession of this king. Vol. i. p. 243.

a "Anno gratiæ 844 .... Eodem anno rex Northanhumbrorum ÆTHELREDUS a regno fugatus est, cui READWLFUS successit in regnum, qui confestim diademate insignitus, cum Paganis commisso prælio apud ALUETHELEIE, ipse et consul ÆLFREDUS ceciderunt cum parte maxima subditorum, et tunc iterum ÆTHELREDUS regnavit." *Matt. West. sub anno.*

destroyed by a host of other authorities, in point of authenticity and fidelity equal to his own.

Redulf was scarcely seated on the throne when he turned his arms against the Danes, then making one of their frequent inroads. At Aluetheleie, his enemies were victorious, and the King, with his general Alfred, and a great part of his soldiers, were left dead in the field. Ethelred reigned again in the same year.

The moneyers of Redulf, according to Mr. Ruding, are

ALGHERE	COENED	FORDRED
ALDHERE ?	CVDBEREHT	MONNE
BROTHER	EANRED	VENDELBERHT.

The Hexham Coins afford of this King,

ALGHERE	EANRED	HVNLAF
BROTHER	EORDRED	MONNE
COENED	FORDRED	VENDELBERHT.
CVDBEREHT	HVAETNDD	

Of which are new, Hvaetndd, Hvnlaf, and Eordred.

Very few Coins of this reign were found, in comparison with those of the others. The shortness of the time which Redulf held the sceptre, sufficiently accounts for this circumstance; and it is only remarkable that the variations should have been so numerous. Of the moneyer Hunlaf only one Coin has as yet occurred. Of the others there are more than single specimens.

On the death of Ethelred, Osbercht was invested with the regal dignity in 848; banished in 862, and again restored in 867 to share the throne with Aella.

Of the Coins of Osbercht not any specimens were discovered among the Stycas found at Hexham; but Mr. Ruding gives several in his work on the British Coinage, and enumerates the following moneyers, Eanulf, Eanvvlf, Monne, Vinebeght, and Vinebert.[b]

[b] Ruding, Plate XI. Nos. 1 to 10. Plate XXVII. Nos. 1 to 3.

AELLA.



AELLA, or as we have his name on the Styca, AELA, whom a chronicler styles "non de regali prosapia," usurped the throne in 862, on the banishment of OSBERCHT. This reign witnessed an event which was chiefly instrumental in provoking the great Danish invasion. The celebrated northern Vikingr RAGNAR LODBROK,[c] on one of his roving expeditions, was wrecked on the coast of Northumbria, and immediately on landing began to put his favourite plans of plunder into execution. On this, AELLA, the then King, marched against him. The native army was victorious, and RAGNAR remained in the hands of the conqueror, who, in accordance with the barbarity of the age, tormented his prisoner with a lingering death. RAGNAR's sons, burning with revenge, collected an immense host of neighbouring chiefs, and sailed for Northumbria. A storm, however, changed their destination to East Anglia, where they landed. The spring succeeding their arrival, saw them at the gates of York.[d] The civil discord which, says Asser, "diabolico instinctu orta fuerat, sicut semper populo qui odium incurrerit Dei evenire solet," was still raging in Northumberland, and it was not until the Pagans had gained possession of their capital that the contending parties were appeased. They joined in one cause against their common enemy, and marched "in die Palmarum" against York, near which place they met the Danes, who immediately retreated within the walls of the city. They were closely pursued by the Saxons, who found no difficulty in breaking the

[c] For a detailed history of RAGNAR LODBROK see Mr. Turner's very learned History of the Ang. Sax. vol. i. p. 445.

[d] "An. DCCCLXVII. Þep for fe here of Eaſt-Engle ofer Þumbre muðan to Eoforpic-ceaſtre on Noꝛð-humbre." *Sax. Chron.*

867. "Paganorum exercitus de Orientalibus Anglis ad Eboracum civitatem migravit, quæ in aquiloni ripa Humbra fluminis sita est." *Flor. Wigorn.*

"Anno gratiæ 867. Eodem anno Danorum nefandus exercitus, in die Omnium Sanctorum, ab Orientalibus Anglis ad Ebor. civitatem migravit." *Matt. Westm.*

fortification and entering the town. "Non enim tunc adhuc illa civitas firmos et stabilitos muros illis temporibus habebat." A general conflict ensued, and the Danes, driven by despair, redoubled all their efforts against the now broken ranks of the Northumbrians. Of this juncture I transcribe Matthew of Westminster's account: "Tandem ingressi civitatem pugnam contra paganos, sibi nimis damnosam, commiserunt. Nam in illa pugna ceciderunt reges Osbertus et Ella[e] et cum eis 8 consules, in die palmarum, cum turbarum multitudine copiosa. Deinde nefandissimi victores Dani, totam Northanhumbrorum provinciam usque ad ostium Tynæ fluminis depopulantes patriam sibi, victis hostis, subdiderunt."[f] Mr. Turner, quoting from Northern authorities, says: "The sons of Ragnar inflicted a cruel and

[e] Sic Chron. de Mailros sub anno 867.

[f] [An. dcccclxvii.] Ænð þæp pæpmicel un-ȝeþþæpneȝ þæpe þeoðe beȶpeox him ȝelþum. ȝ hý hæþðon hiopa cýniȝ apoppenne Oȝbþýhȶ. ȝ un-ȝecýnðne cýniȝ unðeþ-þenȝon Ællan. Anð hý laȶe on ȝeapȝe ȶo þam ȝecýþðon. [The passage in connection with this is given in the preceding note.] ȝ hý [Oȝbþýhȶ ȝ Ælla] þið þone hepe pinnenðe pæþun. Anð hý þeah micele ȝýþðe ȝeȝæðeþoðon. ȝ þone hepe þohȶon æȶ Eoþoppic-ceaȝȶpe. ȝ on þa ceaȝȶpe bȝecon. ȝ hýþume inne puþðon. Anð þa pæȝ un-ȝemeȶhc pæl ȝeȝleȝen Noþðan-hýmbpa. þume binnan þume butan. ȝ þa cýninȝaȝ beȝen oþ-þleȝen þæp puþðan. ȝ þio laþ pið þone hepe þpið namon. *Sax. Chron.*

The respective accounts of Asser and Florence of Worcester being so verbally alike, I refrain from giving both. I have added that of Asser as being the older historian. There is a balance of authorities in favour of the date 867, which Asser has 866.

866. Anno dcccclxvi. .... Eo tempore maxima inter *Nordanhymbros* discordia diabolico instinctu orta fuerat, sicut semper populo, qui odium incurrerit Dei, evenire solet. Nam *Nordanhymbri* eo tempore, ut diximus, legitimum Regem suum, Osbrichtum nomine, Regno expulerant, et tyrannum quendam Aella nomine, non de regali prosapia progenitum, super Regni apicem constituerant. Sed, advenientibus Paganis, consilio divino & optimatum amminiculo, pro communi utilitate discordia illa aliquantulum sedata, Osbrichtus & Aella, adunatis viribus, congregato exercitu, Eboracum oppidum ademit. Quibus advenientibus Pagani confestim fugam arripiunt, et intra urbis mœnia se defendere procurant. Quorum fugam & pavorem Christiani cernentes, etiam intra Urbis mœnia eos persequi et murum frangere instituunt quod & fecerunt. Non enim tunc adhuc illa civitas firmos & stabilitos muros illis temporibus habebat. Cumque Christiani murum ut proposuerant fregissent, & eorum magna pars in civitatem simul cum Paganis intrasset, Pagani dolore & necessitate compulsi super eos atrociter irrumpunt, cædunt, fugant, prosternunt intus & extra, illic maxima ex parte omnes Nordanhymbrensium capti, occisis duobus Regibus cum multis Nobilibus ibi occubuerunt, reliqui vero, qui evaserunt, pacem cum Paganis pepigerunt. *Annales Asserii*, p. 159.

inhuman retaliation on ELLA, for their father's sufferings. They divided his back, spread his ribs into the figure of an eagle, and agonised his lacerated flesh by the addition of the saline stimulant." This is a refinement of cruelty scarcely to be expected from a people in the vilest stage of barbarity.

Of the money of AELLA, which was, I consider, entirely unknown to former writers,[g] and is therefore unnoticed by Mr. Ruding, one styca only has been discovered, and which I think may be with safety assigned to him. It has on the obverse the King's name spelled AELA, and his title Rex. The reverse bears the name of the moneyer HEDEIV. The Coin of EANRED No. 95, has the name and title similarly placed. The workmanship is rude, and approaches nearest in execution to some of the worst struck pieces of Archbishop Vigmund's mint.

We may fix the date 867 to the concealment of the Hexham treasure; and the reader need only glance over the account given by our Chroniclers of the Danish ravages, subsequent to the battle of York, to assign a very cogent reason for the caution of the owner. There can be little doubt that he perished in the general massacre.

EANBALD.

EANBALD II. was the tenth Archbishop of York. He was Presbyter of the church of St. Peter there, and was elected immediately on the death of EANBALD I. in 796, and the second year of King Heardulf. He was ordained on Sunday the 15th day of August, at Socburn, in Durham, in the presence of ADELBERT Bishop of Hexham, HIGBALD Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Bishop BADWLF; and in the following year (797), having accepted the pallium from the Pope, was solemnly confirmed in the Archbishopric by the Northumbrian nation, on the Nativity of the Virgin (8th September.)[h]

g The Stycas called ALLA's given in Sir Andrew Fountaine's work at the end of Hickes's Thesaurus, cannot be appropriated to this king, and the legends have probably been mistaken by that author.

h "An. DCCXCVI. Þep foꝛð-fepðe Eanbalð Apceb on IV. ıðuꝼ Aug. �herein hiꝼ hiꝺ liggð on Eoꝼeppic. Anð þeꝼ ılcan ȝeapeꝼ foꝛð-fepðe Leolpulꝼ biꝼcop. herein man ȝehal ȝoðe oþep Eanbalð on þæꝼ oþþeꝼ ꝼtal on XIX kal. Sept." *Sax. Chron.*

"An. DCCXCVII. Anð Eanbalð on-fenȝ Pallium on VI. ıðuꝼ Sept." *Ibid.*

"Accepto ab Apostolica sede pallio, in Archiepiscopatum confirmatus est Sept. 8, 797." *Hoveden*, 233.

In 798 EANBALD presided at a Synod[i] of the clergy and great men, held at Finchale, in the county of Durham. It was convened for the purpose of settling the disputes about the observation of the Easter feast, and for other ecclesiastical matters which needed regulation. I have subjoined a very full account of this meeting in the notes.[k]

The exact year of EANBALD's death is not mentioned by the Chroniclers;

"Anno gratiæ 797 .... hoc quoque anno EANBALDUS Ebor. Archiepiscopus decessit, et alter EANBALDUS successit, quo utique anno EANBALDUS Ebor. Archiepiscopus, accepto pallio, per antistitem ordinavit EADREDUM, adjuncto sibi HIGBALDO Episcopo, ad pontificatus honorem." *Matt. Westm.*

"Anno DCCXCVI. EANBALDUS Archiepiscopus Eboracensis obiit, cui successit alter EAPBALDUS ordinantibus eum Episcopis ETHELBERTO, HIGBALDO, et BADULFO." *Chron. de Mailros.*

"746. Et paulo post, id est IIII Idcs Augusti EANBALDUS Archiepiscopus obiit in monasterio quod dicitur Etlete, corpusque ejus magno comitante agmine ad Eboracam civitatem portantes, in Ecclesia beati Petri Apostoli sepultum est honorifice. Statim vero alter EANBALDUS ejusdem Ecclesiæ Presbyter in episcopatum est electus, convenientibus ad ordinationem ejus ETHELBERTO et HYGBALDO atque BADULFO episcopis, in Monasterio quod dicitur Sochasburg xviij. kal. Septemb. die dominica. Anno DCCXCVIJ. EANBALDUS, ille posterior accepto ab apostolica sede pallio in Archiepiscopatum genti Northanhymbrorum. Confirmatus est VI Idus Septembris, qua die celebratur, id est, nativitas Sanctæ Mariæ de qua poeta ait:

Splendet honore dies est in quo virgo Maria
Stirpe David regis procedens edita mundo.

Sim. Dun. de Gestis Reg. Angl.

[i] Stubbs, in his Chronicle of the Archbishops of York, writes, "congregata est Synodus *non parva* in loco qui vocatur *Pinchamhalch*, cui ipse præsidens cum magnis et sapientibus personis quamplurimis quorum prudentia et justicia status regni Northumbrorum illis temporibus incredibiliter redolebat."

[k] The Chronicle of Mailros barley mentions this convention, "Anno DCCXCVIII. Congregata est Synodus *apud Pinkenhalhe* præsidente EANBALDO Archiepiscopo;" a similar entry occurs in Matthew of Westminster's History, "Eodem anno (798) EANBALDUS, Ebor. Archiepiscopus apud FINCHALE Synodum congregavit."

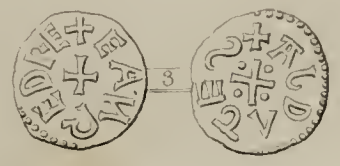
The following is an extract from Simeon de Gestis Regum Anglorum 798. "Eodem quoque anno qui est annus III CENWLFI prædicti Regis (Merciorum) Synodus congregata in loco qui appellatur Pincanhalth, præsidente EANBALDO Archiepiscopo, aliisque quamplurimis principalibus et ecclesiasticis viris, multa de utilitate Sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ gentisque *Northanhymbrorum* omniumque provinciarum consiliati sunt, & de observatione Paschalis festi, & judiciorum divinorum atque secularium, quæ in diebus justorum regum et ducum bonorum atque sanctorum episcoporum aliorumque sapientum, monachorum scilicet atque clericorum, quoque prudentia, et justitia, atque divinis artibus status regni *Northanhymbrorum* suaviter & inedicibiliter redolebat his temporibus. Rationabili vero consilio providebant, ut de honore ecclesiarum Dei servorumque ejus necessita-

EANRED.

ALDATES.

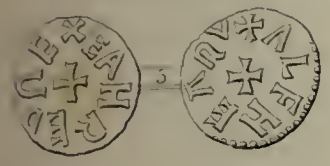




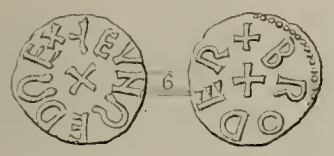




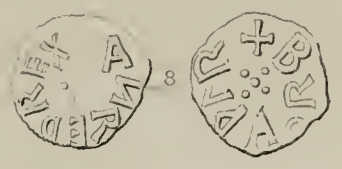
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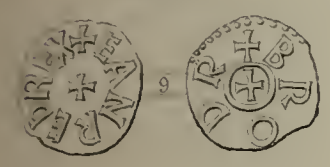
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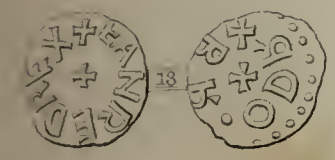








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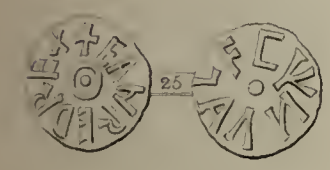




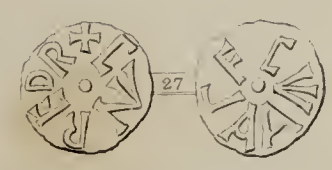




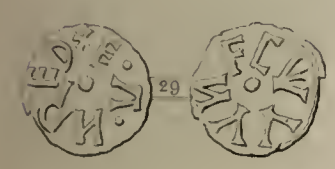




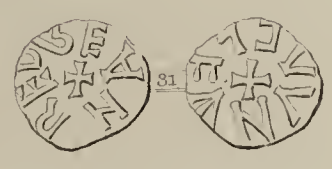


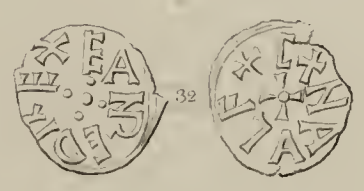








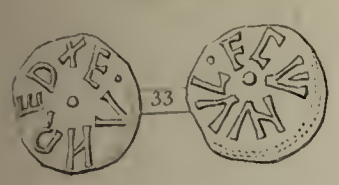


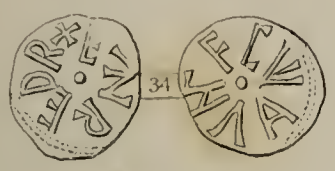


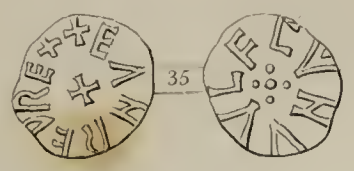
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CVNVVLF


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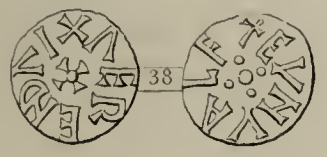

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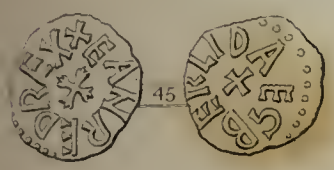

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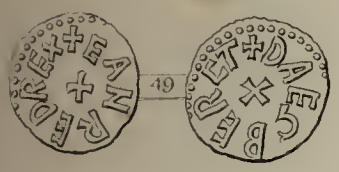

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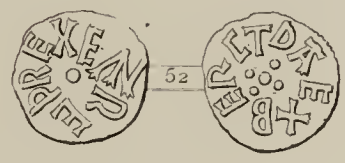

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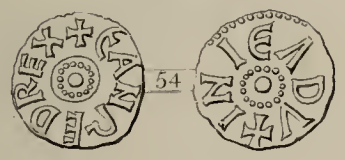

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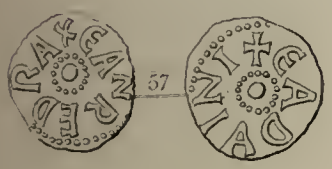
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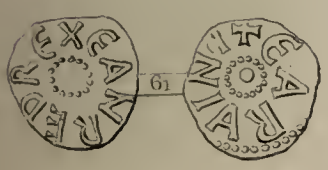

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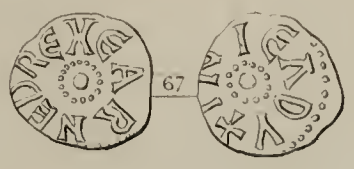
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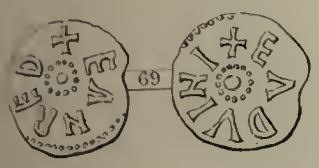
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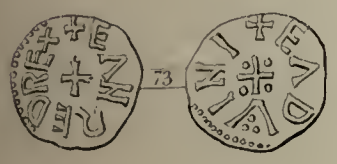
















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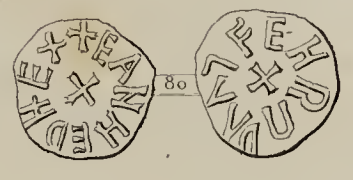
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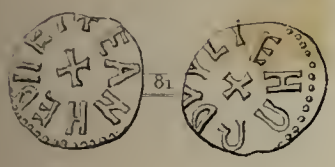


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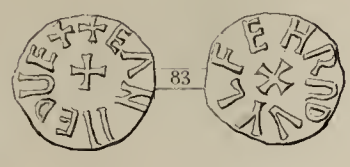






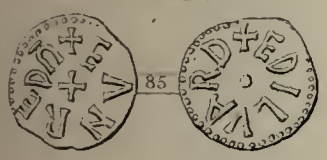








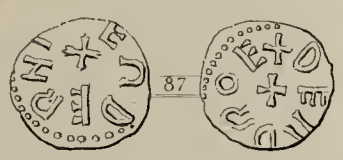
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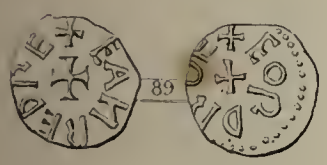
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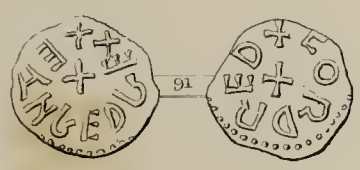
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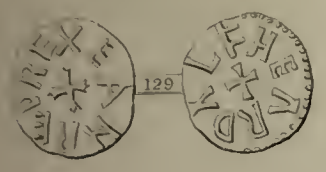
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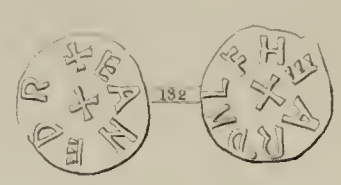
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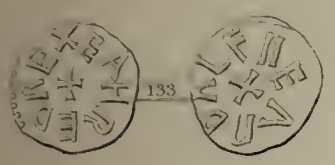
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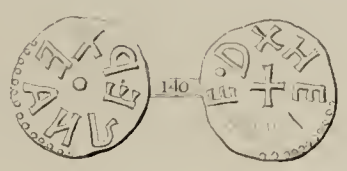


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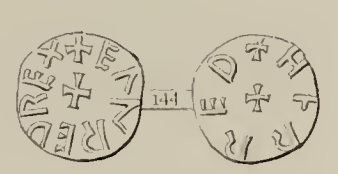


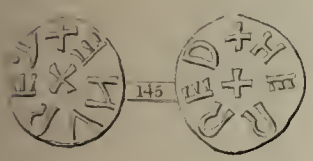




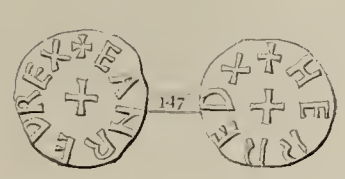






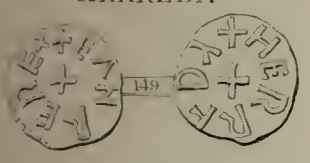








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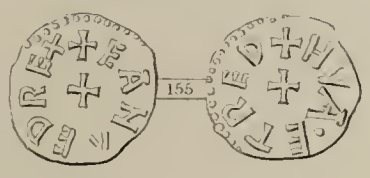


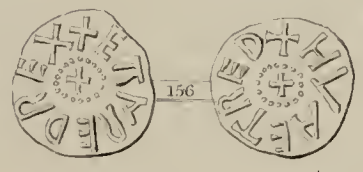


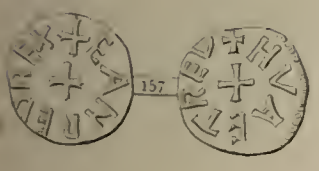
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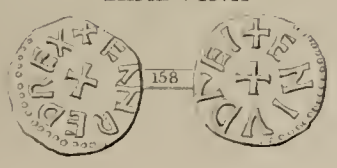
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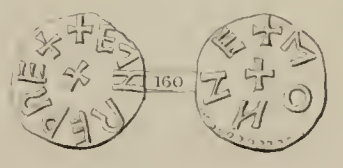


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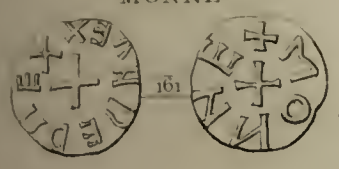


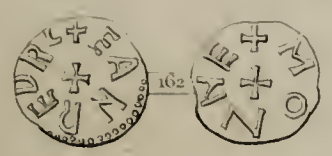
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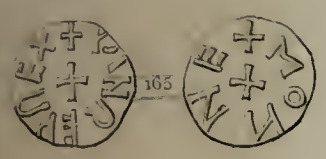
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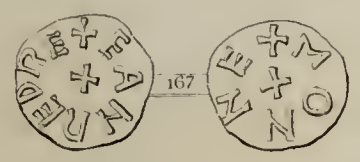




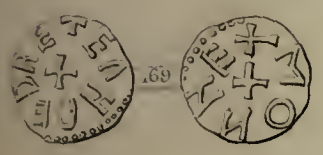




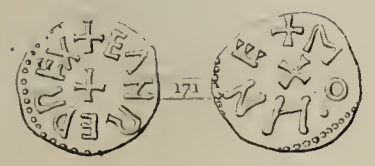




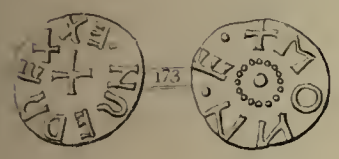




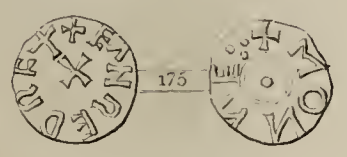




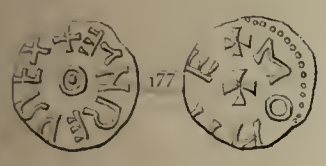


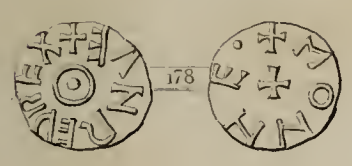


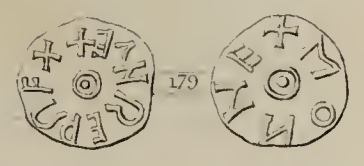








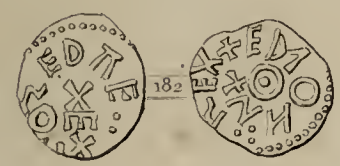






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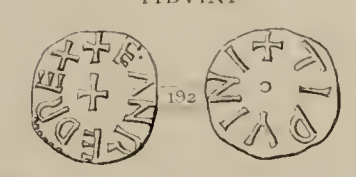


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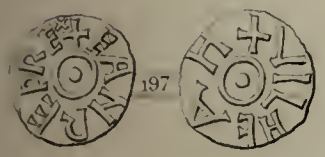

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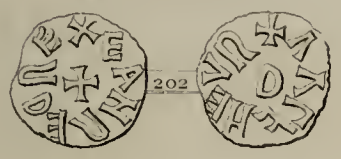

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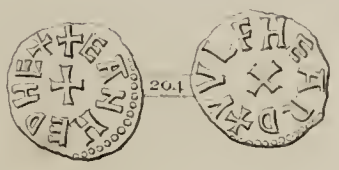

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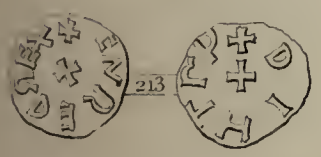

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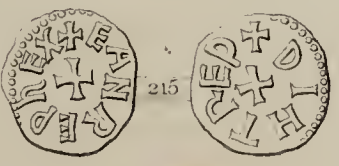

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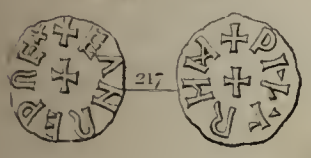
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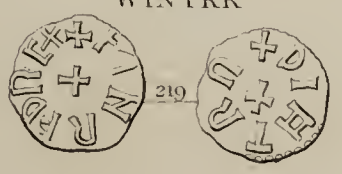

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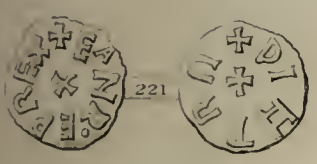

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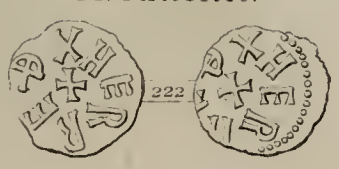
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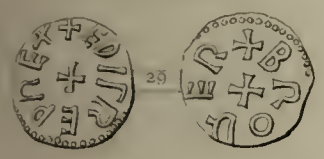
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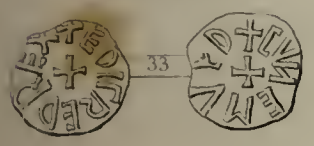
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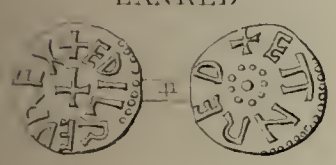




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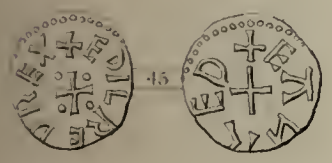
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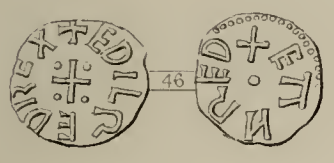






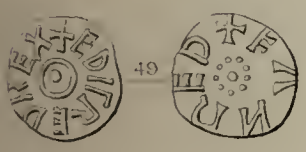








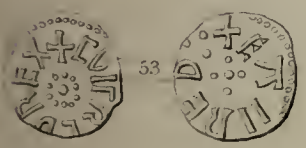








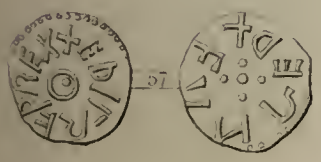


















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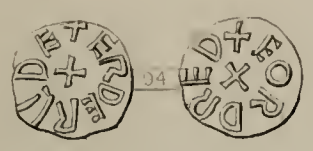
F. Basire s.

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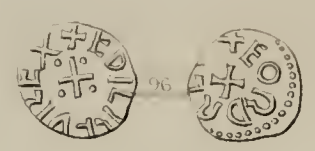
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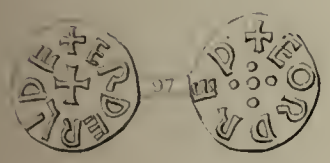
EORDRED


93


94


95

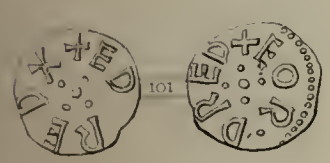

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98

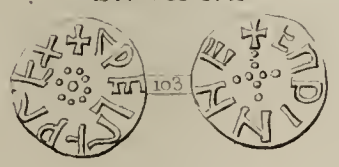

99


100


101


102 *

ERWINNE


103

EVDRTEDA

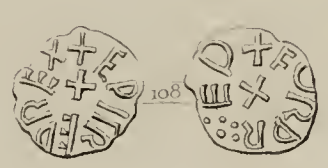

104

FORDRED


105


106


107


108


109


110


111

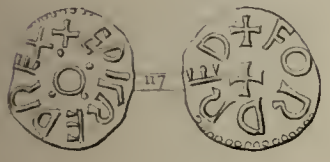

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113


114


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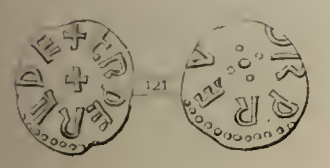

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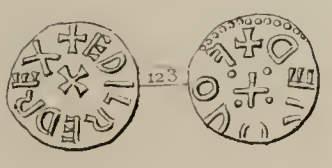

118


119


120


121


122


123


124

* This Coin belongs to Eanred, and should have been amongst the Coins of that King. J.A

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ETHELRED.

FORDRED

125 126 127 128

129 130 131 132

GADVTES HNIFVLA

133 134 135 136

HVNLAF LEODEGN

137 138 139 140

LEOFDEG

141 142 143 144

145 146 147 148

LEOFDEGN

149 150 151 152

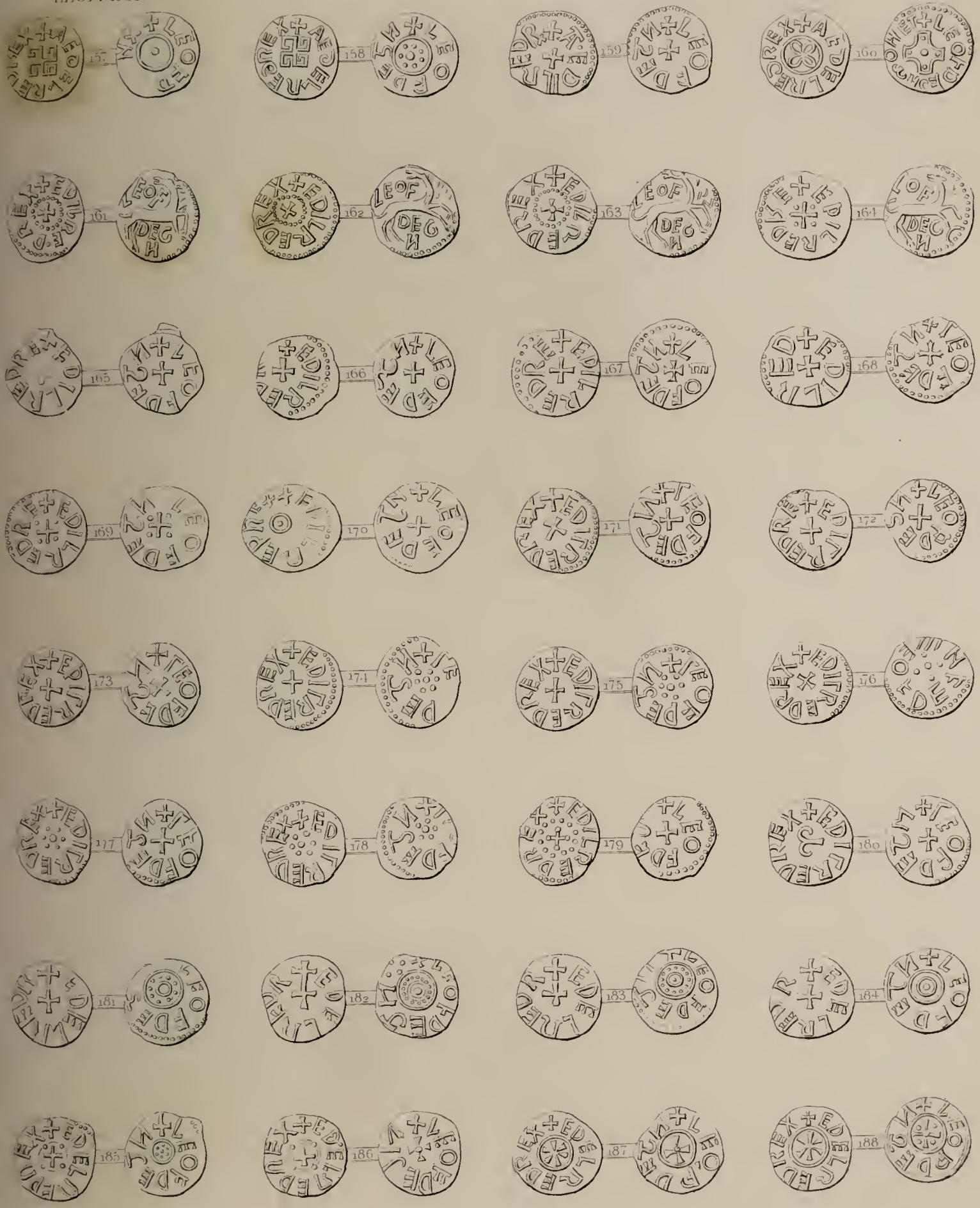
153 154 155 156

J.d Basire sc

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1831.

ETHELRED.

LEOFDEGN



Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1834

ETHELRED.

LEOFDEGN

189 190 191 192

193 194 195 196

197 198 199 200

201 202 203 204

LEOFDEGNX

205 206 207 208

LEOFDEXN

209 210

LEOFDGN

211 212

MONNE

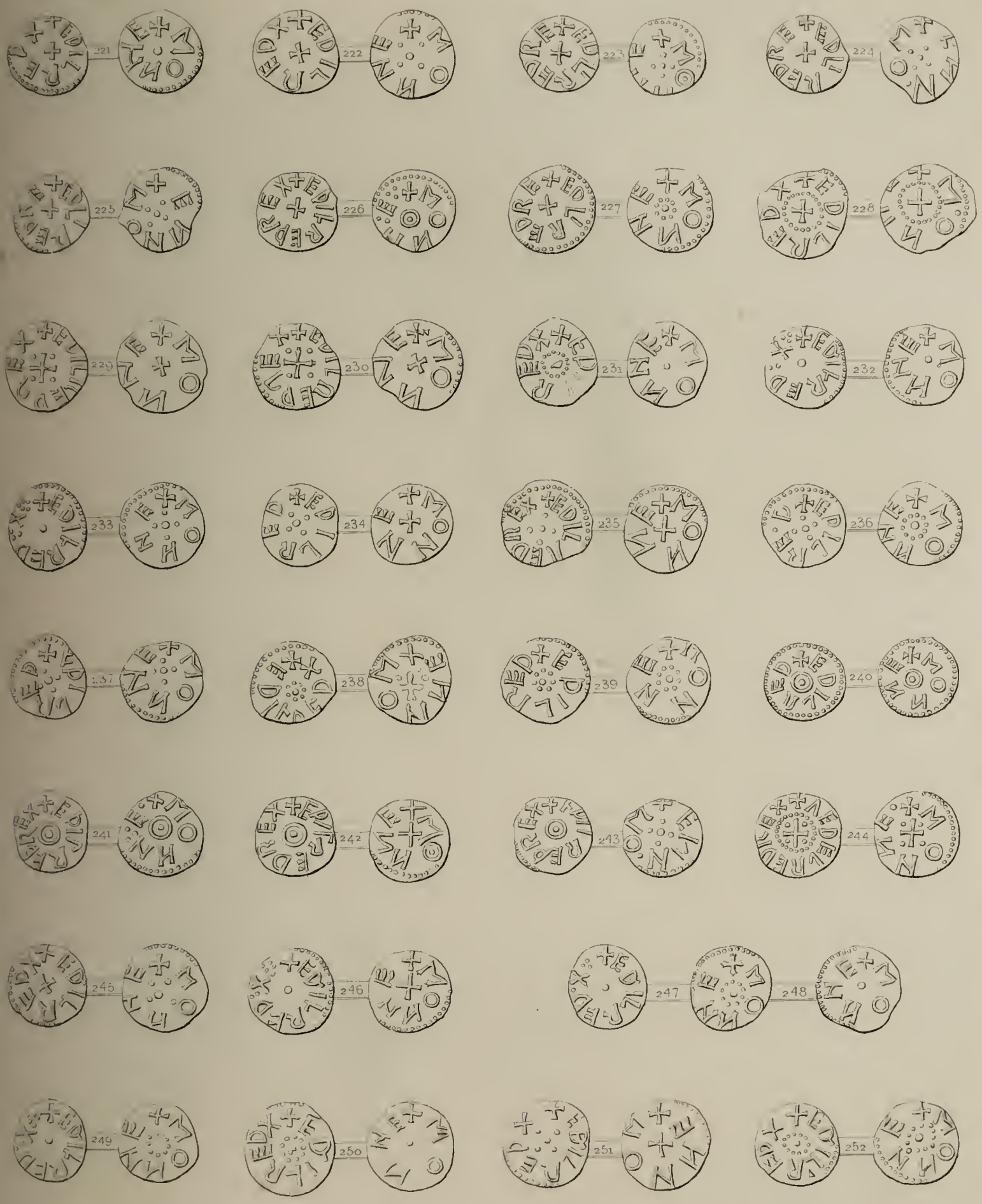
213 214 215 216

217 218 219 220

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ETHELRED.

MONNE

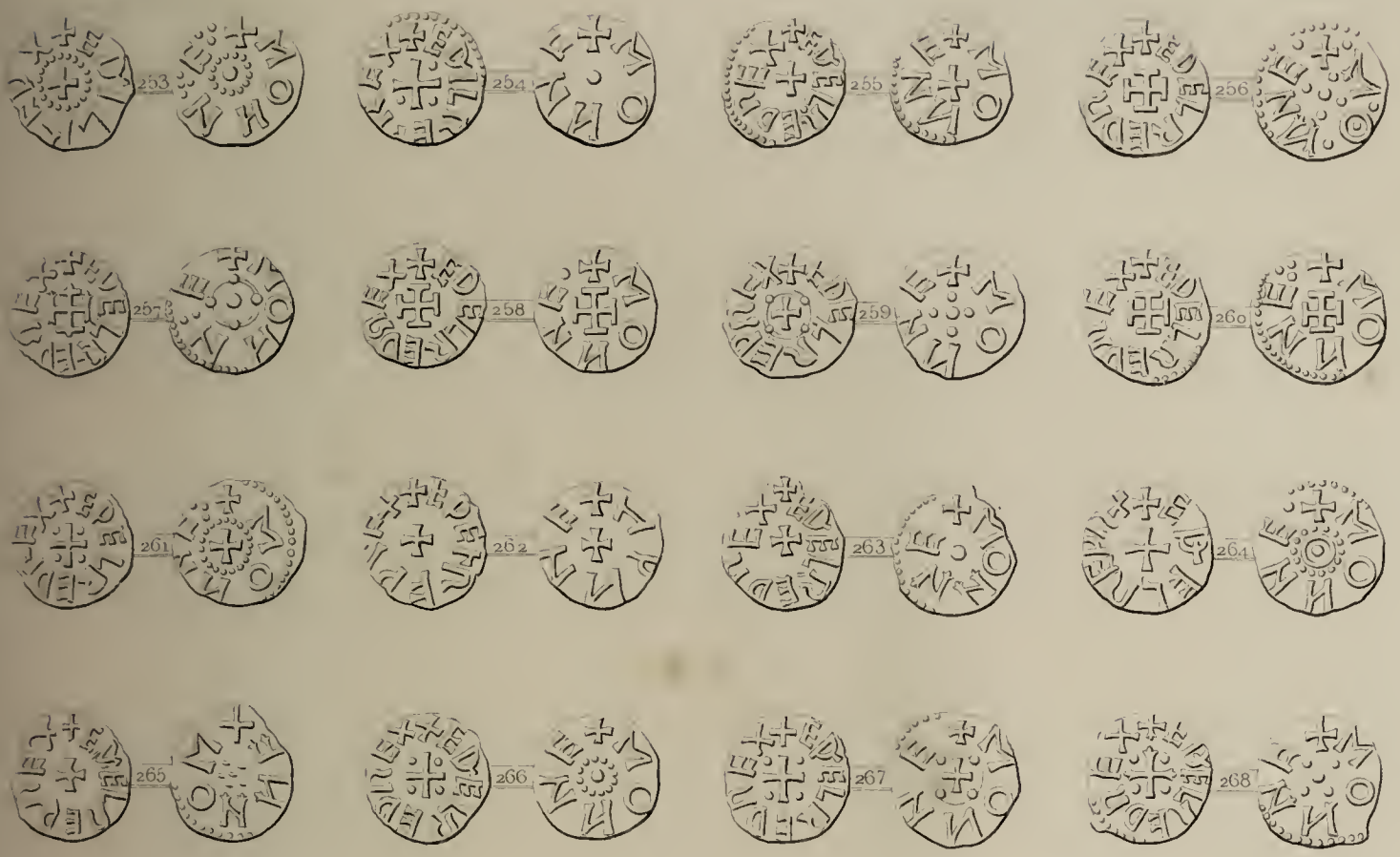


J.s Basire sc

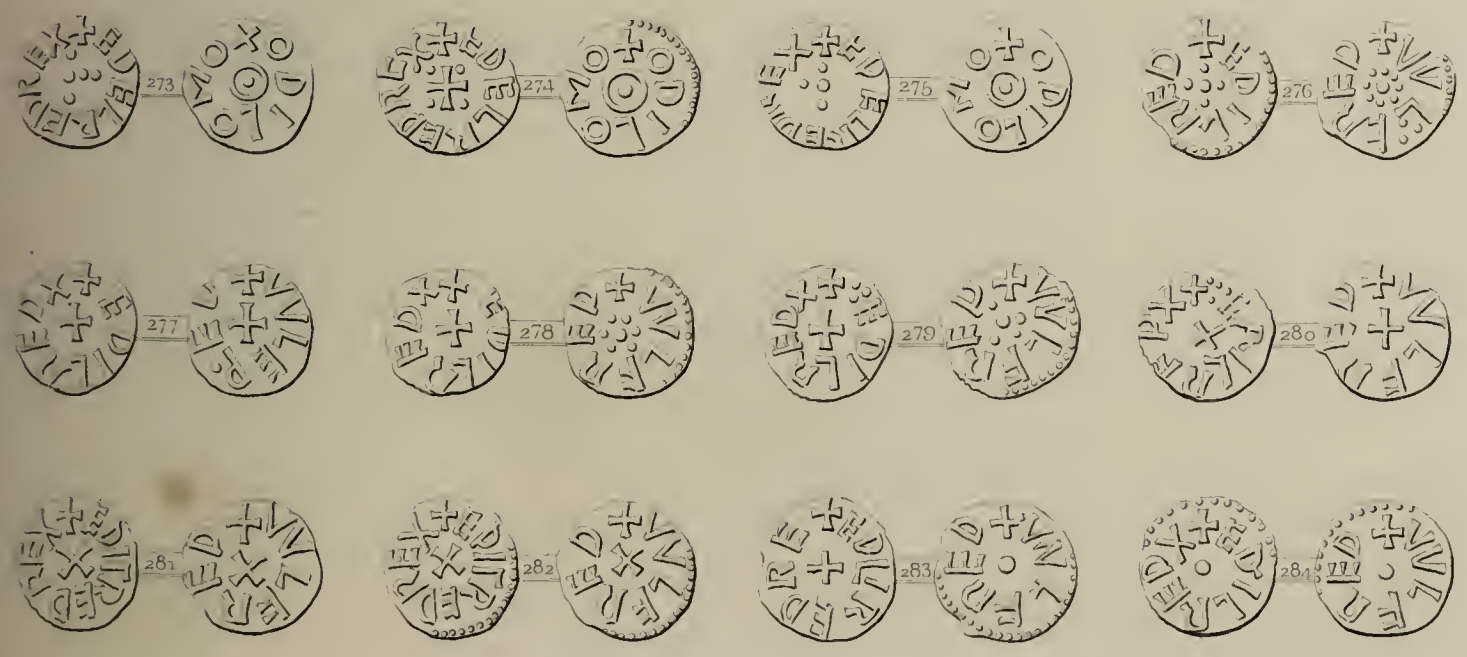
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1834

ETHELRED.

MONNE



ODILO



VVLFRED

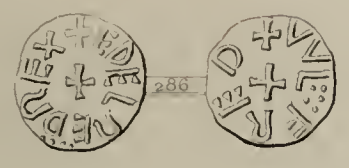
W. Besare sculp.

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ETHELRED.

VVLFRED



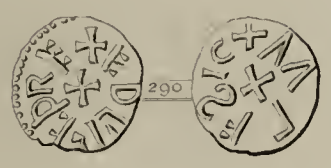


VVLFSIC









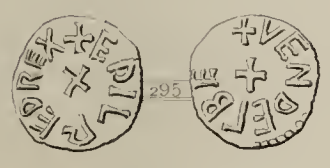
VENDELBERHT







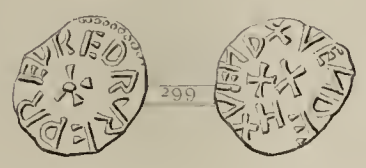










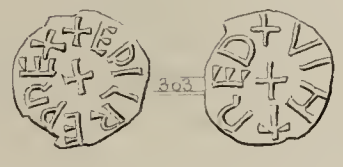




VINTRED









WINTNRD



WINTNRE

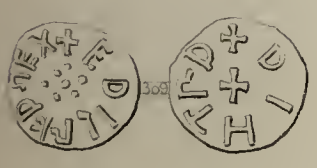


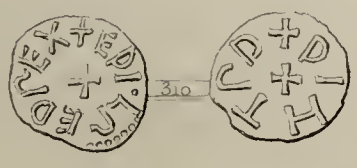
WINTRD

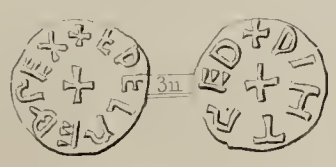


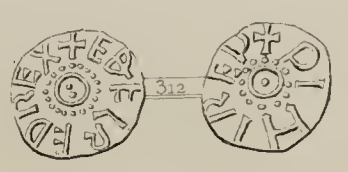


WINTRED





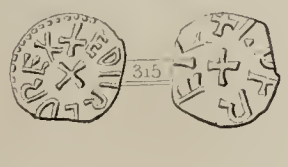




AEILREDA vel AIELREDA.





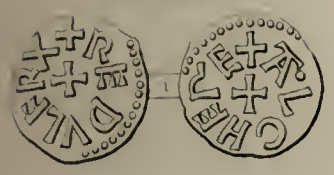


J.s Basire sculp

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REDULF.

ALGHERE



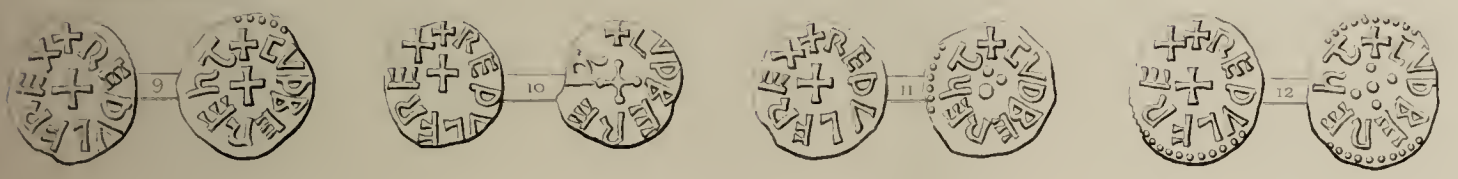
BROTHER



COENED



CVDBEREHT



EANRED



EORDRED



FORDRED



HVAETNDD



HVNLAF



MONNE



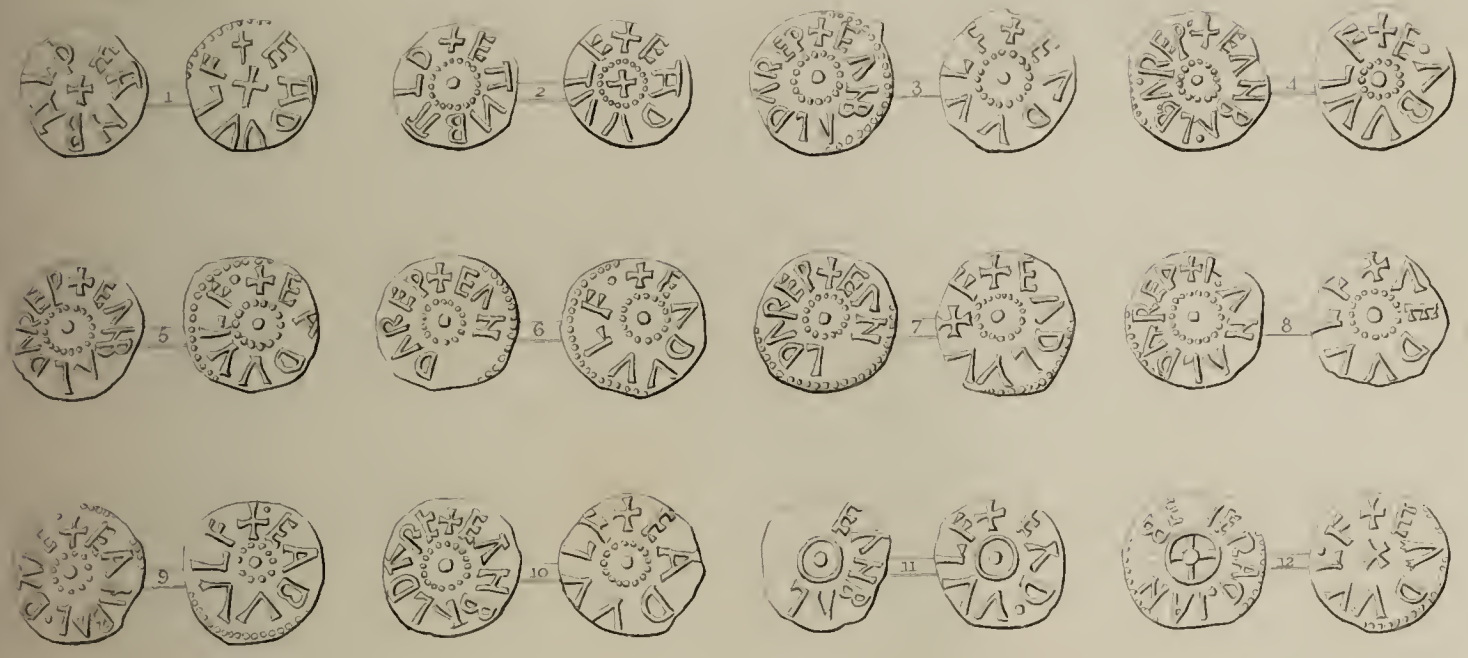
VENDELBERHT



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EANBALD.

EADVVLF



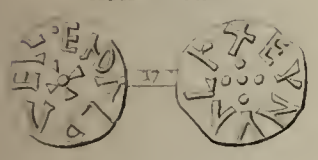
EADVVOLF



EANVLF pro CUNVLF?



EANVVLF



EODVVLF



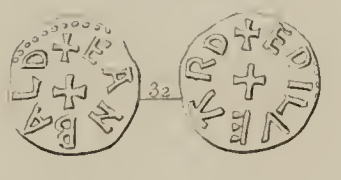
EODVVLFI



EDILVARD



EDILVEARD



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VIGMUND.

COENRED



CONERED

EDELHELM



EDILVEARD



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VIGMVND.

EDILVEARD

33 34 35 36

37 38 39 40

EDILVHARD

41 42 43 44

HVNLAF

45 46 47 48

49 50 51 52

53 54 55 56

57 58 59 60

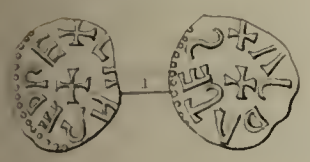
VIGMVND et VIGMVND EDILVEARD

61 62 63 64

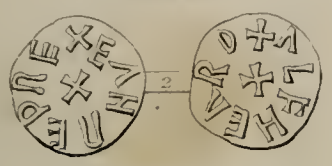
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EANRED

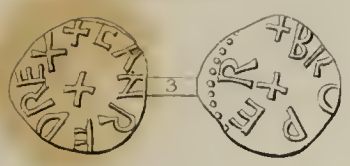
ALDATES



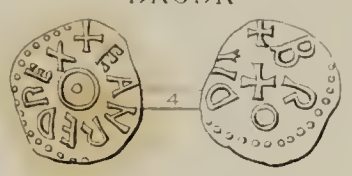
ALFHEARD

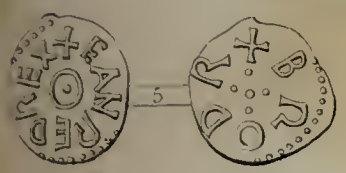


BRODER



BRODR

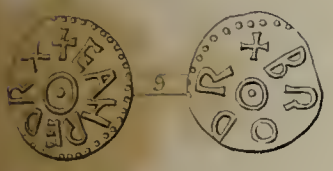


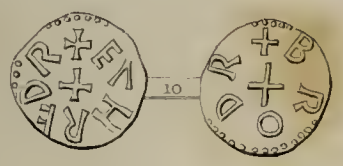






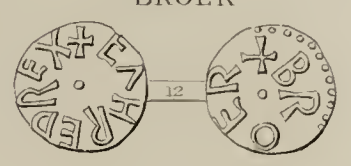




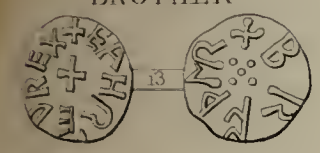




BROER



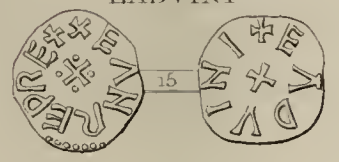
BROTHER



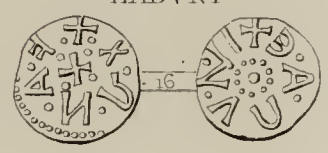
CVVNVLF



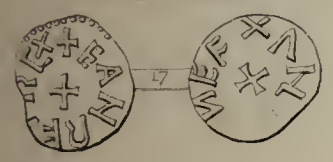
EADVINI



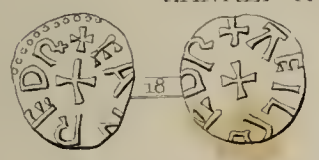
EADVNI



UNCERTAIN

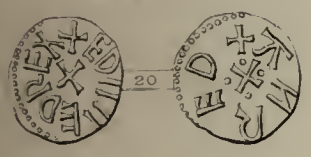


EANRED et AEILRED REGES ?

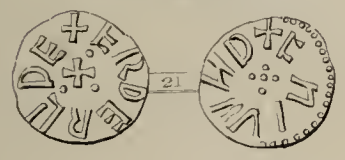




ANRED



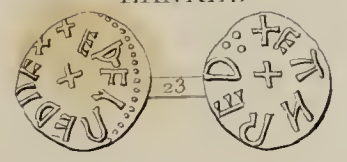
EDELRED
CVNEMVND

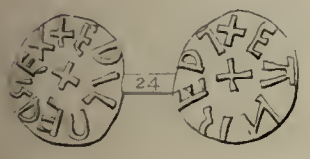


EAFDVVLF



EANRED







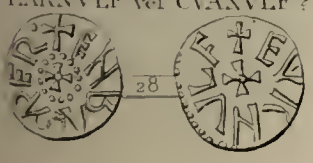
EORDRED



FORDRED



EARNVLF vel CVANVLF ?



EANBALD
EADVVOLF



Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1834

UNCERTAIN.



J.B.wire sculp

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 3rd April 1834

but from Simeon of Durham's letter, de Archiepiscopis Eboraci, we learn that it happened "EANREDO regnante," that is, sometime between the years 808 and 840.

It was during this prelacy, that the Coins bearing the name, and frequently the titles, of EANBALD, were fabricated.

Mr. Ruding has engravings with the following moneyers.

EADVLF EDILVEARD.

The Coin of EADVLF having the name only; and that of EDILVEARD having his title AREP.

Amongst the few Coins of this Prelate found at Hexham, are

CΨNVLF?	EANVLF	EODVLFI
CΨANVLF?	EANVVLF	EDILVARD
EADVVLF	EODVLF	EDILVEARD.
EADVVOLF		

Of which are new,

CΨNVLF?	EADVVLF	EODVLF
CΨANVVLF?	EANVLF	EODVLFI
EADVVOLF	EANVVLF	EDILVARD,

of all which more than single specimens occur, except CΨNVLF, CΨANVLF, and EODVLFI.

Respecting the two first I entertain some doubts whether they may not be corrupt readings of EANVVLF; the second is in the supplemental plate.

The first gives the title AREP, the second APER.

We find amongst the Coins of the moneyer EADVVLF, some with and others without the title; where the title does occur it varies, in some being AREP, in others APE.

The moneyer EANVLF gives the title AREP, and the name ENBALD.

The moneyer EANVVLF gives AER and AREP.

EODVVLF's Coins are principally without the title; where it occurs we have AR.

tibus disputarent et servitium Domini augerent, ut pro his mercedem æternæ retributionis bonam perciperent. Præcepit dominus antistes EANBALDUS recitari quinque Synodorum fidem."

For a copy of what was commanded "recitari" by Eanbald, I would refer the reader to Simeon of Durham *de Gestis Reg. Angl. sub anno*, and also to Stubbs's account of this occurrence.

In EODVVLFI's Coin it is AB.
EDILVARD gives it V and AR, the V being an A reversed.
The Coin of EDILVEARD is without the title.

VIGMVND.

EANBALD was followed in the Archiepiscopate by WULSIUS, who died in 831. Of this Prelate no stycas have been discovered, and we therefore pass to his successor.

VIGMUND, WYMUND, or WIMOND, accepted the Pallium on the death of Wulsius. Nothing occurred during his prelacy of importance sufficient to warrant its being recorded in the pages of history, and the Chroniclers are therefore uniformly barren of all information. He died in 854.[1]

Mr. Ruding gives the following moneyers:

COENRED	EDILVEARD	FROINNE
EDILHARD	EULPHELM	HVNLAF.

Amongst those at Hexham, are

COENRED	EDELHELM	EDILVHARD
CONERED, pro COENRED?	EDILVEARD	HVNLAF

not having EDILHARD, EVLPHELM, or FROINNE.

With respect to EDILHARD we have probably the same in EDILVHARD, both being corruptions of EDILVEARD; and I am strongly inclined to think that EULPHELM has been misread for EDELHELM. Of all the moneyers there are numerous specimens. Where the title occurs it varies: thus we have on the coins of COENRED, IREP. AREP. and some are without any title, as are all those of EDELHELM. On the Coins of EDILVEARD we have AREP. APEP. IPEP. IREP. IRER. and EREP. and find none without. HUNLAF gives the title IR, and in some instances the coins have only VIGMUND. One of the Coins of the moneyer EDELHELM is curiously struck, having part of the Archbishop's and his own name on each side, and two coins of VIGMUND shew the curious circumstance of the Prelate's name and title on the obverse and reverse. We also find a Coin having the moneyer's name EDILVEARD on both sides, which may belong to this Prelate.

[1] Anno gratiæ 854, defuncto Wymondo Ebor. Archiepiscopo Wlferus successit. *Matt. West.*

Wvlfhere.

Although the series of Coins found at Hexham closes with Vigmund, yet, as money was coined during this prelacy, the following short notice respecting Wulfhere may not be uninteresting, more particularly as he was the last Archbishop of whom any Stycas are known.

Wlfhere, Vulfhere "pallium suscepit,"[m] on the death of Vigmund in 854. In his prelacy the great battle between the Northumbrians and the Northmen was fought at York, during which, as we find in Simeon's Letter on the Archbishops, "Remotius se agebat episcopus Vulferius apud Addingeham in occidentali parte Eboraci in valle quæ vocatur Hiververdale, super ripam fluminis Hwert, inter Oteleiam et castellum de Scipetum."

In 872 the Northumbrians conspired against Egbert, whom they had elected King on the slaughter of their sovereigns Osbercht and Aella, and drove him, with the Archbishop, from the country.[n] On the death of Egbert, however, in the following year, Wulfhere was again restored to his church,[o] which he governed until his decease in 892.[p]

Mr. Ruding gives engravings of three stycas of Wulfhere, with V Vlfred as moneyer.

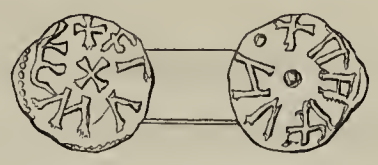
Amongst the Coins are some which I have not been able to appropriate. These have, therefore, been placed at the end under the head of uncertain. There are two, however, which may claim more particular notice, and about which some doubt exists. On one, the legend on the obverse reads Atvvvlf, and, unless we consider it as an orthographical variation of Eardvvlf, we cannot assign it to any Northumbrian king.

m "Anno Dominicæ incarnationis dccccliv Wlfere Archiepiscopus pallium suscepit." *Simeon de Gestis Reg. Angl.*

n "Anno dccclxxij. Northumbri suum regem Egbertum et suum Archiepiscopum Wlfere expulerunt." *Ibid.*

o "Anno dccclxxiij. Egbertus rex Northanhymbrorum moriens successorem habuit Ricsig qui regnavit tribus annis; et Wlfere in suum Archiepiscopatum receptus est." *Ibid.*

p "Anno dcccxcij. Wlfeae Archiepiscopus Eboracensis obiit anno sui Archiepiscopatus xxxix." *Ibid.* "Anno 892. Wlfere Archiepiscopus Eboracensis obiit anno præsulatus sui xxxix." *Chron. Mailros.*



The confused manner in which the letters on the reverse are placed, renders it impossible to decypher the name of the moneyer. Should it belong to a king, ETHELWULF,[q] who succeeded on the death of his father, the great EGBERT, in 836, is probably the only one who could claim it. He was, however, entirely unconnected with the Northern kingdom; and if this really is a coin of his, the discovery at Hexham will be of much greater importance than hitherto imagined; inasmuch as it would show that this description of money, heretofore considered as confined to Northumberland, was coined in other parts of the heptarchy. ETHELWULF was deprived of his dominions in 856, and died in 857. On the obverse of the other, we read EÐELB. AP, evidently the name of an Archbishop, with his title. The moneyer's name is EANRED.



If the name could be considered as a contraction for ETHELBALD, the coin might with much plausibility be given to ETHELBALD, who succeeded WULFHERE in the Archbishopric of York. From the state of the coin, and the relative positions of the letter L and its immediate successor, we may safely conclude that the last letter is the remaining half of a B, and not a D, as would at first sight appear; such being the fact, any difficulty which might have attended the abbreviation EÐELD is overcome. Our former conjecture as to the date of the concealment of the coins would, on the establishment of this appropriation, be of course overturned, and the period fixed twenty years later.

Amongst the uncertain Coins three are found with the legend EVDI REX on the obverse. From the remainder, nothing in the least satisfactory can be made out. It is not improbable that the practice of counterfeiting the Coinage might exist, and that these may be the work of forgers.

[q] See remark in a former note upon the modes of spelling ETHELRED.

XVII. *A Letter from* John Gage, *Esq. Director, to Sir* Henry Ellis, *Secretary, accompanying extracts from the Household Book of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.*

Read 6th June, 1833.

Lincoln's Inn.

My dear Sir,

THORNBURY, in Gloucestershire, rebuilt by Edward, Duke of Buckingham, is a remarkable example of the mixed architecture of the Castle and the Hall; in which, as far as the design was carried into execution, military and civil conveniences were happily united. In the book[a] of the survey of the Duke of Buckingham's lands, we have the following general description of the place, at the time of the tragic death of the noble owner.

"Thornburye. The Manor-place. The *Manor* or *Castell* ther standeth on the north side of the p'ishe churche, having an ynnerwarde, and an utterwarde iiij square, the commyng and entering into the said ynnerwarde is on the west side. The south side is fully fynished w^t^ curious workes and stately loggings. The said weste side and north side be but buylded to oon chambre height. All thees works being of fair assheler, and so coverde w^t^ a fals rove of elme, and the same coverde with light slate.

"The este side conteyning the hall and other houses of office is all of the oolde buylding and of an homely facon.

"The utterwarde was intended to have been large, w^t^ many loggings, whereof the foundacon on the north and west side is taken and brought up nigh to laying on a floor; the window frames, and cewnes with other like things are wrought of free stone, and the residue of rough stoon caste with lyme and sande.

[a] In the Chapter House, Westminster.

"Garden. On the south side of the said inner warde is a proper garden, and about the same a goodly galery conveying above and beneth from the principall loggings booth to the chapell and p'ishe churche, the utter part of the said gallery being of stoon imbattled, and the ynner parte of tymbre covered w^t^ slate.

"On the este side of the said *Castell* or *Manor* is a goodly gardeyn to walke ynne cloosed w^t^ high walles imbattled. The conveyance thider is by the gallery, above and beneth, and by other privie waies.

"Beside the same privie gardeyn is a large and a goodly orcharde full of yonge grafftes, well loden w^t^ frute, many rooses, *and other pleasures;* and in the same orcharde ar many goodly alies to walke ynne oppenly: and rounde aboute the same orcharde is covered on a good height, other goodly alies w^t^ roosting places coverde thoroughly w^t^ white thorne and hasill, and w^t^ oute the same on the utter parte the said orcharde is inclosed w^t^ sawen pale, and w^t^ oute that, ditches and quickset heggs.

"The New Park. From out of the said orcharde ar divers posterons in sundry places, at pleasur to goe and entre into a goodly parke newly made, called the New Parke, having in the same no great plenty of wood, but many heggs rowes of thorne and great elmes.

"The same parke conteynneth nigh upon iiij myles about, and in the same be vij^c^ der or mor.

"The herbage ther is goodly and plentious, and besides finding of the said vij^c^ dere, by estimacon, being none otherwise charged, woll make ten poundes towardes the keepers wags and fees.

"The late Duke of Bukkingham haith incloosed into the said parke divers mennes landes as well of freeholde as copyhoolde, and noe recompence as yet is made for the same, and lately he hath also encloosed in the same parke ij fair tenements w^t^ barnes and other houses well buylded w^t^ stoon and slate, with v^c^ acres of lande, and as yet the teñnts contynue in, wherein of necessite some redresse muste be, either in amoving the said teñnts from out of the parke w^t^ convenient recompense, or elles in taking inne the pale as it stode afore, &c.

"The Park, called Marlwood. Nigh to the said Newe Parke ther is another parke called Marlwood, noething being between them but the

bredth of an high waie, which parke is proper and a parkely ground conteynnyng about nigh iij myles, and in the same parke at the leaste be iij^{c} dere, &c.

"The Parke called Eastwood. There is another goodly parke called Estewood, w^{t} in ij myles of the said Castell or Manor, conteynning about vij miles, being a goodly and a parke like grounde, having in hit at the leiste v^{c} fallow dere and fifty red dere, &c.

"The Conyngry. Item, there is a Conyngry, called Milborowe heth, graunted by the king to John Houteleye, whereof ther is great exclamacon for cloosing ynne of freehooldes and copyhooldes, now being sette by the said John for iiij^{li} and by the old presidents was but at iij^{s}. iiij^{d}." [b]

Leland, in his Itinerary, gives us a brief notice of Thornbury Castle, and in Rudder's History of Gloucestershire we have a more minute survey of it taken in the time of James I.

The broken shield of Stafford bearing the chevron of gold, still hangs over the high arch of the gate-house, where the name remains inscribed of Edward, Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton; while the golden knot, the silver swan, the blue ermined mantle, and the spotted antelope, well known badges of the family, continue to adorn the frieze.

> —— My state, now, will but mock me.
> When I came hither, I was Lord High Constable
> And Duke of Buckingham; now, poor Edward Bohun.
>
> Hen. VIII. Act II. Sc. 1.

The melancholy contrast will be felt more strongly as the eye, in traversing the inner court, rests upon the fair oriels, the turrets with their varied parapets, the beautiful clustered chimneys, and the tracery of windows in many forms. This palace rose with the smiles of King Henry VII.[c] when the fortunes of the Duke of Buckingham were at their height, and before it

[b] The rents and farms decayed in the Lordship of Thornbury by the inclosures taken into the three parks amounted to 48*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* The total value of the Lordship was 238*l.* 11*s.* $5\frac{3}{4}$*d.* exclusive of Filmer Wood, containing a hundred acres valued at 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The number of the manrood was 175 and there were many bondmen of good substance.

[c] Before the close of the reign of King Henry VII. the Duke of Buckingham was becoming an object of jealousy to the Crown.

was finished, the breath of a new monarch reduced the whole to ruins, involving in the same fate all the proud titles, and hereditary honours of ages. The power of Buckingham, his popularity, the princely blood in his veins, but above all, his independent spirit, were sufficient to awaken the jealousy of a King like Henry VIII, and his vast possessions were alone enough to tempt the avarice of a less greedy sovereign. As to his alliances, Eleanor, his Duchess, was eldest daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland: his only son, Henry, Lord Stafford, was married to Ursula Pole, granddaughter of George, Duke of Clarence: and of his three daughters, Elizabeth was wife of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Katharine of Ralph Earl of Westmoreland, and Mary of George Lord Abergavenny. The mother of King Henry VII., Margaret of Richmond, was matched with Lord Henry Stafford, the Duke's brother; and his sisters, Anne and Elizabeth, were married, the one to Sir Walter Herbert, and on his decease, to George Earl of Huntingdon; and, the other to Robert Earl of Sussex.

It was at Thornbury that some of the overt acts of the Duke of Buckingham's treason were laid. We do not, however, follow him to this Castle for the sake of penetrating the mystery hanging over his last days; but to observe him in happier times, when he kept house here, and was called

> ——— Bounteous Buckingham,
> The mirror of all courtesy.
>
> HEN. VIII. Act II. Sc. 1.

This we are, in some degree, enabled to do, by opening the pages of the Stafford Household-book for the Christmas quarter in the year 1507, the 23d year of the reign of Hen. VII., a valuable record belonging to the Right Honourable William Lord Bagot, exhibited by his Lordship to the Society in 1824.

Lord Bagot having prefixed to the MS. a description of its contents, it would be an injustice to his Lordship if we did not avail ourselves of his permission to lay before the Society his Lordship's own able and accurate statement. It will serve as the best preface we can give to the few extracts and version proposed to be made.

Lord Bagot's Summary.

"This Household-book of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, contains daily entries of housekeeping expenses from November the 5th 23d of Hen. VII. to the 22d of March following. The family during that time were chiefly in residence at Thornbury Castle, in the County of Gloucester, but from the 28th of January to the 28th of February, visited the Metropolis and its neighbourbood. The account is written in the clerk-like hand and abbreviated Latin of the period, and exhibits each day's expenditure of provisions, with the value of the same respectively, under the heads of pantry, cellar, buttery, kitchen, chandlery, and stable.

"The deliveries from the pantry consist of loaves and manchets, and those from the cellar of wines, whilst ale was supplied from the buttery; meat and salt fish *(de stauro domini)*, with achates or fresh provisions, come under the head of kitchen deliveries. The chandlery supplies Paris candles, sises, prickets, and quarriars. To these is added an item for fuel, in coal and charcoal to the hall and parlour *(camera)*.

"In the margin is regularly noted the amount of the individuals at dinner and supper, under the classes of 'gen.' gentry, 'val.' *(valecti* or upper servants), and 'garc.' (grooms), to which are added the names of the principal guests and number of their attendants. Other inferior characters are likewise thus recorded, as a hermit, a bondman, a joiner, a brick-maker, an embroiderer with two assistants, a Bristol goldsmith, and two hardwaremen, &c. most of the artificers being required to prepare for Christmas, which appears to have been kept with most magnificent hospitality during the whole twelve days.

"The feast of the Epiphany was celebrated by a party of 459, out of which 134 were gentry. The whole entertainment is worth specifying; but some idea respecting its abundance may be conceived when 36 rounds of beef are mentioned amongst the more substantial articles of provision. This entertainment (in which the extra services of two Bristol cooks were required) was enlivened by the presence of four players from Wressill (the seat of the Duke's brother-in-law, the Earl of Northumberland, who compiled the well known Northumberland Household-book, which, though

valuable as a code of sumptuary laws, is far less interesting than the picture of actual life exhibited in this volume) two minstrels, six trumpeters, and four waits from Bristol. And to render the religious services of the day impressive, the Abbat of Kingswood was present, and the Chaplain of the Castle was aided at mass by eighteen singing men and nine boys as choristers.

"In the journey to London the party consisted of twenty gentry, with fourteen upper and twenty-nine lower servants, making a total of sixty-three persons, their route lying through Chippenham, Marlborough, Newbury, Reading, Colnbrook, and Brentford. Provisions for this journey, which occupied four days, were partly carried and partly purchased on the road. The Lord's horses on this occasion were twenty-eight in number, and those of his servants fifty-nine; the former are described as four coursers, eight hobbies, three sumpter horses, one mail horse, seven carriage horses, four hacknies, and one for a groom.

"Richmond was a place occasionally resorted to by the Duke's family. The Duke returned to Thornbury by the above-named route, attended only by three gentlemen, a valet, and two grooms, and was presented with two pitchers of Gascony wine by the Abbat of Reading. Though so small a company came with his Grace from London, the party at Thornbury Castle was soon augmented to above one hundred; and the same festive enjoyments appear to have awaited all who entered the gates of that magnificent Baronial edifice.

"Wild fowl of all descriptions appear to have been plentiful and much in use. Lamb (from occurring so early in the year as the 6th of January) must have been house fed."

"Blithfield, 24 February 1823."

That in these remarks of Lord Bagot we have the spirit of the book, will readily be felt when it is considered how little variety a series of daily liveries of household provision can in themselves possess. Hence, being satisfied that his Lordship has adverted to the most remarkable incidents throughout the MS., it is deemed sufficient to confine the extracts proposed to be made, to two or three entire accounts which appear to have most

interest. The accounts chosen are those for Christmas and Twelfth Days, and those for a Fast day in Advent, and on the journey of the Duke of Buckingham to London. These, it is conceived, will answer the objects of the Society, and sufficiently explain the nature of the rest of the Household Accounts.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

JOHN GAGE.

Sir Henry Ellis, K. G. H.
&c. &c.

Thornbury.

Pn'd. Gen. xx iiij xv; Val. C.vij; Garc. xx iiij xvij
Cen. Gen. xx iiij iiij; Val. Cxiiij; Garc. xx iiij xij
} C xx ij. iiij. xiiij.

Pñt. Pñd. Dñam Annā sc̃. xiiij. Abb'tem de Kaynshm̃ sc̃. vij. W. Walwyn sc̃. iij. J. Seyntgeorge sc̃. ij. Roƀtū P'ticille sc̃. ij. Cancell. sc̃. v. H. Blunt. sc̃. ij. Joh. Burrell sc̃. ij. Balliv. de Hatfeld sc̃. ij. Ball. de Okehm̃ sc̃. ij. Balliv. de Navisby se ipso. Balliv. de Rowell sc̃. ij. E. Garth sc̃. ij. ij al. [e] s' vien. de Penshurst. Henr. Dunston. ij le Mynstrelles. vj Trumpettes. iiij Lusor̃ Dñi de Wrisell. H. Boughey sc̃. ij. Rec̃pt. de Nuport sc̃. ij. T. Morgan sc̃. iij. ij al. s'vien. Dñi de Nuport. cū j.[f] famul. viij s'vien.

F'm Nat'lis D'ni.

Die Sabb'i xxv^to Die Decembris. *Panetr.* ex.

iiij C. xx iiij xj pan. iij q̃rt. ij manc. fr'i. p'cij xiij^{s}. viij^{d}. ob. Un. jant. xv pan. di. & j m. ut in dieb3 p'ceden. ac Thes. j p. Abƀt. de Kaynshm̃ j p. j m. Gen'os. Capell. viij p. Gen'os. extran. xij p. In fercul. C ij. xx iiij. xiiij p. Sissor. xxxiiij p. Reg. lxx. Salt. vj p. Coq̃n. pro opib3 x pan. Chaũd. v p. Le Urs. ij p. El. ij p. Potac. xv p. di. scilt. Extran. &c. Lib'ac. xv p. iij q̃rt. *Cellr.* ex. xj sex.[c] iij q̃rt. vini gasc. p'c. xij^{s}. j pich. di. vini de Royn. p'c. xv^{d}. ac di. pich. de Malves. p'cij vj^{d}. Un. jant. di. pich. In fercul. j sex. j pich. vini gasc. & j pich. vini de Royn. p Waller. Nutric. di. pich. magn. cam'a j sex. aull. iiij sex. ij pich. p Arnold. Diet. di. pich. vini gasc. j q̃rt. vini de Royn. & j q̃rt. de Malves. Coqñ. pro opib3 iij pich. Ad hostiū. ij sex. iij pich. Lib'ac. ij pich. j q̃rt. vini gasc. ac j q̃rt. de Malvesey. *Butt.* ex. in cervisia. Clxxj lag. [d] j q̃rt. p'c. xij^{s}. vij^{d}. q. Un. jant. xvij lag. iij q̃rt. In fercul. lxxiij lag. di. Regard. xxxix lag. Coq̃n. pro opib3 v lag. Potac. vj lag. iij q̃rt. Ad hostiũ. xx lag. Lib'ac. ix lag. j q̃rt.

[c] Sextarius Vini, mensura continens quatuor galones in Fleta, lib. 2. c. 12, § 11, quarterium vocant Londinenses, apud Spelman. Anglice *quart bottle.* In libro quotidiano Henrici Comitis Northumberland vocatur *Pottle.*

[d] Lag. pro lagena. Mensura liquidorum continens minor sexta parte congij, Hebraice *làg.* Leviticus XIV.—Anglice *flaggon.*

[e] Servientes, non de pane et mensa, sed vassalli, tenentes de manerio de Penshurst, cujus Dominus fuit Dux Buckingham, *feudatorii.*

[f] Famulus est ministralis, ut scutifer, Anglice *esquire;* est superioris ordinis quam serviens. primo nobiles, secundo milites, famuli, servientes.—Du Cange.

Thornbury.

Dined { 95 Gentry, 107 Yeomen or Valets, 97 Garcons[g] or grooms } 294.
Supped { 84 Gentry, 114 Valets, 92 Garcons }

Present at dinner, the Lady Anne and 14 with her. The Abbat of Kaynsham and 7, W. Walwyn and 3, J. St. George and 2, Robert P'ticille and 2, the Chancellor and 5, H. Blunt and 2, John Burrell and 2, the bailiff of Hatfield and 2, the bailiff of Oakham and 2, the bailiff of Navesby by himself, the bailiff of Rowell and 2, E. Garth and 2, 2 others doing service from Penshurst, Henry Dunston, 2 minstrels, 6 trumpets, 4 players of the Lord of Wrisell, H. Boughey and 2, the receiver of Newport and 2, T. Morgan and 3, 2 others doing service to the Lord of Newport, with 1 attendant, 8 doing service to the Lord of

The feast of the Nativity.

Saturday the 25th December. Pantry.

Spent, 491 loaves, 3 quarters, 2 manchets of wheat, price 13*s.* 8½*d.* whereof, in breakfasts, 15 loaves and a half and 1 manchet, as in preceding days; and to the treasurer 1 loaf; the Abbat of Kaynsham 1 loaf, 1 manchet; the gentlemen of the chapel 8 loaves; gentlemen strangers 12 loaves; in messes 294 loaves; to the tailor 34 loaves; the surveyor 70, the salter 6, loaves; the kitchen for works 10 loaves; the chandler 5 loaves; the bear[h] 2 loaves; alms 2 loaves; drinkings 15 loaves and a half, that is, to strangers, &c.; liveries 15 loaves 3 quarters. *Cellar*, Spent, 11 pottles and 3 quarts of Gascony wine, price 13*s.*; 1 pitcher and a half of Rhenish wine, price 15*d.* and half a pitcher of Malvoisey, price 6*d.*, whereof, in breakfasts half a pitcher; in messes 1 pottle, 1 pitcher of Gascony wine, and 1 pitcher of Rhenish wine delivered by Waller; to the nurse half a pitcher; the great chamber 1 pottle; the hall 4 pottles, 2 pitchers, by Arnold; in diets half a pitcher of Gascony wine, 1 quart of Rhenish wine and 1 quart of Malvoisey; to the kitchen for works 3 pitchers; the butler 2 pottles, 3 pitchers; liveries 2 pitchers 1 quart of Gascony wine and 1 quart of Malvoisey. *Buttery*, Spent, in ale 171 flaggons, 1 quart, price 13*s.* 7¼*d.* whereof in breakfasts, 17 flaggons 3 quarts; in messes 73 flaggons and a half; to the surveyor 39 flaggons; the cook for works 5 flaggons; drinkings, 6 flaggons 3 quarts; the butler 20 flaggons; liveries 9 flaggons 1 quart.

g The "Liber Loci Benedicti de Whalley" contains many quaint sermons which appear to have been preached in the Abbey Church, and in the exordium of one of them the place appropriated for the *Garcons* at feasts is particularly pointed out, "Fratres mei dilecti, cum imperatores, reges, et alij plerique inferiores prandere volunt, tubis convocant commessuros. Congregati igitur et discumbentes, quidam cum architriclinio, quidam cum mediocribus de populo, quidam vero cum *garcionibus* in aule medio, vel exterius in atrio, priusquam comedant orationem faciunt, sicq. gratiarum actione loti suscipiunt digustando."

h In the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII. occurs, "It'm to the Maister of the king's beres by way of Rewarde xls."

Dñi Brechon. cũ x famul.
Dm̃n' Joh̃ẽ Barton. xviij
Cl̈ic' Capell. & ix pu'os
ejusd'. Capell. iij Cissor.
iij Penulator. j Nativ.
ij de leȝ Hardwaremen
xxij de vill. xxxij de
Pr̃ia. ij Coc. de Bristol
&c.

Cena. ut in Pñd.
p't. vj.

Ext. ad { Pñd. C. $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$. ij.
Cen. C. lxxvj.

Coqn. ex. de staur. Dñi j carc. & vij rondes carn. bov. p'cij xx^{s}. ix cas. multon p'c. xvj^{s}. iiij porc. viij^{s}. ac j vitul. di. p'c. iiij^{s}. *Ach.* ex. videl̈t in iiij sign. p'c. xij^{s}. iiij auc. ij^{s}. v porcell. xx^{d}. xiiij capon. viij^{s}. xviij pull. gallin. p'c. xviij^{d}. xxj cunic'lis iij^{s}. vj^{d}. j pavon. ij^{s}. iij malardes viij^{d}. v wigions x^{d}. xij teles xij^{d}. viij castrim'g. viij^{d}. xxij snytes xij^{d}. xij volucr. gr. iij^{d}. iiij C. ov. gall. iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. xx disc. Butir. xx^{d}. x lag. lact. x^{d}. j lag. di. quacce vj^{d}. ij Lag. f'n. coct. iiij^{d}. ac herbis p'cij j^{d}. *Chu'ndr.* ex. de candell. P̈is xxxvj lb. p'c. ij^{s}. x^{d}. Sis. lxiiij p'c. xvij^{d}. quariars ij p'c. ij^{d}. ac priketts iiij p'cij iij^{d}. ob. *Aul.* & *Cam'r.* ex. de focal. vj carect. vj^{s}. ac vj q̃rt. carbon. silvestr. p'c. ij^{s}.
To^{lis} Diet.

P'nd. { Gen'os. Cxxxiiij; Val. C. $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$. viij; Garc. $\overset{xx}{\text{C}}$iij. xvij } iiij Clix.
Cen. { Gen'os. Cxxvj; Val. Clxxvj; Garc. $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ xviij }

Pn't. Pn'd.
Dnãm Annam sororem Dñi
sc̃. xv. Rob̈tum Poyntȝ milit.
sc̃. ix. Edmund Gourge milit.
sc̃. vij. Joh̃em Rodney milit.
sc̃. vj. Mauric. Barkley sc̃. ix.

Die Epiphan'.

Die Jovis vj^{to} die Januar. Panetr.
ex. vj^{c}. lxx viij pan. iij q̃rt. ij Manch. p'cij xviij^{s}. xj^{d}. q. quibȝ ex. in jantaculis xlviij pan. di. un. Dño j pan. ij Manch. Dñe ij pan. ij manc. Dño Stafford j p. j m. Dñe Anne ij p. ij m. Dño. Edwardo j. Thesaur. j. Wil̈mo Kingiston. j pan. j m. Auditor. j. Comput. di. Coquine di. Janitor. di. Stabul. ij. Gen'os. capell. viij. Gen'os. ex̃n. et Balliv. Dñi ex div's. p't. viij. Rob'to Poyntȝ milit. iiij. Edmundo Gourge milit. et Johanni Rodney milit. iij. Maurice Barkley ij p. ij manc. Jacobo Barkley et Ric̃o Barkley ij pan. ij manchettes. Fercul. iiij^{c}. lix pan. Sissor. xxxij. Regard. lxxviij. Salt. vj Coquine pro op̣ibȝ ix. Chũnd. v. Urs. ij. Elemos. iiij. Pot.

Brechon, with 10 attendants. Sir John Barton, 18 clerks of the chapel, and 9 boys of the same chapel, 3 tailors, 3 drapers, 1 bondman, 2 hardwaremen, 22 from the town, 32 from the country, 2 cooks from Bristol, &c.

Supper as at dinner, except 6.

Strangers at { dinner 182 / supper 176

Dined { 134 Gentry / 188 Yeomen or Valets / 197 Garcons or Grooms } 459.

Supped { 126 Gentry / 176 Valets / 98 Garcons }

Present at dinner.

The Lady Anne, sister of the Lord, and 15 with her; Robert Poyntz, knight, and 9; Edmund Gourge, knight, and 7; John Rodney, knight, and 6; Maurice Barkley and 9; Richard

Kitchen, Spent, of the Lord's store 1 carcase and 7 rounds of beef, price 20*s.*; 9 carcases of mutton, price 16*s.*; 4 pigs 8*s.* and 1 calf and a half, price 4*s.* *Achates*, Spent, 4 swans price 12*s.*; 4 geese 2*s.*; 5 sucking pigs 20*d.*; 14 capons 8*s.*; 18 chickens, price 18*d.*; 21 rabbits 3*s.* 6*d.*; 1 peacock 2*s.*; 3 mallards 8*d.*; 5 wigeons 10*d.*; 12 teals 12*d.*; 8 woodcocks 8*d.*; 22 snytes 12*d.*; 12 large birds 3*d.*; 400 hen's eggs 3*s.* 4*d.*; 20 dishes of butter 20*d.*; 10 flaggons of milk 10*d.*; 1 flaggon of rum 6*d.*; 2 flaggons of frumety 4*d.*; in herbs price 1*d.* *Chandlery*, Spent, of Paris candle 36lb. price 2*s.* 10*d.*, sizes 64, price 17*d.*; quarriers 2, price 2*d.* and prickets 4, price 3½*d.* *Hall* and *Great Chamber*, Spent, 6 loads of fuel 6*s.* and 6 quarters of charcoal, price 2*s.*

The whole provision.

The Epiphany.

Thursday the 6th of January. *Pantry*, Spent, 678 loaves, 3 quarters, 2 manchets, price 18*s.* 11¼*d*, from which in breakfasts, 48 loaves and a half, whereof to the Lord 1 loaf 2 manchets; the Lady 2 loaves 2 manchets; the Lord Stafford 1 loaf 1 manchet; the Lady Anne 2 loaves 2 manchets; the Lord Edward 1; the treasurer 1; William Kingston 1 loaf 1 manchet; the auditor 1; the comptroller half; the kitchen half; the porter half; the stable 2; the gentlemen of the chapel 8; gentlemen strangers and bailiffs of the Lord from divers parts 8; Robert Poyntz, knight, 4; Edmund Gourge, knight, and John Rodney, knight, 3; Maurice Barkley 2 loaves 2 manchets; James Barkley and Richard Barkley 2 loaves 2 manchets; in messes 459 loaves; to the tailor 32; the surveyor 78; the salter 6; the kitchen for works 9; the chandler 5; the bear 2; alms 4: drinkings 13

Ricu Barkley sc̃. v. Jacobũ.
Barkley sc̃. iij. Anthon. Poyntz
sc̃. iij. Thom. Welshe
sc̃. iij. Ricũ Frye sc̃. iij.
Willm̃ Kingiston sc̃. iij.
Doctor Thowr sc̃. iiij.
ij Auditor. sc̃. v. Roƀt. P'cill
sc̃. ij. Humf. Blount sc̃. ij.
Johẽm Burrell sc̃. ij.
Edward Garthe sc̃. ij.
Balliv de Hatfield. Braddok
sc̃. ij. Balliv. de Okm̃ sc̃. ij.
Balliv. de Navisby. Balliv.
de Rowell. ij tenũtes dñi
de Penshurst. j de Blichingligh.
Hugon. Boughey sc̃. ij.
Receptor. de Neuport sc̃. ij.
Willm̃ Kemys. Thom.
Morgan sc̃. iij. Willm̃
Morgan ij. al. s'vien.
dñi de Neuport. xij.
s'vien. dñi de Brechon
cum x famul. Dñm Johem
Barton cap. xviij cant. &
ix puer. capell. Receptor'
de Surr. & Kanc. sc̃. iij.
iij tenũtes dñi de Brechon.

xiij pan. di. j manc. und. Dño j m. Dñe j pan. j m. Dño Stafford. j p. j m. Dñe Anne j p. j m. Dño E. Gray di. Gen'os. exn. viij. Lib'acon. xxj pan. iij q̃rt. j manc. und. Dño j m. Dñe ij m. Dño Stafford j p. j m. Dñe Anne j p. j m. Dño Edward. j. Thesaur. j. Canc. di. Decan. Capelle di. Secretar. di. Elimos. n'l. Roƀto Poyntz milit. j p. j m. Edmũd. Gourge et Joħni Rodney milit. j p. j m. Maurice Barkley j pan. j m. Jacobo Barkley et Rico Barkley j p. j m. Dño Henrico Sleford di. Auditor j. Comput. di. Coqui' di. Le m. coc. j q̃rt. Janitor. di. Valect. Camer. j. Famul. Dñe Anne. j. *Cellr.* ex. xxxiij sex. j pich. j q̃rt. vini gascon. p'cij lxvj^{s}. iiij pich. di. Malvesey iiij^{s}. vj^{d}. vij pich. vini de Royne iiij^{s}. viij^{d}. & j pich. Ossey. xij^{d}. quibz ex. jant. milit. j. sex. vini gascon. & di. pich. Malvesey. Fercul. in camer. Dñi et Dñe j sex. j pich. vin. Gasc. ac j. pich. vini de Royne. et di. pich. Malves. magn. camer. j sex. iij pich. vini Gasc. ac j pich. vini de Royne et di. pich. Malvesey aule x sex. p Arnoldum Bromwent et di. pich. Malves. Dictis Dño et Dñe ac milit. p'dict. iij pich. vini Gascon. & j pich. vin. de Royne. coquine pro opib̃ j sex. Ad hostiũ xj sex. vin. Gascon. j pich. Malvesey. et ij pich. vin. de Royne. Lib'aconib̃ ij sex. ij pich. j q̃rt. vini gascon. ac j. pich. vin. de Royne & di. pich. Mal. un. Dño et Dñe di. pich. Dñ' Anne di. pich. Roƀto Poyntz milit. ij. pich. vin. Gasc. ac di. pich. vin. de Royne & j quart. Malvesey. Edmũdo Gourge et Johann.

Barkley and 5; James Barkley and 3; Anthony Poyntz and 3; Thomas Welshe and 3; Richard Frye and 3; William Kingiston and 3; Doctor Thower and 4; the 2 auditors and 5; Robert P'cill and 2; Humphrey Blount and 2; John Burrell and 2; Edward Garthe and 2; the bailiff of Hatfield Broadoak and 2; the bailiff of Oakham and 2; the bailiff of Navisby; the bailiff of Rowell; 2 of the lord's tenants of Penshurst; 1 of Blechingley; Hugh Boughey and 2; the receiver of Newport and 2; William Kemys, Thomas Morgan and 3; William Morgan, 2 others doing service to the lord of Newport, 12 doing service to the lord of Brecon with 10 attendants; Dan John Barton, chaplain; 18 singers and 9 boys of the chapel; the receiver of Surrey and Kent and 3; 3 tenants of the lord of Brecon; the vicar of loaves and a half, 1 manchet, whereof, to the Lord 1 manchet; the Lady 1 loaf 1 manchet; the Lord Stafford 1 loaf 1 manchet; the Lady Anne 1 loaf 1 manchet; the Lord Edward Grey, half; gentlemen strangers 8; Liveries 21 loaves, 3 quarters, 1 manchet, whereof to the Lord 1 manchet; the Lady 2 manchets; the Lord Stafford 1 loaf 1 manchet; the Lady Anne 1 loaf 1 manchet; the Lord Edward 1; the treasurer 1; the chancellor half; the dean of the chapel half; the secretary half; almoner nothing; Robert Poyntz, knight, 1 loaf 1 manchet; Edmund Gourge and John Rodney, knights, 1 loaf 1 manchet; Maurice Barkley 1 loaf 1 manchet; James Barkley and Richard Barkley 1 loaf 1 manchet; Sir Henry Sleford half; the auditor 1; the comptroller half; the kitchen half; the chief cook 1 quarter; the porter half; the yeoman of the chamber 1; the attendants of the Lady Anne 1. *Cellar*, Spent, 33 pottles 1 pitcher 1 quart of Gascony wine, price 66*s.*; 4 pitchers and a half of Malvoisey 4*s.* 6*d*; 7 pitchers of Rhenish wine 4*s.* 8*d.*, and 1 pitcher of Ossey 12*d.*; whereof, in breakfasts, to the knights 1 pottle of Gascony wine, and half a pitcher of Malvoisey; messes in the chamber of the Lord and Lady 1 pottle 1 pitcher of Gascony wine, and 1 pitcher of Rhenish wine, and half a pitcher of Malvoisey; the great chamber 1 pottle 3 pitchers of Gascony wine, and 1 pitcher of Rhenish wine, and half a pitcher of Malvoisey; the hall 10 pottles, by Arnold Bromwent, and half a pitcher of Malvoisey; to the said Lord and Lady and the aforesaid knights 3 pitchers of Gascony wine and one pitcher of Rhenish wine; the kitchen for works 1 pottle; the butler 11 pottles of Gascony wine, 1 pitcher of Malvoisey and 2 pitchers of Rhenish wine; Liveries 2 pottles 2 pitchers 1 quart of Gascony wine, and 1 pitcher of Rhenish wine, and half a pitcher of Malvoisey, whereof to the Lord and Lady half a pitcher, the Lady Anne half a pitcher, Robert Poyntz, knight, 2 pitchers of Gascony wine, and half a pitcher of Rhenish wine and 1 quart of Malvoisey; Ed-

Vicar. de Cristchurche sc̃. ij. ij coc. de Bristol. Henr. Dunston. ij le Ministrall. vj le3 Trompettes. iiij le Waites de Bristol. iiij lusores de Writhill. j Nat. Abb̃tem de Kingiswod sc̃. vj. xlij de vill. & $\overset{xx}{iiij}$ x de prĩa

Cena ut in pñd. p't. xl.

Sm̃. Exñ. ad { P'nd. iij Cxix / Cen. ij Clxxix.

Rodney milit. ij pich. vin. Gasc. ac di. pich. vin. de Royne & j quart. Malvesey. Mauric. Barkley et Will̃mo Kyngeston iij pich. vin. Gascon. Anthon. Poynt3. Thome Welshe. Jacobo Barkley et Ric̃o Barkley iij pich̃. Thesaur j q̃rt. Le voide. iiij sex. vin. Gascon. j pich. Malvesey. j pich. vin. de Royne & j pich. Ossey. *Butt.* ex. ij^{c}. lix lag. j q̃rt. cervis. xxj^{s}. vij^{d}. un. in jant. xx lag. iij q̃rtes. quib3 Dño di. Dñe di. Dño Stafford. j. Dñe Ann. di. Dño Edward j q̃rt. Thesaur. di. Rob̃to Poynt3 milit. j. Edmũdo Gourge milit. &c. j. Mauric. Barkley et Will̃mo Kingiston j. Jacobo Barkley & Ric̃o Barkley j. et Famul. dict. milit. ij. Auditor. di. Comput. di. Coq̃in. ij. Janitor. di. Pistrin. di. Stabul. j. Gen'os. capell. iij. et gen'os. ex̃n. iij. Fercul. Cxiiij lag. iij q̃rtes. Regard. lviij. Coq̃in. pro opib3 vj. Potacon. vj lag. iij q̃rtes. un. Dño n'l. Dñe di. Dño Stafford. j. Dñe Anne di. Dño Ed. j q̃rt. Thesaur. di. Comput. di. Auditor. di. Coq̃in. ij. Janitor. di. Pistrin. di. Ad hostiũ. xl. Lib'acon. xiij lag. un. Dño di. Dñe di. Dño Staff. j. Dñe Anne di. Dño Edward. j. q̃rt. Thes. di. Cancell̃r. j q̃rt. Decan' capelle j q̃rt. Secretar. j q̃rt. Elemos. n'l. Auditor. di. Rob̃to Poynt3. milit. j. Edmũd. Gourge et Joh̃ni Rodney j. Mauric. Barkley et Will̃mo Kingiston j. Ric̃o Barkley et Jac̃̃o Barkley j. Anthon. Point3 et Thome Welshe. j. Dño Henr. Sleford. j q̃rt. Comput. di. Coq̃in. iij q̃rtes. Le m. coc. j q̃rt. Janitor. di. Val. camer. j. et Famul. Dñe Anne di. *Coquin.* ex. de stauro dñi xxxvj rondes carn. boum. xxj^{s}. xij cas. multon. xiiij^{s}. ij vitul. v^{s}. iiij porc. viij^{s}. j ling

Christchurch and 2; 2 cooks from Bristol, Henry Dunstan, the two minstrels, the six trumpets, the four waites from Bristol, four players from Writhill, 1 bondman; the Abbat of Kingswood and 6 with him; 42 from the town, and 90 from the country.

Supper as at dinner except 40.

Total strangers at { dinner 319 / supper 279

mund Gourge and John Rodney, knights, 2 pitchers of Gascony wine, and half a pitcher of Rhenish wine, and 1 quart of Malvoisey; Maurice Barkley and William Kingiston 3 pitchers of Gascony wine; Anthony Poyntz, Thomas Welshe, James Barkley, and Richard Barkley 3 pitchers; the treasurer 1 quart; waste 4 pottles of Gascony wine, 1 pitcher of Malvoisey, 1 pitcher of Rhenish wine, and 1 pitcher of Ossey. *Buttery*, Spent, 259 flaggons, 1 quart of ale 21*s.* 7*d.*; whereof, in breakfasts 20 flaggons 3 quarts, of which to the Lord half a flaggon, the Lady half, the Lord Stafford 1, the Lady Anne half, the Lord Edward 1 quart, the treasurer half, Robert Poyntz, knight, 1, Edmund Gourge, knight, &c. 1, Maurice Barkley and William Kingiston 1, James Barkley and Richard Barkley 1, and the attendants of the said knights 2, the auditor half, the comptroller half, the kitchen 2, the porter half, the baker half, the stable 1, the gentlemen of the chapel 3, and gentlemen strangers 3; in messes 114 flaggons 3 quarts: to the surveyor 58; the kitchen for works 6; drinkings 6 flaggons 3 quarts; whereof, to the Lord nothing, the Lady half, the Lord Stafford 1, the Lady Anne half, the Lord Edward 1 quart, the treasurer half, the comptroller half, the auditor half, the cook 2, the porter half, the baker half, the butler 40; liveries 13 flaggons, whereof, to the Lord half, the Lady half, the Lord Stafford 1, the Lady Anne half, the Lord Edward 1 quart, the treasurer half, the chancellor 1 quart, the dean of the chapel 1 quart, the secretary 1 quart, almoner nothing, the auditor half, Robert Poyntz, knight, 1, Edmund Gourge and John Rodney 1, Maurice Barkley and William Kingiston 1, Richard Barkley and James Barkley 1, Anthony Pointz and Thomas Welshe 1, Sir Henry Sleford 1 quart, the comptroller half, the kitchen 3 quarts, the chief cook 1 quart, the porter half, the yeoman of the chamber 1, and the attendants of the Lady Anne half. *Kitchen*, Spent, of the Lord's store, 36 rounds of beef 21*s.*, 12 carcases of mutton 14*s.*, 2 calfs 5*s.*, 4 pigs 8*s.*, 1 dry

arid. vj^{d}. ij coddes sals. v^{d}. ij pisc. dur. ij^{d}. ob. j sturgeon
sals. xviij^{d}. *Achates recen.* ex. in iij^{bz} cign' precij x^{s}. vj
auc. ij^{s}. vj porcell. iij^{s}. x capon. vj^{s}. vj^{d}. j agnell. xvj^{d}. ij pavon. ij^{s}.
ij herons viij^{d}. xxij cunicul. p'c. iiij^{s}. vij ob. xviij. pull. gallin.
xviij^{d}. ix malardes xxij^{d}. ob. xxiij widgins ij^{s}. x^{d}. ob. xviij
teelis xviij^{d}. xvj castrim'g. xvj^{d}. xx snytes viij^{d}. ix đđ
voluc. gross. iij^{s}. vj đđ voluc. ꝑv. vj^{d}. iij đđ alaudes ix^{d}. ix qualis
ex staur. iiij^{d}. ob. di. salmon recen. xviij^{d}. j cod recen. viij^{d}. iiij dentric. iij^{s}.
viij^{d}. ij tench xiiij^{d}. vij brem esclates ꝑv. xiiij^{d}. di. coungr. recen. viij^{d}.
xxj roches ꝑv. viij^{d}. vj aguill. recen. gross. iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. x whitinges ꝑv. iij^{d}.
xvij flownders vj^{d}. C lamprouns x^{d}. iij stikes aguill. ꝑv. sowers
xv^{d}. iij plais ix^{d}. j muren. recen. de exhen iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. iiij C ov. gallin.
iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. xxiiij disc. butir. ij^{s}. ij lag. quac̃c. viij^{d}. xv lag. lact.
xv^{d}. iij lag. coagul. iij^{d}. ij g. fr'i viij^{d}. ij C oistr. iiij^{d}. herb. vj^{d}.
Chūndr. ex. de candel. ꝑis xlvj lb. p'c. iij^{s}. x^{d}. sis.
iij lb. ix sis. p'c. xix^{d}. ob. Qr̃r. xx. ij^{s}. vj^{d}. et prikk. viij. v^{d}. quib^{z}
ex. dño vj sis. & iiij q'rr. Dñe iiij sis & j q'rr. Dño Stafford.
ij sis. Dñe Anne iij sis. & j. p'kk. magn. camer. ad cen. viij
sis. & iij q'rr. aul. ad cen. Thesaur. et Decan. capell. iiij
prikk. ad le Voide xj q'rr. Roberto Point^{z}. milit. iiij sis. j
q'rr j. prikk. Edmund Gourges milit. & Joh̃m Rodney milit.
iiij sis. j prikk. Mauric. Barkley et Will'mo Kingiston iiij
sis. & j prikk. Panetr. j sis. Cell'r iiij sis. Butt. j. sis. Coq̃in.
ij sis. et capell. $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ vj sis. *Aul. et Camer.* ex. de foc.
x. carect. x^{s}. et xij q̃rt. carbon. silvestr. iiij^{s}. *Stabul.*
ex. in feno & litter ꝑ xlix equis Dñi prius specificat. ad
ob. cujusꝺt equi ij^{s}. ob. Et in prebend. ꝑ eisđm.
equis ut in die precedent. ixb^{z} di. p'c. precij ij^{s}. iij^{d}. ob. q.
Ac eciam allocat. tam in feno & litter q̃m
prebend. ꝑ lxij equis Famul. Dñi hac die attend.
infra Hospic. vj^{s}. v^{d}. ob. q.

ling 6*d.*, 2 salt cods 5*d.*, 2 hard fish 2½*d.*, 1 salt sturgeon 18*d.* *In fresh Achates*, 3 swans price 10*s.*, 6 geese 2*s.*6*d.*, 6 sucking pigs 3*s.*, 10 capons 6*s.* 6*d.*, 1 lamb 16*d.*, 2 peacocks 2*s.*, 2 herons 8*d.*, 22 rabbits price 4*s.* 7½*d.*, 18 chickens 18*d.*, 9 malards 22½*d.*, 23 widgeons 2*s.* 10½*d.* 18 teals 18*d.*, 16 woodcocks 16*d.*, 20 snipes 8*d.*, 9 dozen great birds 3*s.*, 6 dozen little birds 6*d.*, 3 dozen larks 9*d.*, 9 quails from the store 4½*d.*, half a fresh salmon 18*d.*, 1 fresh cod 8*d.*, 4 dog fish 3*s.* 8*d.*, 2 tench 14*d.*, 7 little bremes 14*d.*, half a fresh conger 8*d.*, 21 little roaches 8*d.*, 6 large fresh eels 3*s.* 4*d.*. 10 little whitings 3*d.*, 17 flounders 6*d.*, 100 lampreys 10*d.*, 3 sticks of little eels sowers 15*d.*, 3 plaice 9*d.*, 1 fresh .....3*s.* 4*d.*, 400 eggs 3*s.* 4*d.*, 24 dishes of butter 2*s.*, 2 flaggons of ..... 8*d.*, 15 flaggons of milk 15*d.*, 3 flaggons of cream 3*d.*, 2 gallons of frumety 8*d.*, 200 oisters 4*d.*, herbs 6*d.* *Chandlery*, Spent, of Paris candle 46lb. price 3*s.* 10*d.*, sises 3lb. 9 sises, price 19½*d.*, quarriars 20, 2*s.* 6*d.*, and 8 prickets 5*d.*; whereof, to the Lord 6 sises and 4 quarriars; to the Lady 4 sises and 1 quarriar; the Lord Stafford 2 sises; the Lady Anne 3 sises and 1 pricket; the great chamber, at supper, 8 sises and 3 quarriars; the hall, at supper, the treasurer and dean of the chapel 4 prickets, and waste 11 quarriars; Robert Pointz, knight, 4 sises 1 quarriar 1 pricket; Edmund Gourges, knight, and John Rodney, knight, 4 sises 1 pricket; Maurice Barkley and William Kingiston 4 sises and 1 pricket; the pantry 1 sise, the cellar 4 sises, the buttery 1 sise, the kitchen 2 sises, and the chapel 86 sises. *Hall* and *Chamber*, Spent, 10 loads of fuel 10*s.* and 12 quarters of charcoal 4*s.* *Stable*, Spent, hay and litter for 49 horses of the Lord before specified, at a halfpenny each horse, 2*s.* 0½*d.*; and in horsemeat for the same as on the preceding day, 9 being ½ price, 2*s.* 3¾*d.*. Also allowed as well in hay and litter as horsemeat for 62 horses of the Lord's attendants waiting this day within the hostelry, 6*s.* 5¾*d.*

Thornbury.

P'nd. { Gen. xlij, Val. xxxiiij, Gar. xxxviij } Cxxii.

Cen. Gen. viij

Pn^t. P'nd.

Dñm Annam sc̃. xij
Seynt George sc̃. ij
H. Blunt. ij Skynner.
1 Cissor. le brotherer
sc̃. ij. 1 Nativ. j
de Bristol. Squold.
ij de Vill. et j de pra'.

Extr. ad p̃nd. xxiiij.

Die Ven'is X^mo die Decemb^r.

Panet^r. ex. cxxv p. j q̃rt. & j m.
fr'i p'cij iij^s vj^d unde Iant. n^l. in
Fercul. lx pan. Sissor. viij pan. Regard. xvj p.
Salt. ij pan. Coq. pro op̃ib^s iiij p. le urs
xj pan. pot. tam an. nonā qm̃ post nonā
xviij pan. di. Libac. xiiij pan. iij q̃rt.
Cell^r. ex. iij pich. vin. gasc. p'cij xij^d.
un. jant. n^l. in fercul. Dño et Dñe
di. pich. sm^l. j q̃r^t p Squold. Diet. j q̃rt.
ad hostiũ scilt. Thomæ Herbert, et đnis [*qu?*]
uxĩ iƀm exist. cū al. genō Hospicij
ad đvers. vis. j pich. Libac. Dño et
Dñe ac Dñe Anne j pich. vini
Gasc. *Butt.* ex. xlviij lag.
cervisiæ p'cij iiij^s. un. in fercul. xv
lag. Regard. vij lag. Coqñ. pro op̃ibus
ij lag. Potac. tam an. q̃m p. nonam
xij lag. iij q̃r^t. ad Hostiã iiij lag.
Libac. vij lag. j q̃rt. *Coq'n.* ex.
de stauro dñi videl. j lyng arid. p'cij
xiij^d. xij codds sals. iij^s. x pisc. dur.
xx^d. di. conngo sals. vj^d. ac xxx all.
alb. sals. iij^d. *Achat.* ex. videłt in
j. cod recen. gr. xij^d. xij whityngs p'ci
iiij^d. j dentric. xvj^d. vj brem p'ci viij^d.
j gr. anguill. xij^d. xj roches iiij^d.
ij styks anguill. r. viij^d. ii^c host^r. iiij^d.
viij disc. butur viij^d. xxx ov. gall. iij^d.
cep. j^d. ac herb. j^d. *Chaund.* ex.
de candell Ꝑis xviij lb. p'c. xviij^d.
Sis. xvj p'c. ij^d. ob. ac pr̃ketts j p'c.
ob. q. *Aul.* et *Cam'a.* ex. de
focal. iij carect. iij^s. ac iiij^or q̃r^t.
carbon. silvest. xvj^d.

Thornbury.

Dined { Gentry 42, Valets 34, Garcons 38 } 122.

Supped, Gentry 8.

Present at dinner,
The Lady Anne and 12 with her, St. George and 2, Henry Blunt, 2 skinners, 1 tailor, the embroiderer and 2 with him, 1 bondman, 1 from Bristol, Squold, 2 from the town and 1 from the country.

Strangers at dinner 24.

Friday[a] *10th December.*

Pantry, Spent, 125 loaves, 1 quarter and 1 manchet of wheat, price 3*s.* 6*d.*; whereof in breakfasts nothing; in messes 60 loaves; the tailor 8 loaves; the surveyor 16 loaves; the salter 2 loaves; the kitchen, for works, 4 loaves; the bear 11 loaves; drinkings, as well before noon as after noon 18 loaves and a half; liveries 14 loaves 3 quarters. *Cellar*, Spent, 3 pitchers of Gascony wine price 12*d.*; whereof in breakfasts, nothing; in messes to the Lord and Lady half a pitcher, together with one quart by Squold; diets, 1 quart to the butler, viz. for Thomas Herbert and to ..... being there, with other gentlemen visitors at different times 1 pitcher; liveries to the Lord and Lady and the Lady Anne 1 pitcher of Gascony wine. *Buttery*, Spent, 48 flaggons of ale, price 4*s.*; whereof, in messes 15 flaggons; to the surveyor 7 flaggons; the kitchen for works 2 flaggons; drinkings, as well before as afternoon, 12 flaggons 3 quarters; to the butler 3 flaggons; liveries 7 flaggons 1 quart. *Kitchen*, Spent, of the Lord's store, viz. 1 dry ling price 13*d.*, 12 salt cods 3*s.*, 10 hard fish 20*d.*, half a salt conger eel 6*d.*, and 30 white salt herrings 3*d.* *Achates*, Spent, 1 great fresh cod 12*d.*, 12 whitings price 4*d.*, 1 dog fish 16*d.*, 6 bremes price 8*d.*, 1 great eel 12*d.*, 11 roach 4*d.*, 2 sticks of eel 8*d.*, 200 oysters 4*d.*, 8 dishes of butter 8*d.*, 30 eggs 3*d.*, onions 1*d.*, and herbs 1*d.* *Chandlery*, Spent, of Paris candle 18lb. price 18*d.*, sises 16 price 2½*d.*, and prickets 1 price ¾*d.* *Hall* and *Chamber*, Spent, 3 loads of fuel 3*s.* and 4 quarters of charcoal 16*d.*

[a] This being a fasting day in Advent, the household has no allowances for breakfast or supper.

Chipnam.

ad pñdm̃ Dñi cum
famil. s.

P'nd. { Gcnos. xx / Val. xiiij / Garc. xxix } lxiij

Die Ven'is xxviij die Janu'.

Panet. ex. xl pan. frument. precij xx^{s}.
Cellar'. ex. iƀm ij pich. vini gascon. p'c. xij^{s}.
Butt. ex. iƀm ex empc. xxj lag. cervis. p'cii iiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. ob.
Coquin. ex. de stauro dñi di. ling arid. p'c. iij^{d}. ij coddis sals. vj^{d}. ac eciam ex. iƀm ex empc. iiij coddis sals. p'cij ij^{s}.
Achates, ex. iƀm ex empc. sciłt in ijbz hakes recen. vj^{d}. allec. sals. ij^{d}. xxx roches xij^{d}. ij angill. spich viij^{d}. iij c. oistr. vj^{d}. ovis gallin. ij^{d}. vj disc. buter vj^{d}. *Chundrū.* ex. de candell Ƥis iƀm ex empc. iiij lb. precij vj^{d}.
Aul. et Camer. ex. de focal. xx faggotes precij x^{d}.
Stabul ex. iƀm tam in feno & litter. q̃m prebend. pro xxviij equis Dñi videłt. iiij cours. viij hobies iij sompt'. hors j malehors. vij eq. quadrig. iiij hakenneys & j eq. valect. dc̃oz̨ equoz̨ v^{s}. viij^{d}. ac eciam lix. eq. famil. Dñi hac die itin'an. cum Dño int̃ Thornbury & Chipnam quibz̨ alloc. utqz̨ eq. iiij^{d}.—xix^{s}. viij^{d}.

Marleborough.

ad pñdm̃ Dñi. cū
Famil. s.

P'nd. { Genos. xx / Val. xiiij / Garc. xxix } lxiij

Die Sabb'ti xxix^{mo} die Januarij.

Panet. ex. iƀm ex empc. xlvj pan. frument. p'c. xxiij^{d}.
Cellar. ex. iƀm ex empc. iij pich. di. vini gascon. p'c. ij^{s}. xj^{d}. ob.
Butt'. ex. iƀm ex empc̃on. xix lag. cervisie. p'cij iij^{s}. xj^{d}. ob.
Coquin. ex. iƀm ex empc. j ling viij^{d}. iij. coddis di. sals. xxij^{d}. iij stokefisshis xj^{d}. ac eciam ex staur. Dñi j. ling arid. vj^{d}. *Achates.* ex. in j qr̃t. . . . recen. xx^{d}. ij troughtes vj^{d}. xij roches iiij^{d}. vj disc. butir. vj^{d}. ov. gallin. iiij^{d}. oistr. j^{d}.
Aul. & Camer. ex. de focal. xviij fagottes p'c. xviij^{d}.

Chippenham.

At the dinner of the Lord with his household.

Dined { Gentry 20, Valets 14, Garcons 29 } 63.

Friday 28th January.

Pantry, Spent 40 loaves of wheat price 20*s.* *Cellar*, Spent there, 2 pitchers of Gascony wine price 12*s.* *Buttery*, Spent there, 21 flaggons of ale purchased price 4*s.* 4½*d.* *Kitchen*, Spent, of the Lord's store, half a dry ling price 3*d.*, 2 salt cods 6*d.*, also, from purchase there, 4 salt cods price 2*s.* *Achates*, Spent, purchased there, that is to say, 2 fresh hakes 6*d.*, salt herrings 2*d.*, 30 roach 12*d.*, 2 spichcock eel 8*d.*, 300 oysters 6*d.*, eggs 2*d.*, 6 dishes of butter 6*d.* *Chandlery*, Spent, of Paris candle bought there 4 lb. price 6*d.* *Hall* and *Chamber*, Spent, of fuel 20 faggots price 10*d.* *Stable*, Spent there, as well in hay and litter as corn for 28 horses of the Lord, that is to say, 4 coursers, 8 hobbies, 3 sumpter horses, 1 mail horse, 7 carriage horses, 4 hacknies, and 1 horse for the yeoman or groom of the said horses 5*s.* 8*d.* Also for 59 horses of the Lord's household this day in route with the Lord between Thornbury and Chippenham, 4*d.* being allowed for each horse, 19*s.* 8*d.*

Marlborough.

At the dinner of the Lord with his household.

Dined { Gentry 20, Valets 14, Garcons 29 } 63.

Saturday 29th January.

Pantry, Spent, 46 loaves of wheat purchased there, price 23*d.* *Cellar*, Spent, 3½ pitchers of Gascony wine purchased there, price 2*s.* 11½*d.* *Buttery*, Spent, 19 flaggons of ale purchased there, price 3*s.* 11½*d.* *Kitchen*, Spent, from purchase there, 1 ling 8*d.*, 3 cods and a half salt, 22*d.*, 3 stockfish 11*d.*; also, from the Lord's store, 1 dry ling 6*d.* *Achates*, Spent, in 1 quarter of fresh .... 20*d.*, 2 trout 6*d.*, 12 roach 4*d.*, 6 dishes of butter 6*d.*, eggs 4*d.*, oysters 1*d.* *Hall* and *Chamber*, Spent, of fuel, 18 faggots 18*d.*

Newbury.

ad Cenam Dñi
cum famil. s.

Cen. { Gen. xx / Val. xiiij / Garc. xxix } lxiij

*Eodēm die Sabb'ti xxix*mo *die Janu'.*

Panet. ex. iƀm ex empc. xxxiij pan. fr'i. p'c. xvj ob.
Cellr. ex. iƀm. ex empc̃on. j pich. iij qr̃tes vini gascon. p'c. xiiij^{d}.
Butt. ex. iƀm ex empc. xv lag. cervisie p'cij iij^{s}. ix^{d}.
Coquin. ex. de empc̃on. iƀm j ling viij^{d}. iiij coddis sals.
ij^{s}. iiij pisc. dur. xij^{d}. *Achates,* ex. in j trought vj^{d}.
xij roches iiij^{d}. v anguill. shastlings vj^{d}. crevis.
ij^{d}. ovis gallin. viij^{d}. viij disc. buter viij^{d}. *Chūnd.*
ex. de candel. ꝑis x lb. p'c. x^{d}. & in vast. cer. opat. in tort.
iiij^{d}. *Aul. & Camer.* ex. de focal. xvij fagottes xvij^{d}.
Stabul. ex. hac die tam in feno & litter. q̃m
p'bend. ꝑ dcĩs xx viij equis Dñi xvj^{d}. ac eciam
lix eq. famil. Dni ꝑut. in j quat'no paper ꝑ'ticuł. inde
ꝑ Joh̃em Gregory fact. ad iiij^{d}. cujusłt. equi hac die
itin'an. cū Dño int. Chipnam & Newbury xix^{s}. viij^{d}.

Newbury.

adh'c ad pñd. Dñi
cum famil. s.

P'nd. { Genos. xx / Val. xiiij / Garc. xxix } lxiij

*Die D'nica xxx*mo. *die Janu. ib'm.*

Panet. ex iƀm ex empc̃on. xxxiij pan. p'c. xvj^{d}. ob.
Cellar. expend. iƀm ex empc̃on. ij pich. vini gasc. p'c. xvj^{d}.
Buttill. exp. iƀm ex empc̃on. xv lag. cervis. p'cii iij^{s}. ix^{d}.
Coquin. exp. iƀm ex empc̃. j q̃rt. carn. boum p'cij
iiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. vitul. p'c. ij^{s}. viij^{d}. *Achates,* ex. in ijbȝ porcellis
xij^{d}. ij capon xiiij^{d}. ij cunicłis xvj^{d}. j curlew. v^{d}. ix
redshankes vj^{d}. v disc. butir v^{d}. ovis gallin. iiij^{d}. herbis
et farin. aven. ij^{d}. *Aul. & Camer.* ex. de fagottes xxviij.
p'cij ij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Reding.

ad cenam
Dñi cū Fām. s.

Cen. { Genos. xx / Val. xiiij / Garc. xxix } lxiij

Ead'em die Dom'ca sup'dict. ib'm.

Panet. ex. iƀm ex empc. xxxvj pan. p'cij xviij^{d}.
Cellar. expend. iƀm ex empc. j pich. iij qr̃tes vini. g. p'c. xviij^{d}. ob.
Buttill. expend. iƀm ex empc. xvij lag. c'vis. p'c. iiij^{s}. ij^{d}.
Coquin. expend. iƀm ex empc. iij multon. p'c. vij^{s}.
Achates, expend. iƀm ex empc. iiij gallin. xvj^{d}. ij cunic̃l.

Newbury.

At the supper of the Lord with his household.

Supped	Gentry	20	63
	Valets	14	
	Garcons	29	

The same day, Saturday 29th January.

Pantry, Spent, from purchase there, 33 loaves of wheat price 16½*d.* *Cellar*, Spent, from purchase there, 1 pitcher 3 quarts of Gascony wine 14*d.* *Buttery*, Spent, from purchase there, 15 flaggons of ale, price 3*s.* 9*d.* *Kitchen*, Spent, from purchase there, 1 ling 8*d.*, 4 salt cods 2*s.*, 4 hard fish 12*d.* *Achates*, Spent, 1 trout 6*d.*, 12 roach 4*d.*, 5 eels shastlings 6*d.*, crawfish 2*d.*, eggs 8*d.*, 8 dishes of butter 8*d.* *Chandlery*, Spent, of Paris candle 10lb. price 10*d.*, and in waste of wax wrongly used, 4*d.* *Hall* and *Chamber*, Spent, of fuel, 17 faggots 17*d.* *Stable*, Spent this day, as well in hay and litter as corn for the said 28 horses of the Lord 16*d.*; also for 59 horses of the household of the Lord, as particularized in a quire of paper (check roll) made by John Gregory, at 4*d.* a horse, this day in route with the Lord between Chippenham and Newbury, 19*s.* 8*d.*

Newbury.

At the dinner of the Lord with his household.

Dined	Gentry	20	63.
	Valets	14	
	Garcons	29	

Sunday 30th January.

Pantry, Spent, from purchase there, 33 loaves price 16½*d.* *Cellar*, Spent, from purchase there, 2 pitchers of Gascony wine price 16*d.* *Buttery*, Spent, from purchase there, 15 flaggons of ale price 3*s.* 9*d.* *Kitchen*, Spent, from purchase there, 1 quarter of beef, price 4*s.* 4*d.*, veal price 2*s.* 8*d.* *Achates*, Spent, for two pigs 12*d.* 2 capons 14*d.*, 2 rabbits 16*d.*, 1 curlew 5*d.*, 9 redshanks 6*d.*, 5 dishes of butter 5*d.*, eggs 4*d.*, herbs and oatmeal 2*d.* *Hall* and *Chamber*, Spent, 28 faggots price 2*s.* 4*d.*

Reading.

At the supper of the Lord with his household.

Supped	Gentry	20	63.
	Valets	14	
	Garcons	29	

The same day, Sunday above named.

Pantry, Spent there, from purchase, 36 loaves price 18*d.* *Cellar*, Spent there, from purchase, 1 pitcher 3 quarts of Gascony wine price 16½*d.* *Buttery*, Spent there, from purchase, 17 flaggons of ale price 4*s.* 4*d.* *Kitchen*, Spent there, from purchase, 3 sheep price 7*s.* *Achates*,

vj^{d}. j curlew iiij^{d}. ix redshankes vj^{d}. v pull. gallin v^{d}. iij disc. butir iij^{d}. herbis j^{d}. *Chūnd.* ex. de candel ꝑis x lb. precij viij^{d}. ob. *Aul. & Camer.* ex. de fag. xiij precij xiij^{d}. *Stabul.* ex. iƀm tam in feno & litter qm̃ p'bend. ꝑ xxviij equis Dñi. videłt iiij cours. viij hobies. j malehors. iij sompt' horss. vij eq. quadrig. iiij hakennies & j eq. valect. dc̃tor^{3} equor^{3} x^{s}. vj^{d}. ac eciam lix eq. famil. Dñi hac die itin'ran. cum Dño int. Newbury & Reding quib^{3} alloc. cujusłt. eq. iiij^{d}.—xix^{s}. viij^{d}.

Colbroke,

ad p̃nđm Dñi cum famul. s.

{Genos. xx
Val. xiiij
Garc. xxix} lxiij

Die Lune ulti'o die Januarij ib'm.

Panet. ex. iƀm ex empc. xxxvj pan'. p'c. xviij^{d}.
Cellar. expend. iƀm ex empc. ij pich. di. vini gasc. p. xx^{d}.
Buttill. expend. iƀm ex empc. xvj lag. c'vis. p'c. iiij^{s}.
Coqin. expend. iƀm ex empc. j q̃rt. carn. boū. iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. j vitul. precij ij^{s}. *Achates,* ex. iƀm ex empc. di. agnell. viij^{d}. iiij gallin. xviij^{d}. carn. multon viij^{d}. iiij disc. butir. iiij^{d}. herbis j^{d}. farin. aven. j^{d}. *Aul. & Cam'.* expenduntur de fagottes xxviij. p'c. ij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Brainford.

ad Cenam Dñi cum famil. s.

Cen. {Genos. xxiij
Val. xiiij
Garc. xxix} lxvj

P'nt. Cen.
Dñm Fitzwatir
Dñm Rouland
Carr.

Sm̃ exñ
sup. dict. } iij

Eod'm die Lune sup. dict. ib'm.

Panet. ex. iƀm ex empc. xxxvj pan. p'c. xviij^{d}.
Cellar. expend. iƀm ex empc. vij pich. j p't. vin. g. iiij^{s}. xj^{d}.
Butt. expend. iƀm ex empc. xvj lag. c'vis. p'c. iiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.
Coqin. expend. iƀm ex empc. iij cas. multon. vj^{s}.
Achates, expend. iƀm ex empc. j agnell. xvj^{d}. j porcell. rev' sed vj^{d}. j fesunt. vj^{d}. j p'dic. iiij^{d}. j capon. xviij^{d}. v gallin. xxiij^{d}. ij cunicul. vj^{d}. xv pull. gallin. xx^{d}. vij disc. butir. vij^{d}. ov. iiij^{d}. salt. alb. j^{d}. farin. aven. j^{d}. & herbis j^{d}. ac carn. mult. iij^{d}. *Chūnd.* ex. de candel ꝑis iiij lb. prec. vj^{d}.

4 fowls 16*d.*, 2 rabbits 6*d.*, 1 curlew 4*d.*, 9 redshanks 6*d.*, 5 chickens 5*d.*, 3 dishes of butter 3*d.*, herbs 1*d.* *Chandlery*, Spent, of Paris candle 10lb. price 8½*d.* *Hall* and *Chamber*, Spent, 13 faggots price 13*d.* *Stable*, Spent there, as well in litter and hay as corn for 28 horses of the Lord, viz. four coursers, 8 hobies, 1 mail horse, 3 sumpter horses, 7 carriage horses, 4 hacknies, and one for the yeoman of the said horses, 10*s.* 6*d.* Also, for 59 horses of the Lord's household this day in route with the Lord between Newbury and Reding, 4*d.* being allowed for each horse, 19*s.* 8*d.*

Colebrook.

At the dinner of the Lord with his household.

Gentry	20	63.
Valets	14	
Garcons	29	

Monday the last day of January.

Pantry, Spent there, from purchase, 36 loaves price 18*d.* *Cellar*, Spent there, purchased, 2 pitchers and a half of Gascony wine price 20*d.* *Buttery*, Spent there, from purchase, 16 flaggons of ale price 4*s.* *Kitchen*, Spent there, from purchase, 1 quarter of beef 3*s.* 4*d.*, 1 calf price 2*s.* *Achates*, Spent there, from purchase, half a lamb 8*d.*, 4 fowls 18*d.*, mutton 8*d.*, 4 dishes of butter 4*d.*, herbs 1*d.*, oatmeal 1*d.* *Hall* and *Chamber*, Spent, of faggots 28 price 2*s.* 4*d.*

Brentford.

At the supper of the Lord with his household.

Supped	Gentry	23	66.
	Valets	14	
	Garcons	29	

Present at supper.
Lord Fitzwalter,
Sir Rowland Carr,
[*Name omitted ?*]
Total strangers above named 3.

The same Monday above named.

Pantry, Spent, from purchase there, 36 loaves price 18*d.* *Cellar*, Spent there, purchased, 7 pitchers 1 pint of Gascony wine 4*s.* 11*d.* *Buttery*, Spent there, purchased, 16 flaggons of ale price 4*s.* 4*d.* *Kitchen*, Spent there, from purchase, 3 sheep 6*s.* *Achates*, Spent there, from purchase, 1 lamb 16*d.*, 1 pig, returned, yet 6*d.*, 1 pheasant 6*d.*, 1 partridge 4*d.*, 1 capon 18*d.*, 5 fowls 23*d.*, 2 rabbits 6*d.*, 15 chickens 20*d.*, 7 dishes of butter 7*d.*, eggs 4*d.*, white salt 1*d.*, oatmeal 1*d.*, and herbs 1*d.*, and mutton 3*d.* *Chandlery*, Spent, of Paris candle 4 lb. price 6*d.* *Hall* and

Aul. & Camer. ex. de focal. xlij fagottes p'c. iij^{s}. vj^{d}.
Stabul. ex. iƀm tam feno & litter. q̃m p'bend.
pro xxviij equis dñi sup' dict. ac eciam
lix eq. famil. Dñi hac die itin' cu. dño int.
Reding & Brainford quibȝ alloc̃. iiij^{d}. cujusłt. eq.
xix^{s}. viij^{d}.

Richemount.

Die Martis p'mo die
Februarij ib'm.

Panet. expenduntur iƀm ex empc̃on. vj pan. fr'i p'c. iij^{d}.
Cellar. expenduntur iƀm ex empc. j pich. vini gascon.
precij viij^{d}. et j q̃rt. Malvesey precij iiij^{d}. *Butt.* ex.
iƀm ex empc̃on. j lag. cervisie p'cij iiij^{d}. *Coquin.* ex.
iƀm. ex empc̃on. null. *Achates* expend. iƀm ex empc̃.
null. *Chūndr.* ex. iƀm ex empc. ij lb. candel. ꝑis p'c.
iij^{d}. & x sis. precij j^{d}. ob. *Aul. & Camer.* ex. de fag.
xx p'cii x^{d}. Coñensal. div's. s'vien.
Dñi hac die attend. iƀm. xxv^{s}. viij^{d}.

Richemount.

tam in Jantaculis
Dñi q̃m potacōn. & lib.

Die Mercurij secundo die
Februarij ib'm.

Panet. ex. iƀm ex empc. x. pan. frument. precij v^{d}. *Cell'r.*
ex. iƀm ex empc. ij pich. vini gascon. p'c. xvj^{d}. *Butt.*
expenduntur iƀm ex empc̃one ij lag. cervisie precij
viij^{d}. *Coquin.* ex. iƀm null. *Achates.* ex. iƀm
ex empc̃on. scĩełt iij carnił. boum et ossibȝ medulle vij^{d}.
carn. multon iiij^{d}. et iij pull. gallin. iij^{d}. *Chūnd.*
ex. de candel ꝑis ij lb. precij iij^{d}. *Aul. & Camer.*
ex. de fagottes iƀm ex empc̃on. xxv. precij xij^{d}. ob.
Coñensal' div's s'vien. Dñi hac die
iƀm attend. xxv^{s}. viij^{d}.

Brainford.

ad p̃ndm̃ dñi ꝑ. se.

Die Jovis terc'o die Februarij.

Panet. ex. iƀm ex empc. xiij pan. fr̃i prec' vj^{d}. ob.
Cell'r ex. iƀm ex empc. j pich. vini gasc. p'c. viij^{d}. *Butt.*

Chamber, Spent, 42 faggots price 3*s.* 6*d.* *Stable*, Spent there, as well in litter and hay as corn for 28 horses of the Lord as above named, also for 59 horses of the household of the Lord this day in route with the Lord between Reading and Brentford, 4*d.* being allowed for each horse, 19*s.* 8*d.*

Richmond.

Tuesday the first of February.

Pantry, Spent there, purchased, 6 loaves of bread, price 3*d.* *Cellar*, Spent there, purchased, 1 pitcher of Gascony wine price 8*d.*, and 1 quart of Malvoisey price 4*d.* *Buttery*, Spent there, from purchase, 1 flaggon of ale, price 4*d.* *Kitchen*, Spent there, from purchase nothing. Spent in *Achates* there, by purchase nothing. *Chandlery*, Spent there, by purchase, 2lb. of Paris candle price 3*d.*, and 10 sizes, price 1½*d.* *Hall* and *Chamber*, Spent 20 faggots, price 10*d.*, entertainment of divers servants of the Lord this day in attendance, 25*s.* 8*d.*

Richmond.

As well in breakfast of the Lord as in drinkings and liveries.

Wednesday the second of February.

Pantry, Spent there, from purchase, 10 loaves of bread, price 5*d.* *Cellar*, Spent, from purchase, 2 pitchers of Gascony wine, price 16*d.* *Buttery*, Spent there, from purchase, 2 flaggons of ale, price 8*d.* *Kitchen*, Spent there nothing. *Achates*, Spent there from purchase, 3 beef steaks and marrow bones 7*d.*, mutton chops 4*d.*, and 3 chickens 3*d.* *Chandlery*, Spent, of Paris candles 2lbs. price 3*d.* *Hall* and *Chamber*, Spent, of faggots, by purchase, 25 price 12½*d.* Entertainment of divers servants of the Lord this day in attendance, 25*s.* 8*d.*

Brentford.

At the dinner of the Lord by himself.

Thursday the third of February.

Pantry, Spent there, from purchase, 13 loaves of bread, price 6½*d.* *Cellar*, Spent there, from purchase, 1 pitcher of

ex. iŧm ex empc. di. lag. cervis. p'c. j^{d}. *Coqui.* ex. de empc. iŧm scilt di. ling arid. p'c. iiij^{d}. *Achates* ex. iŧm ex empc̃on. videlt. in j turbut rec. p'c. xx^{d}. j haddock iiij^{d}. de coungr. rec. ij^{s}. j gurn'd xvj^{d}. j dent. ij^{s}. j tench x^{d}. oistr. ij^{d}. herbis j^{d}. *Aul. & Camer.* ex. de fagottes xxvj. p'cij ij^{s}. ij^{d}. ac eciam ex. in feno. litter. & p'bend. pro expens. xxviij equis Dñi p̱ iij dies p'ceden. xxxviij^{s}. ix^{d}. Coñens'. div's. s'vien. Dñi cū. expens. suoz eq. hac die itin'añ. xlvj^{s}.

London.

Die Ven'is iiij^{to} die Februarij ib'm.

P'nd. { Genos. xxxv, Valet. xxxviij, Garc. xxvij } C

Pñt. Pñd.

Robertum Turbreville sc̃. iij. Johẽm Scot. sc̃. ij. Dñm Th. Phillippis cap. Edward Garth sc̃. ij. Johẽm Burrell j Wiłł. Wright. Henricū Gervis. Robert. Redall ij s'vien. de Cur. R. Humf. Blount. sc̃. ij. Ll'n Morgan sc̃. ij. Milis Vaughan. sc̃. ij

Panet. expend. iŧm C.j. pan. di. p'cij ij^{s} ix^{d}. ob. q. un. jant. n'll. Fercul. L pan. videlt ij pan. p. quolt f' siss. in viij un. Dño ad p̃nd. iiij. mens. Dñi j. Aul. scilt. Theō. j. Marisc. j. et Clic. coq. j. Regard. xxiiij pan. Salt. ij scilt Marisc. & Clic. coquine p̱ op̱ibꝫ ij. Chũnd. iiij. Potac̃on. iiij p. D. ij. m. un. Dño ij manch. Consil. Dñi iij. Comput. di. Coquine di. Janitor. di. Lib'acon. v pan. j manch. un. dño j manch. Thesaur. j. Cancellr. n'l. Decan. capell. di. Secret. n'l. Audit. j. Comprt. di. Coquine di. M. coc. n'l. Janitor. di. Val. cam. j. *Cell'r.* ex. ij sex. ij pich. di. vini gascon. p'c. v^{s}. iij^{d}. j pich. vini de Royne p'c. x^{d}. et j q̃rt. Malvesey p'c. iij^{d}. quibꝫ ex. fercul. in camer. Dñi ij pich. j q̃rt. p̱ Wallar de vin. gascon. & j pich. vini Royne. dict̃ Dño j q̃rt. vin. Gascon. & j q̃rt. Malvesey. dictis Consil. Dñi. j pich. Aul. ij pich. iij q̃rtes. videlt. Senesc. Thesaur. ac al. cons.

Gascony wine, price 8*d.* *Buttery*, Spent there, from purchase, half a flaggon of ale price 8*d.* *Kitchen*, Spent there, from purchase, half a dry ling, price 4*d.* *Achates*, purchased, 1 small fresh turbot 20*d.*, 1 haddock 4*d.*, half a fresh conger eel 2*s.*, 1 gurnet 16*d.*, 1 dog fish 2*s*, one tench 10*d.*, oysters 2*d.*, herbs 1*d.* *Hall* and *Chamber*, Spent, of faggots 26, price 2*s.* 2*d.* *Stable*, Spent, in hay, litter, and corn for 28 horses of the Lord for three preceding days, 38*s.* 9*d.*, entertainment of divers servants of the Lord with the expenses of their horses this day journeying, 46*s.*

London

Dined { Gentry 35, Valets 38, Garcons 27 } 100.

Present at dinner,

Robert Turbreville and 3 with him, John Scot and 2, Sir Thomas Phillipps, chaplain; Edward Garth and 2, John Burrell and 1, William Wright, Henry Gervis, Robert Redall, two officers from the King's court, Humphry Blount and 2, Llewellyn Morgan and two, Miles Vaughan and 2, William

Friday the fourth of February.

Pantry, Spent there, 101 loaves of bread and a half, price 2*s.* 9$\frac{3}{4}$*d.*; whereof, in breakfasts nothing; messes, 50 loaves, that is to say, 2 loaves for each mess, divided into eight, whereof, to the Lord at dinner four, to the Lord's table one, and in the hall as follows, one portion to the treasurer's table, another to the marshal's, and one to the clerk of the kitchen. To the surveyor 24 loaves; ..... that is to say, two to the marshal, and to the clerk of the kitchen for works 2; chandlery 4; drinkings, 4 loaves and a half 2 manchets; whereof to the Lord 2 manchets, the council of the Lord 3, the comptroller half, the kitchen half, the porter half; liveries 5 loaves 1 manchet, whereof, to the Lord 1 manchet, the treasurer 1, the chancellor nothing, the dean of the chapel half, the secretary nothing, the auditor 1, the comptroller half, the kitchen half, the chief cook nothing, the porter half, the yeoman of the chamber 1. *Cellar*, Spent, 2 pottles 2 pitchers and a half of Gascony wine, price 5*s.* 3*d.*, 1 pitcher of Rhenish wine, price 10*d.*, and 1 quart of Malvoisey, price 3*d.*, of which spent in messes in the Lord's chamber, 2 pitchers 1 quart, by Waller, of Gascony wine, and 1 pitcher of Rhenish wine; to the Lord 1 quart of Gascony wine and 1 quart of Malvoisey, to the said council of the Lord 1 pitcher; in the hall, 2 pitchers 3 quarts, that is

Wiłłm Walwyn sc̃. iij. Johẽm Edwardes, Thom. Picker. Dñm Henricũ Stafford. sc̃. iiij. Dñm Barnes. Wiłłm Knyvet mil. cum ijbȝ. filijs s. & ij de Civitate Cust. loci

Sm̃. Exñ. xxxv.

Dni & ij fil. dict. W. Knyvet. iłm seden. p̨. Warburton. Coquine pro op̨ibȝ iij q̃rtes p̨ N. Percy. Ad Hostiũ. sciłt. dict. Cons. Dñi & sup. dict. exñ. exist. ad div^{s} vices iij pich. di. Liba'con. n'l. *Butt.* ex. xv lag. iij q̃rtes c'vis. p'cii xviij^{d}. & xix lag. j qr̃t bier p'c. xix^{d}. un. jant j lag di c'vis & j lag bier quibȝ. ex. Dño n'l. Thesaur. di. lag. c'vis. Auditor di. lag. c'vis. Comput. di. lag. c'vis. Coquine di. lag. bier. Janitor. di. lag. bier. Fercul. xij lag. di. sciłt di. lag. p̨ qłt. f. un. in cervis. v lag. & in bier. vij lag. di. Regard. iij lag. c'vis. & v lag. bier Coquine p̨ op̨ibȝ di. lag. c'vis. Potacon. ij lag. di. c'vis. & j lag. bier. un. Dño di. lag. c'vis. Cons. Dñi j lag. di. c'vis. Comput. di. lag. c'vis. Coquin. di. lag. bier. Janitor ij qr̃tes bier. Ad Hostiũ. j lag. c'vis. & iij lag. bier. Lib'acon. ij lag. j q̃rt. c'vis. et j lag. iij q̃rtes bier un. dño di. lag. c'vis. Thes. di. lag. c'vis. Decan. capelle j q̃rt. c'vis. Auditor di. lag. c'vis. Comput. di. lag. c'vis. Coquine di. lag. bier. Janitor j q̃rt. bier. Val. ca. j lag. biere. *Coquin.* ex. de stauro Dni. iij linges arid. ij^{s}. v coddis sals'. xvij^{d}. ob. & iiij pisc. dur. x^{d}. *Achates* ex. in xxv whitinges p̨v. xij^{d}. ij geolles salmon recen. v^{s}. iiij^{d}. xvij rochettes ij^{s}. x^{d}. iij gurn'des iij^{s}. di. coungr. recen. ij^{s}. vj^{d}. j brete p̨v. ij^{s}. ij dentric. iij^{s}. viij^{d}. xxv roches viij^{d}. xxv lamprawns iiij^{d}. shrimpis ij^{d}. sep'. j^{d}. oistr. ij^{d}. vj disc. butir vj^{d}. xij allec. alb. sals. ij^{d}. herbis j^{d}. *Chūndr.* ex. de cand. p̨is viij lb. p'c. viij^{d}. & sis. iij p'cij iij^{d}. ob. q. *Aul. & Camer.* ex. de focal. videłt xvj shides talewood p'cij viij^{d}. fagottes xxxvj—xvj^{d}. & billettes ij C. xxxij s. ac iiij q̃rt. iijbȝ. carbon. silvestr. xviij^{d}. ob.

Walwyn, and 3, John Edwards, Thomas Picker, Lord Henry Stafford and four, Sir Barnes, William Knyvet, knight, with two of his sons, and two of the city, constables of the place.

Total strangers 35.

to say, to the steward, treasurer, and other council of the Lord, and two sons of the said William Knyvet sitting there, by Warburton; to the kitchen for works, 3 quarts, by N. Percy; to the butler, that is to say, for the said council of the Lord, and the strangers above named, at divers times 3 pitchers and a half; liveries nothing. *Buttery*, Spent, 15 flaggons 3 quarts of ale, price 18*d.*, and 19 flaggons 1 quart of beer, price 19*d.*, whereof, in breakfasts one flaggon and a half of ale and one flaggon of beer; of which, to the Lord nothing, the treasurer half a flaggon of ale, the auditor half a flaggon of ale, the comptroller half a flaggon of ale, the kitchen half a flaggon of beer, the porter half a flaggon of beer; messes, 12 flaggons and a half, that is to say, half a flaggon for each mess, whereof, in ale 5 flaggons, and in beer 7 flaggons and a half; to the surveyor 3 flaggons of ale and 5 flaggons of beer, to the kitchen for works half a flaggon of ale; drinkings, two flaggons and a half of ale and one flaggon of beer; whereof, to the Lord half a flaggon of ale, the Council of the Lord one flaggon and a half of ale, the comptroller half a flaggon of ale, the kitchen half a flaggon of beer, the porter two quarts of beer; the butler 1 flaggon of ale and 3 flaggons of beer; liveries 2 flaggons 1 quart of ale and 1 flaggon 3 quarts of beer, whereof, to the Lord half a flaggon of ale, the treasurer half a flaggon of ale, the dean of the chapel 1 quart of ale, the auditor half a flaggon of ale, the comptroller half a flaggon of ale, the kitchen half a flaggon of beer, the porter 1 quart of beer, the yeoman of the chamber one flaggon of beer. *Kitchen*, Spent, of the Lord's store, 3 dry lings 2*s.*, 5 salt cods 17½*d.*, and 4 hard fish 20*d.* *Achates*, Spent, for 25 little whitings 12*d.*, 2 jowls of fresh salmon 5*s.* 4*d.*, 17 rochets 2*s.* 10*d.*, 3 gurnets 3*s.*, half a fresh conger 2*s.* 6*d.*, 1 little brete 2*s.*, 2 dog fish 3*s.* 8*d.*, 25 roches 8*d.*, 25 lampreys 4*d.*, shrimps 2*d.*, onions 1*d.*, oysters 2*d.*, 6 dishes of butter 6*d.*, 12 white salt herrings 2*d.*, herbs 1*d.* *Chandlery*, Spent, of Paris candle 8lb. price 8*d.*, and 3 sizes price 3¾*d.* *Hall* and *Chamber*, Spent, of fuel 16 shides of tale-wood, price 8*d.*, 26 faggots 16*d.*, and 200 billets 32*s.*, and 4 quarters 3 bushels of charcoal 18½*d.*

XVIII. *An Outline of the History of the Court of Star Chamber, in a Letter from* John Bruce, *Esq. F.S.A., addressed to* Thomas Amyot, *Esq. F.R.S., Treasurer.*

Read 9th May, 1833.

2, Francis Street, Golden Square, March 24, 1833.

My dear Sir,

The jurisdiction of the Court of Star Chamber is connected with a variety of curious questions relative to the ancient "Consilium Regis," which, although often approached by writers of great reputation, do not appear to have been as yet satisfactorily elucidated. Whilst men were within the reach of this powerful judicature, they seem to have been unwilling to inquire too curiously into its origin; and, since its overthrow, the loss, or destruction, of its records, has increased the difficulties inseparable from such an investigation. I propose to attempt an outline of that part of the subject which is necessary to be considered by those who desire to form a general idea of the nature of the judicial jurisdiction exercised in the Star Chamber, and, by that means, to understand the reasons of the abhorrence in which that Court was held by our ancestors of the seventeenth century. If you deem the inquiry likely to interest the Society of Antiquaries, you will oblige me by submitting my remarks to that body. Amongst them I am aware there are many persons who are more favoured by circumstances, and better able, than myself, to treat the whole subject satisfactorily;—perhaps my paper may induce some one of them to give his attention to the inquiry.

It seems agreed that all our superior courts of Justice originated in the ancient Royal Court held in the King's Palace, before the King himself and the members of his "Consilium ordinarium," commonly called "the Council." The courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, arose,

from time to time, out of the King's Court, and assumed independent jurisdiction over particular descriptions of causes. It is probable that in the first instance these Courts were mere committees appointed by the Royal Court for the purpose of ridding itself of an accumulation of business, and that by usage or sufferance, or from an experience of the usefulness of having settled Judicatures to determine matters frequently occurring, they were at length permitted to assume the functions of separate tribunals. By the establishment of these Courts a considerable portion of the business of the King's Court was diverted into other channels; but the Court itself still subsisted, and exercised a judicial jurisdiction which it is difficult to define, but a great part of which seems comprehended in the following fourfold division:

I. It was a Court of revision and appeal from the judgment of inferior tribunals. This appellate jurisdiction came afterwards to be exercised in the House of Lords, and does not lie within the limits of my inquiry.

II. The Council exercised a jurisdiction which may be termed, directory. The proceedings in the Courts of Common Law were set in motion, as it were, by writs; that is, by orders from the King, written, and issued, under the Great Seal, by the Clerks of the Chancery; which, in its origin, was not a Court of Justice, but merely the office of the process-makers. In copying these writs the Clerks adopted certain prescribed forms, from which no peculiarity of circumstances seems to have been considered a justification for their departure. It often happened that the strict adherence to these forms was the occasion of injustice to the suitors, and in such cases the only remedy was, by application to the Council for an order, or direction, to the Clerks, authorising them to adopt some unusual course in that particular case. A curious instance of the pertinacious adherence of the Clerks of the Chancery to their forms occurred in the 8th of Edward II. Henry de la Mare being in custody upon an accusation of felony, broke out of Wallingford Castle. He was overtaken in his flight, and, according to the custom of the time, was at once decapitated by his pursuers. Upon an investigation into the nature of his death, it was found by a jury, that he was beheaded *as a felon*, and certain lands which he held under the Crown were seized into the King's hands as an escheat. That law, however, which was

good in the case of the King, did not seem to the Clerks of the Chancery to be good in the case of a subject. An application was made to them for a writ of Escheat by Vivian de Staundon, under whom the fugitive felon held lands, as well as under the King, and the Clerks refused to grant the writ, because, in their prescribed form, the word "*suspensus*" was inserted as descriptive of the punishment of the felon, who, in this instance, had been "*decollatus*." Unable to persuade the Clerks either to alter the word, or to grant the writ, Vivian de Staundon petitioned the Council for relief, and an order was made that the writ should be issued; but, as if the Council were anxious not to give the Clerks of the Chancery any discretion, it was directed that the word "*suspensus*" should be retained in all cases, whatever might be the nature of the felon's execution. (1 Rot. Parl. p. 293, No. 20.) The case of Vivian de Staundon is one amongst very many examples of an authority which the Council were frequently called upon to exercise. The case of the Abbat and Convent of Bardeney, which occurred in the 6th Edward I. (Rot. Parl. I. p. 6, No. 25.) exemplifies another branch of their directory power. The petitioners set forth, that a litigation, in which they had been involved before the Council, had burthened them with debts which would be their utter ruin, unless they were permitted, for a time, to forbear their accustomed hospitality, and disperse themselves abroad, leaving one of their body to manage their affairs, and pay their debts in their absence. They therefore petitioned the King for certain letters patent of protection. The answer is a reference to the Chancery to enable the petitioners to obtain their request. Writs of grace and favour, similar to those granted in the case of the Convent of Bardeney, were a source of frequent application to the Council; they were much abused, and many laws were passed to restrain them.

Of a directory character were also the orders made upon petitions presented by persons who were ignorant, or doubtful, of their remedy in the ordinary Courts, or desirous of obtaining special Commissions of oyer and terminer for the determination of their causes. Many instances might also be cited of orders of a directory nature addressed by the Council to the Courts of Law, and which interfered with the ordinary course of their practice in particular cases then pending before them.

III. The third description of judicial authority exercised by the Council consisted in the determination of matters not cognizable in the Courts of Common Law. Out of this division of the authority of the Council, arose the equitable jurisdiction of the Chancellor. The strict rules of the Common Law, as well as the unalterable forms of the Chancery, were found to produce injustice; and suitors who were aggrieved, had in this case, as in the other, no remedy except by petition to the King for his extraordinary interference. During the reigns of the three Edwards a practice seems to have sprung up of referring such petitions to the Chancellor, either alone, or in conjunction with the Clerks of the Chancery, or the Justices of the Courts of Law, or the members of the Council. In consequence of these references, the Chancery, which, as I have before remarked, was in its origin merely a public office, gradually assumed the functions of a Court of equitable relief. The progress of the change may, I think, be discovered in the Parliament Rolls; and, although the manner of these references was extremely dissimilar in many respects to the practice of the present Courts of Equity, we can often trace in them the dawnings of the present authority of the Chancellor. The earliest instance with which I am acquainted, of a reference to the Chancery to grant relief, specifically upon the ground of a defect of remedy at the Common Law, is that of Eleanor the wife of Henry Percy, in the 8th and 9th of Edward II. (Rot. Parl. p, 340, vol. i.) That lady having petitioned for relief in a case of dower, to which the Common Law writ of Dower was not applicable, the answer contains a reference to the Chancery, with direction to summon her opponent, examine her claim, and do justice, "*because she could not be helped at the Common Law!*"

IV. The remaining division of the judicial proceedings of the Council was exercised over causes properly determinable in the Courts of Law. After these Courts had become permanent and usual jurisdictions, it would seem that the Council were still in the habit of receiving petitions for assistance, or favour, in cases of an extraordinary character. Complainants have at all times overrated the importance of their own business, and the Council had therefore many petitions for assistance in cases which were not thought worthy of being diverted from the usual course of the Common Law. But whenever the circumstances were considered to be of such importance as

to demand a special interference;—if it were a "heinous trespass" for which it was necessary to provide speedy remedy,—if the one party was so rich, and the other so poor, that right was not likely to be done in the Courts below—either the parties were called before the Council, or a special commission was issued for each particular case. The practice of issuing special commissions was soon greatly abused. The Commons petitioned against it, and in the course of the reign of Edward III. it was gradually laid aside. The other course, that of calling the parties before the Council, was still practised, and, in its turn, became the subject of complaint. The learned author of "The History of the English Commonwealth," in an article published in the Quarterly Review, (N°. 63, p. 92.) has detailed the opposition made by the Commons from time to time, against this power of the Council. The feeble and obstinate Richard II. insisted upon the maintenance of his regality, as his predecessors had done before him. (Rot. Parl. iii. p. 267.) The politic Henry IV. evaded the petitions, or qualified his consent so as to render it unavailing. The attempts of the Commons were equally unsuccessful during the reign of Henry V.; and in the next reign the authority, which had been so long contested, seems to have been in some degree settled and confirmed by parliamentary sanction. In the 2nd year of Henry VI. (Rot. Parl. iv. p. 201) again in the 5th year (vol. v. p. 407); and afterwards, in the 8th year of the same reign (vol. iv. p. 343.), various regulations for the management of causes before the Council were proposed to Parliament by the members of the Council, and sanctioned by the Lords and Commons. These three sets of regulations are substantially the same, and from them we may pretty well understand the manner of the proceedings before the Council, and the general character of the causes admitted to be properly determinable by that body. The business to be transacted is divided into three parts, "Billes of right, of office, and of benefice." The second and third of these divisions relate to the patronage and executive authority of the Crown; the bills "of right" were appeals to the Council in their judicial character, and therefore alone come within my subject. A "bill," it may be remarked, here means a petition, in which sense we still use it;—thus in Chancery, "a bill" is a petition to the Chancellor; and in Parliament, "a Bill" is a petition to the King. The follow-

ing items are extracted from the articles agreed to in the 5th of Henry VI. (Rot. Parl. vol. v. p. 407.)

"II. Item, that all the Billes that shall be put unto the Counsaille, shall be oons in the weke atte leste, that is to say on the Wednysday, radde before the Counseil, and ther answers endorsed by the Clerc of the same Counsaille, and on the Friday next followyng declared to the partye suyng. But yf grete and notable causes touching the Kynges Reaumes and his Lordships lette it.

"III. Item, that all the Billes that comprehend matiers terminable atte the common Lawe, be remitted there to be determined. But if so be that the discretion of the Counsaille feele to grete myght on that oo side, and unmyght on that other, or ellus other cause resonable, that shall moeve hem.

"VIII. Item, that no Bylle be sped but in the place ordeyned for counsaille: the Counsaille beyng there assembled in form of Counsaille, and the Bylle furst radde their before hem alle: And that eche man singularly say his advis thereto, and aftre subscribed by the Lordes, be it in the same place, or other where the Clerc of the Counsaille shall bring it hymselve unto hem.

"X. Item, that all the matieres that toucheth the Kyng, be preferred alle other, as well in Parlement as in Counsaille.

"XII. Item, that out of Terme tyme, nothyng be spedd in the Counsaille, but suche thyng as for the goode of the Kyng and of his lande askyth necessary and hastyve spede, and may note goodely be abyden unto the Terme tyme.

"XIIII. Item, for as much as it is lykly that many matieres shalle be treted afore the Counsaille, the which toucheth the Kynges Prerogatyve and Freehold on that oo partie, and other of his subgittes on that other, in the which matiers the Counsaille is not lerned to kepe the Kynges right and the parties both, withouten the advis of the Kynges Justices which been lerned both in his Prerogatives and in his Common Lawe, that in alle suche matieres his Juges be called thereto, and their advis, with their names also, to be entred of Recorde what and how thei determyne and advyse therynne.

"XV. Item, that the Clerc of the Counsaille be sworne, that every day that the Counsaille sitteth on eny Billes betwixt partie and partie, that he shall, as ferre as he can, aspie which is the porest suteur's Bille, and that first to be radd and answered. And the Kinges Sergeans to be sworne trewely and plainely to yeve the pouer man, that for such is accept to be counsaille, assistance and trewe counsaille in his matiere so to be sued, withouten any gode takyng of him, on payne of discharge of theire offices.

"XXII. Item, that for no soden reporte of eny persone, neither prive seal, ne writte of rigour, be not soon passed ayenst eny persone, in prejudice of the partie, without that he be first herd, save oonly to calle hym to here such thynges as shall be said unto hym."

According to these regulations, the only causes determinable at the Common Law, which were to be withdrawn from the decision of the ordinary Courts, were to be those in which the complaint was against a man of great influence, or the suitor was too poor to prosecute his cause in the inferior Courts, or in which the Council saw "other reasonable cause."

In theory nothing could be more excellent. In turbulent times, it is scarcely necessary to remark, great men were too apt to weigh out justice for themselves, and with no great nicety; a Court, therefore, to which the people might fly for relief against powerful oppressors, was most especially needful. Law charges also were considerable, and this "the poor man's Court, in which he might have right without paying any money," (Sir Thomas Smith's Commonwealth, b. iii. c. 7.) was an institution apparently calculated to be of unquestionable utility. It was the comprehensiveness of the last clause,—the "other reasonable cause," which was its ruin. The ministers of despotic princes found little difficulty in considering their own desire to silence their opponents, to be cause reasonable enough for the withdrawal of almost all political cases from the ordinary tribunals.

In the exercise of their judicial authority the Council held their sittings in a chamber of the Palace at Westminster, known as "the Council Chamber near the Exchequer," (Rot. Parl. ii. 154.) and the "Chambre des Estoyers" or "Estoilles," near the Receipt of the Exchequer (Lambard's Archion, 177). This chamber is said to have been situated in the outermost quadrangle of the Palace, next the bank of the river, and was consequently easily accessible to the suitors. (Quar. Rev. 63, p. 107.) The occupation of the "Chambre des Estoilles," or Star Chamber, by the Council, can be traced from the reign of Edward III.[a] but no specific mention of the Star Chamber *as a Court of Justice,* can be found, I believe, earlier than the reign of Henry VII., about which time the old titles of "The Lords sitting in the Star Chamber," and "The Council in the Star Chamber," seem to have been merged in this one distinguishing appellation. This circumstance has occasioned no little confusion, several writers having inferred from it

[a] In the 26th of Edward I. there is an instance of the Council holding a sitting in the "Hospicium" of the Archbishop of York in Westminster, Rot. Parl. i. 143.

that the Court of Star Chamber was a new jurisdiction created at that time, and not merely a new name for the old authority exercised in the Star Chamber by the Council. I shall have occasion hereafter to recur to this point, and therefore merely add here, that the Judges of the Court of Star Chamber, during all the time that name was given to it, seem to have been the same persons who sat there, and exercised judicial authority, before the Court acquired that name;—the members, namely, of the King's ordinary Council,—"The Lords of the Council," as they are still termed in the Litany in the Church service, although many of them have generally been under the degree of a Baron.

The origin of the name "Star Chamber," has been a subject of dispute which has given occasion to several ingenious guesses. The most satisfactory explanation appears to be that supported by Mr. Caley, in the 8th volume of the Archaeologia, p. 404; that the roof of the chamber was anciently ornamented with gilded stars.

The course of the proceedings before the Council was twofold; one, *ore tenus;* the other by Bill and Answer. The proceeding *ore tenus* was that which was usually adopted in political cases, and consequently was the most abused. In tracing an outline of the manner of these proceedings, and indeed in all the remainder of the present Letter, I shall be greatly indebted to a treatise upon the Star Chamber, written in the reign of Charles I. by William Hudson, of Gray's Inn, Esq. a Barrister of considerable practice in that Court. This treatise was written for the use of Archbishop Williams, and presented to him upon his appointment as Lord Keeper.[b] There are several MS. copies of it in the library of the British Museum. The Harleian MS. No. 1226, is probably the best. It is in the hand-writing of Christopher Hudson, the author's son, and was by him presented to Lord Keeper Finch in 1635. Hudson's treatise was published by Mr. Hargrave in his Collectanea Juridica (vol. ii. p. 1.) but apparently not from a very correct MS. I have frequently found it necessary to refer to the Harleian MS. for an explanation of passages quite inexplicable in the printed copy. For instance, at p. 36, "the slavish practice of whipping,"

[b] Lansdowne MS. No. 639, p. 196. Hudson died in December 1635.

is metamorphosed into "the slavish speech of whispering," and there are many similar mistakes.

The *ore tenus* proceeding before the Council, originated either in "soden reporte," which is the phrase used in the regulations of the time of Henry VI. before quoted, and which I understand to mean private, and probably secret, information, given to the Council; or, "by the curious eye of the State and King's Council prying into the inconveniences and mischiefs which abound in the Commonwealth." (Col. Jur. vol. ii. p. 126.) The person accused or suspected was immediately apprehended and privately examined. If he confessed any offence, or if the cunning of his examiners drew from him, or his own simplicity let fall, any expressions which suited their purpose, he was at once brought to the bar, his confession or examination was read, he was convicted, *ex ore suo*, and judgment was immediately pronounced against him. Imagination can scarcely conceive a more terrible judicature. Dragged from home in the custody of a pursuivant, ignorant of the charge or suspicion entertained against him, without friend or counsellor, the fore-doomed victim was subjected to a searching examination before the members of a tribunal which was bound by no law, and which itself created and defined the offences it punished. When brought to the bar, it is admitted by Hudson there was sometimes "a dangerous excess. For whereas the delinquent confesseth the offence *suo modo*, the same is strained against him to his great disadvantage. Sometimes many circumstances are pressed and urged to aggravate the matters which are not confessed." (Col. Jur. ii. 127.) "Happy were it," he subsequently adds, (ibid. 128.) "if these might be restrained within their limits, for that this course of proceeding is an exuberancy of prerogative, and therefore great reason to keep it within the circumference of its own orb." Happy indeed! and still more happy was it that a power, which seemed as if contrived merely to invite abuse, was at length altogether overthrown. The antiquity of proceedings *ore tenus* cannot be disputed. In England it was not until the reign of Edward III. that pleadings were put into writing, and delivered in that form to the Clerks of the Court, instead of being pronounced *vivâ voce* by the counsel. In such proceedings there is not necessarily any injustice; indeed, in some cases, substantial justice seems more likely to be brought

about by this form of proceeding than by any other; but the *ore tenus* prosecutions in the Star Chamber did not possess any one of the properties of an honest judicial inquiry. There was no previously declared accusation against which the defendant might prepare himself; wherever resident, he was taken from amongst his neighbours, who in some cases were his judges at the Common Law, and, at all times, were the best witnesses of the tenor of his life, and conveyed in custody to Westminster; there he was not confronted with any accuser, but in the presence of a secret assembly, comprehending some of the most dignified persons of the realm,—an assembly calculated to overawe the boldest offender, and utterly confound a person of any timidity,—he was interrogated upon points of his conduct repecting which the Council had received information through the trustworthy channels of common rumour or secret information. It is not difficult to conceive how easily a most notable confession might be thus extracted. We are told, indeed, that the confession was to be voluntary, that no bodily torture was to be practised, and that, if the accused would not confess, the Council were obliged to adopt the other mode of proceeding by bill.[c] In the meantime, however, the defendant remained in custody. If, to avoid a lingering confinement upon he knew not what charge, he once submitted to examination, the testimony of Hudson informs us how little scrupulous the Judges were as to the nature of his replies, and how unfairly they distorted to his disadvantage loose words, uttered by him probably in ignorance of the point at which his practised examiners were labouring to arrive. His Judges were in point of fact his prosecutors, and every mixture of these two characters is inconsistent with impartial justice. However calm the feeling of a prosecutor may be when he enters into a cause, he soon acquires the keen spirit of a partisan; the idea of defeat gradually becomes painful to him, and in the end he dreads a failure as much as if his own personal credit or interest were connected with success.

Besides the mode of proceeding *ore tenus*, the Council might be applied to in another manner, in all cases of libel, conspiracy, and matters arising

[c] This rule does not seem to have been inflexible. The case of the Earl of Northumberland (4 James I.) for being concerned in the Powder Plot, was *ore tenus*, and yet not upon confession. (Col. Jur. ii. 63.)

out of force, or fraud. Crimes of the greatest magnitude, even treason and murder, were treated of in this Court, but punished solely as trespasses, the Council not having dared to usurp the power of inflicting death. Causes of a capital nature could originate only in the King, who by prosecuting in this Court for any treasonable or felonious offence, shewed his desire to remit the sentence against the life which would have been awarded in the Courts of Law. In these cases a bill of Complaint directed to the Council was written in English, upon parchment, and signed by "a learned man," (18 Fœdera, p. 192.) or Counsellor. Sir N. Bacon limited the length of a bill to fifteen sheets, and these were subsequently defined by Lord Keeper Egerton, who always paid great deference to the rules of Sir N. Bacon, to be sheets not containing more than fifteen lines in each sheet. Lord Keeper Egerton would often say, that a man might be charged with more in fifteen sheets then he could answer in a hundred. (Col. Jur. vol. ii. p. 151.) The Bill was filed with the Clerk of the Council, who thereupon granted a warrant to the process-maker, directing him to issue a subpœna addressed to the defendant, and commanding him to appear before the Council in the next term. The Clerk of the Council was paid 2*s.* for his warrant, and the charge for the subpœna was 2*s.* 6*d.*; a Counsellor also was allowed in 27th of Elizabeth, "for the drawing of the bill 10*s.*" (Lansdowne MS. No. 44, art. 7. 18 Fœd. p. 192. Hearne's Curious Discourses, ii. 305.) Strictly, no subpœna could be issued until a bill was filed; but it seems that this practice was at one time relaxed, and the consequence was, that in the time of Queen Elizabeth, "many solicitors who lived in Wales, Cornwall, or the furthest parts of the North, did make a trade to sue forth a multitude of subpœnas to vex their neighbours; who, rather than they would travel to London, would give them any composition, although there were no colour of complaint against them." (Col. Jur. ii. 143.) The practices of these cunning gentlemen were defeated by a regulation of Lord Keeper Egerton. Although the mention of Solicitors will come with a bad grace after this anecdote, it may perhaps be worth remarking, that that branch of legal practitioners seems to have arisen in great part out of the suits in the Star Chamber. In its origin their calling appears to have been of doubtful legality, and their characters not over good. Time has at any event established their right to practise, whatever

may have been its effect upon their characters. "In our age," says Hudson, "there are stepped up a new sort of people called Solicitors, unknown to the records of the law, who, like the grasshoppers in Egypt, devour the whole land; and these I dare say (being authorised by the opinion of the most reverend and learned Lord Chancellor that ever was before him) were express maintainers, and could not justify their maintenance upon any action brought; I mean not where a lord or gentleman employed his servant to solicit his cause, for he may justify his doing thereof; but I mean those which are common Solicitors of causes, and set up a new profession, not being allowed in any Court, or at least not in this Court, where they follow causes; and these are the retainers of causes, and devourers of men's estates by contention, and prolonging suits to make them without end." (Col. Jur. ii. 94.)

The process of the Star Chamber might anciently be served in any place. In Catholic times the market, or the church, seems to have been the usual place for service:—"Now," says Hudson, probably alluding to a case which occurred in the 13th of James I. in which a person was committed for serving process in a church although after divine service was at an end, (Rushworth's Collections, ii. 480.) "Now it is held a great offence to profane the church by service of process, that being a sanctuary where no man's devotion should be interrupted. But (under correction) I must cleave to antiquity, and hold it no offence to serve the process of the law (if Fortescue say true, that 'lex est sanctio sacra') in a holy place. For it appeareth upon record that these processes were usually served there in Henry the Seventh's time, when the church rather abounded with superstition than it wanted reverence or respect." (Col. Jur. ii. 146.) Hudson's reasoning upon this subject is strikingly illustrative of the manner in which the mind may become warped by the practices to which it is habituated. As a Lawyer he had no idea of any higher authority than a matter upon record, and could not therefore be expected to discover the slightest impropriety in a usage sanctioned, not merely by antiquity, but by a record of Henry VII. In another part of his work I find a corroboration of this practice in the mention of a case which occurred in the second year of Henry VIII. in which one Cheesman was committed to prison for contempt

of Court, in drawing his sword upon a messenger who served process upon him in the church of Esterford, in Essex.[d] (p. 123.) The practice of wearing swords during divine service is ancient; and in Poland so late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was the custom for gentlemen to draw their swords at church during the repetition of the Creed, by way of testifying their zeal for the faith. (Howell's Letters, p. 268, ed. 1737).

In the time of Henry VII. the person summoned appeared personally before the Chancellor, or President of the Council, "sometimes in the Chancellor's house, sometimes in the Parliament Chamber, sometimes in the Inner Star Chamber, sometimes in Court." (Col. Jur. p. 7.) In the reign of James I. the practice was for the defendant to appear before the Clerk of the Council, who made an entry of his appearance, and took from him a bond not to depart without license of the Court. Hudson laments that the appearance was no longer made before the Chancellor; remarking, that under that practice the defendant was "stricken with amazement, and then coming before a grave and reverend person truth was easily won from him." (ibid. p. 7, and p. 159.) The bond given by the defendant upon his appearance was anciently conditioned to appear *de die in diem*, or confess the offence. Something similar seems to have been the practice in proceedings before the Chancellor. A petition of the date of 4 Edward III. sets forth that the petitioner being summoned to appear in the Chancery on a certain day, he appeared accordingly; but, his opponent not being present, the Chancellor adjourned the investigation, and ordered the petitioner to follow the Court, from day to day, until the complainant should be present. In this attendance the petitioner complains that he was kept "as in a prison" for a year and more. (Rot. Parl. ii. p. 45.)

After appearance the defendant was bound to put in an answer upon oath to the plaintiff's bill. If he refused to answer he was committed to prison for a certain time; and if, at the expiration of that time, he still refused, either the bill was taken *pro confesso*, or he was retained in custody and kept upon bread and water until he answered. (Col. Jur. ii. p. 168.) When the

[d] In the Lansdowne MS. No. 639, p. 50, is the form of an affidavit of the service of a Privy Seal, in the parish Church of Barton-upon-Humber, "on the Sunday before May-day"—"between Mass and Mattins;" and see another instance p. 101 of the same vol.

defendant had put in his answer, the plaintiff proceeded to examine him upon written interrogatories—a practice most scandalously abused, being employed, as Hudson admits, "like a Spanish Inquisition, to rack men's consciences, nay to perplex them by intricate questions, thereby to make contrarieties, which may easily happen to simple men; and men were examined upon a hundred interrogatories, nay and examined of the whole course of their lives." To restrain this abuse Lord Keeper Bacon limited the examination to fifteen articles, each containing two questions; and Lord Ellesmere, by an order which proves the abominable manner in which this practice had been abused, directed that, "if any of these fifteen interrogatories did examine the defendant upon his life, whether he were a thief, or innocent, or of any crime not charged, nay, to examine a knight whether he had not hedged or ditched in his time, to disgrace him, not only the plaintiff himself, but any one who drew these interrogatories might be committed." It would seem, however, that, notwithstanding this order, the abuse continued. If the defendant refused to answer the interrogatories, he was committed until he consented to do so. Hudson states, that he knew some who continued in this confinement during their lives, and mentions as an instance one Thomas Ellis, who would not disclose the names of some persons set on by him to commit an outrage (ibid. 171). The examination was secret,—the defendant was not allowed the assistance or advice of any one, nor was he beforehand made acquainted with the nature of the interrogatories; each one being read separately, and an answer demanded before the defendant was made acquainted with the next interrogatory.

As soon as the defendant had passed his examination he might obtain a license to depart, upon appointing an attorney to attend to the suit in his absence, and entering into an engagement to be present at the hearing of the cause.

After the examination of the defendant, the parties proceeded to examine witnesses upon interrogatories. The examination was taken privately, in nearly the same manner as is used at the present day in our Courts of Equity. The parties were not permitted to examine the witnesses with a view of impeaching their credit, and the reason given was "that causes being for the King, if witnesses' lives should be so ripped up, no man would

willingly be produced to testify; and therefore many opinions and certificates of Judges are extant in this Court, where it is adjudged that a witness deposing for the King upon an indictment, shall not be questioned for perjury; yea, this Court hath ordered a great reward to witnesses in this Court by yielding their testimonies for the King." (Harl. MS. 1226, p. 127.) The Court, however, might be moved upon exceptions to the testimony of witnesses, and their credit examined in that manner: but it is clear that the witnesses for the plaintiff were greatly favoured, and, in the 4th of Elizabeth, Lord Viscount Bindon was fined 100*l.* for calling a man, who deposed against him, "a knave." (ibid. 123. Rushworth, ii. 478.) The King might give testimony either orally, as James I. did in the case of the Countess of Exeter; or by writing under his signet, the course adopted by the same monarch in the case of Lord Auberville. The Judges might give testimony either by certificate under their hands, or upon oath. All other persons, whether of the dignity of the peerage or not, delivered their testimony upon oath.

When the cause was ready for determination, it was entered in a list of causes, and the defendant was summoned to hear the judgment of the Court. Causes of pressing emergency were taken out of the ordinary course, and the attornies were at liberty to prefer such of their clients' cases as in their judgment required a speedy hearing.

The Court sat for the hearing of causes during term time twice, and sometimes thrice, in every week. After the sitting, the Lords, together with the Clerk of the Council, dined in the Inner Star Chamber at the public expence. The cost of these dinners seems to have been a matter of consideration with Lord Burleigh, and the gradual increase of the expence, notwithstanding the decrease in the number of persons who attended the Court, is worthy of observation. An account signed by Wolsey and others, and now amongst the Lansdowne MSS. No. 1, art. 49, furnishes a statement of the expence of seventeen dinners given to the Lords of the Council in the year 1509. The whole expence amounted to 35*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.* which averaged about 2*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* for every dinner. Another paper in the same volume of MSS. in the hand-writing of Lord Burleigh (art. 44.) gives the following statement:

	£.	s.		£.	s.
Anno 1559, the ordinary charge of a dynar	4	10	or	5	9
1579, - - -	8	0	or	10	0
1590, - - -	17	0	or	18	0

The number of the Council who attended the Court is said, in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. to have been near to forty, of whom seven or eight were prelates; in the reign of Elizabeth the number was nearly thirty; but about the 30th year of that reign the Peers who were not Privy Councillors desisted from attendance, which greatly lessened the number of the Court, (Col. Jur. ii. 36.) although upon some important occasions in the reign of Charles I. the attendance amounted to twenty-four and twenty-six. (Rushworth, ii. 475.)

The Chancellor proceeded to the sittings of the Court in great state; his mace and seal being carried before him. He was the supreme Judge, and alone sate with his head covered. The Clerks of the Court stood by him; and his servants had the favour to attend within the Court, "though many young noblemen were compelled many times to seek their places elsewhere." (Col. Jur. ii. 26.) Upon important occasions we learn that persons who wished "to get convenient places and standing," came there by three in the morning. (Rushworth, ii. 473.) The Chancellor called upon the Counsel at the bar to speak, and, upon admitting the suit, appointed the Counsel, a privilege which seems to have been made a means of promoting favourites and kinsmen. The Chief Justices generally attended the sittings of the Court; and the Chancellor had the power of commanding the attendance of any of the other Judges, and could require their presence, or that of the members of the Council, whenever he chose to sit at unusual times. Upon all interlocutory motions he was the mouth of the Court, to give the rule or order; the appointing of hearings, the admission of attornies, and the minute regulations necessary to be made in the progress of causes, were anciently all directed by the Chancellor; but the increase of the causes in Chancery, and his various other duties, occasioned these things to be entrusted to the Clerk of the Court. (ibid. p. 29.) The Chancellor could make orders upon private petitions, a practice which was converted into a source of profit to his attendants. (ibid. p. 35.)

Upon the trial of causes the parties were heard by their Counsel, whose addresses were confined by Lord Ellesmere to a "laconical brevity;" the examinations of the witnesses were read; and the members of the Court proceeded, in great silence, to deliver their opinions. They spoke in order from the inferior upwards, the Archbishop always preceding the Chancellor. In the case of equality of voices, that of the Chancellor was decisive. He alone had the power of assessing damages and awarding costs, and he alone could discharge persons sentenced to imprisonment during pleasure. (ibid. 223. 32. 33.)

I propose in some future communications to you, to continue my sketch of the history of this Court, and draw your attention to a few of the most important cases which were there determined. I shall then have occasion to mention several instances of the barbarous punishments which they inflicted; but, as I have given an outline of the progress of the suits in this Court from their commencement, it may be well to complete the sketch and bring this letter to a close, by a few remarks upon the general nature of its sentences.

Every punishment except death was assumed to be within the power of the Court. Excluded from sentencing capitally, they seem to have given themselves up to the infliction of meaner and more cruel punishments, heaping them one upon another, until their meaning and character were lost. They do not seem to have considered that disgrace, which is the essence of mean punishments, is produced more effectually by the infliction of one, than of many; and that when several different punishments are awarded, their accumulation tends rather to dignify the punishment, than disgrace the offender. If the complaint were founded upon a precise statute, which was very seldom the case, the Court awarded the punishment inflicted by the statute; but if the offence were against the statute, but the bill not grounded upon the statute, "they use most commonly to impose a greater fine and more grievous punishment than the statute, and seldom or never lesse, unlesse the statute be somewhat antiquated." (Hargrave MS. No. 482, art. 1. p. 11 b.) Several instances in illustration of this practice are given in the MS. from which I have just quoted; one will suffice. "The statute of 5 Elizabeth, c. 14, punisheth the forging of false deeds with double

damages to the partie grieved; imprisonment during life, pillory, cutting off both ears, slitting nostrils, and forfeiture of all his goods and profits of all his lands during his life; and the publisher of such deedes (knowing the same to be forged) with like double damages, pillory, cutting off one ear, and imprisonment for a year. The Starre Chamber will adde, upon the forger, a fine to the value of all his estate, whipping, wearing of papers through Westminster Hall, letters to be seared in his face with hote irons; and, to the publisher, likewise a great fine, and longer imprisonment, not to be released until hee find sureties for good behaviour, and the like." (ibid. p. 12 b.) This catalogue of judicial terrors comprehends at one view all the ordinary punishments of the Star Chamber. In John Lilburn's case—I trust it was a solitary one—gagging was had recourse to, in order to stop his outcries in the pillory, and, in other cases, a savage and cold-blooded ingenuity was exercised in the discovery of novel inflictions. For instance, one Traske, a poor fanatic who taught the unlawfulness of eating swine's flesh, was sentenced to be imprisoned, and fed upon pork. (Col. Jur. ii. 225.) I think it might be shewn that most of these infamous punishments were introduced during the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. and grew into common practice under Elizabeth. Whipping seems to have been introduced by Lord Keeper Puckering, if I understand rightly that he is the person aimed at in the following sentence from Hudson, "The slavish practice of whipping was not heard to come from the noble spirit of those times,[e] in that honourable presence, and not familiarly introduced there till a great man of the Common Law, and otherwise a worthy Justice, forgot his place of session, and brought it in this place too much in use." (Col. Jur. ii. 36.) In the early instances there was a moderation in fines; but latterly they were inflicted in excess, not according to the estate of the delinquent, but in proportion to the supposed character of the offence, "the ransom of a beggar and a gentleman being all one;" (Col. Jur. ii. 224.) or as it is elsewhere expressed, "the Lord Chancellor useth to say often, that the King hath committed his justice to them, and that he hath reserved his mercy to himself; wherefore that they ought to look only upon the offence, and not upon the person,

[e] Henry VIIth and VIIIth.

but leave him to his Majesty for mercy, if there be cause." (Hargrave MS. 482, art. 1. p. 10. b.) In the reigns of Henry VIIth and VIIIth it was not so. The Clergy were then in the habit of attending the Court, and their "song," says Hudson, "was of mercy." It ought to be remembered, to the honour of Archbishop Whitgift, that he seems to have struggled against the increasing barbarities and oppressions of this judicature. "I well remember," says Hudson, "that he did ever constantly maintain the liberty of the Free Charter, that men ought to be fined, salvo contenemento, and in many years never gave any sentence but therein he did mitigate in something the acrimony of those that spake before him." (Harl. MS. 1226, p. 19.)

Here I come to a close. I fear I have engaged you and the Society of Antiquaries, if you think proper to lay this letter before them, in a subject of little interest; but, I trust, for my justification, it will be borne in mind that legal antiquities have never yet been found to be amongst those "ways of hoar antiquity" which are "strewn with flowers," and that even the most skilful, with the exception of Judge Blackstone, have failed in making them objects of general attention.

I have the honour to be,
my dear Sir,
your very faithful humble servant,
JOHN BRUCE.

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S.
Treas. S.A.

XIX. *A Second Letter on the Court of Star Chamber, addressed by* John Bruce, *Esq. F.S.A. to* Thomas Amyot, *Esq. F.R.S. Treasurer.*

Read 5th and 12th December, 1833.

42, Cheyné Walk, Chelsea, 3rd December, 1833.

My dear Sir,

THE letter which I some time since did myself the honour to address to you, upon the subject of the Court of Star Chamber, contains a sketch of the history of the judicial authority of the Consilium Regis down to the reign of Henry VI., during whose minority there occurred something like a parliamentary acquiescence in the interference of the Council in all causes, in which there appeared to be too great might on the one side and "unmight" on the other, or in which there existed other reasonable cause for the withdrawal of the dispute from the ordinary tribunals.[a] I shall now trace the subsequent history of this celebrated Court, commenting, as I proceed, upon some of the cases which came under its notice.

The causes determined by the Council during the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III., although important and interesting in themselves, are not of such a character that they can well be brought within the limits of a rapid sketch like the present; the object of which is not to enumerate all, or even many, of the cases determined in the Star Chamber, but to give a general notion of the practices which prevailed there, and the spirit which pervaded its decisions, during the several periods of its exist-

[a] Just about the time of Cade's rebellion, and the breaking out of the civil war between the houses of Lancaster and York, an Act of Parliament was passed (31 Henry VI. c. 2.) which imposed heavy penalties upon persons who refused to appear before the Council when called upon to answer for "great riots, extortions, oppressions, and grievous offences." This Act was clearly meant to strengthen the hands of the executive in a time of disturbance, and was so worded as not to give the Council authority over any new description of causes. It expressly declared, that no matter determinable at the Common Law should be determined except in the ordinary Courts. I do not notice this Act in the text, because it was a temporary enactment, limited to the term of seven years; at the expiration of which it was not renewed.

ence. I have appended to this letter notices of three cases in the reign of Henry VI. all of them, in my opinion, worthy of attention. The dispute between the Earl of Devon and Sir William Bonville, and the case of the English merchants, are of historical interest. And all the three cases are illustrative of the description of matters in which the Council were then accustomed to interfere.[b]

The reign of Henry VII. is an epoch in the history of the Star Chamber That monarch appears to have had a fondness for sitting in person with his Council upon judicial occasions, and during the first and second years of his reign, held "twelve several stately sessions"[c] in the Star Chamber; but I have not found sufficient mention of the cases decided upon these occasions, to enable me to present you with any instances of his Majesty's judicial wisdom. He at any event possessed the wisdom of calling around him a learned Council; for, according to Hall, at the very commencement of his reign, "he established in his house a grave counsaill of wyse and pollitique men, by whose judgment, ordre, and determinacion the people might be governed accordyng to justice and equitie, and that all causes might be finyshed and ended there, without great bearyng or expence in long sute. And for hearyng and decydynge these causes justly and spedely, he sware of his counsaill dyverse noble and discrete persons, which for their pollecy, wit, and singular gravitie, were highly esteemed and renowned."[d]

The besetting sin of this period was a want of respect for the authority of the ordinary Courts of Justice, which manifested itself in a proneness to obstruct the execution of their orders, by means of riots, and the concealment of offenders. The more effectually to set the law at defiance, the people formed themselves into companies, having secret signs, or tokens, and each member being bound by writing, or oath, to unite in the defence of his confederates. Men of power retained followers for this purpose, distinguishing them by peculiar liveries, badges, or hats; protecting them by their influence, whenever they infringed the laws; and demanding their personal services in return, whenever there was need of pliant witnesses, or it was thought fit to oppose the execution of legal process. These practices

[b] Vid. also Cases of Danvers, Foard, Varney, and Lord Cromwell; Lamb. Archion, 158. Hudson, Col. Jur. ii. p. 15.

[c] Lamb. Archion. 165.

[d] Hall, p. 424, edition 1809.

seem to have resulted partly from the ancient intimate connection between lord and tenant; partly from the permission which in some instances the feudal system gave to complainants, of forcibly redressing their own grievances; and partly, also, from the circumstance that some of the ordinary tribunals of the country had fallen into disrepute amongst the people. The settlement of the King's Courts gradually withdrew the majority of suits from the ancient Courts of the Baron and the Sheriff, in which justice had formerly been administered "at home," as is forcibly expressed in the laws of Edgar.[e] These minor Courts had become unpopular, and it needed a long time before a distant judicature could bring back the people to a feeling of respect for the authority of the Law, and render them acquainted with the nature of the power of the King's Courts, so far exceeding that of the homely tribunals, which they had too frequently set at defiance. From the time of Edward I. the Statute Book contains many enactments levelled against these unlawful combinations; but the continued complaints upon the subject, with which the Rolls of Parliament abound, prove the statutory remedies to have been ineffectual. Down to the reign of Henry VI. these pernicious confederations formed the subject of frequent petitions of the Commons.[f] The civil wars no doubt gave them greater vigour, and in a period of general disturbance such associations were probably found occasionally useful. Upon the return of peace their influence was manifestly injurious, and in the reign of Edward IV. the Commons again had recourse to the old petitions against them.[g] Calculated as such combinations were to increase the power of the nobility at the expence of the Crown, they were not likely to be tolerated by Henry VII. At the very outset of his reign he took a new course to suppress them, by administering to his first Parliament an oath, that, from thenceforth, they should not "receive, aid, ne comforte, any persone oopenlie cursed, murderer, felon, or outlawed man of felony known so to be; or any such person lett to be attached, or taken therefore, by the order of the Law; nor reteine any man by indenture, or othe; nor give livere, signe, or token contrary to the Law; nor any maintenance, imbracerie, riotts, or unlawful assemblie, make, cause to be made,

e Wilkins, 77. f 4 Rot. Parl. 329, 348. g 5 Rot. Parl. 487, 633. 6 Rot. Parl. 8.

or assent thereto, nor lett nor cause to be letted the execution of any of the Kinges writtes or precepts."[h] Many notable knights and gentlemen, as well of the King's household as of the House of Commons, having been purposely summoned before the Parliament, this oath was read in the presence of the King and the House of Lords. The persons summoned then took the oath, swearing upon the Holy Evangelists. After they had retired, the Chancellor inquired of the Lords whether they were willing to take the same oath, when they all replied, "We are." The oath was then read a second time, and taken by the Lords, each spiritual peer placing his right hand upon his breast, and each temporal peer placing his right hand upon the Holy Evangelists. There does not seem any reason for supposing that this oath constituted an exception to the general inefficacy of legislative affirmations; for two years afterwards Henry, still pursuing his purpose, procured an act to be passed, by which, after reciting, that the King remembered, how by unlawful maintenances, giving of liveries, signs and tokens; retainders by indentures, promises, oaths, writings, and otherwise; embraceries; untrue demeanings of sheriffs in making pannels, and untrue returns; by taking of money by juries; by great riots, and unlawful assemblies; the policy and good rule of the realm was almost subdued, it was therefore enacted that the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Keeper of the Privy-seal, or two of them,[i] calling to them a Bishop and a temporal Lord of the Council, and two of the Judges, upon bill, or information afore rehearsed, should have authority to call before them, by writ of Privy-seal, the said misdoers, and them, and others by whom the truth may be known, to examine, and such as they find defective therein to punish, in like manner as if they were convict after the due order of Law.[k]

The authority given by this act was executed in the Star Chamber, and many persons have concluded from that circumstance that the judicial jurisdiction of the Council had no existence anterior to the passing of this act. This point was several times raised during the existence of the Court.

[h] 6 Rot. Parl. p. 287.

[i] By the Stat. 21 Henry VIII. c. 20. The President of the Council was associated with the Chancellor and other great officers, in the authority given by this act.

[k] 3 Henry VII. c. 1.

Hudson says he remembers that Lord Chancellor Egerton would often tell, that in his time, when he was a student, Mr. Serjeant Lovelace put his hand to a demurrer in this Court, for that the matter of the bill contained other matters than were mentioned in this Statute, and Mr. Plowden, that great lawyer, put his hand thereto first, whereupon Mr. Lovelace easily followed. But the cause being moved in Court, Mr. Lovelace, being a young man, was called to answer the error of his ancient, Mr. Plowden, who very discreetly made his excuse at the bar, that Mr. Plowden's hand was first to it, and that he supposed he might, in any thing, follow St. Augustine. "And although it were then overruled," continues Hudson, "Mr. Serjeant Richardson, thirty years after, fell again upon the same rock, and was sharply rebuked for the same."[1] It seems to me quite evident that the power exercised by the general body of the Council, in the Star Chamber, extended very far beyond the jurisdiction created by the Statute of Henry VII.;—that it was exercised by other persons than those enumerated in the Statute; and was in existence before its enactment. I cannot therefore understand how it can be properly contended that the two jurisdictions were the same, or that the power of the one ought to have been limited by the authority given to the other. "Whether the jurisdiction of the Council over causes determinable at the Common Law, and not mentioned in the Statute, was or was not an usurpation?" is another question, upon which a difference of opinion exists. I think it was.

There are traces in almost every period of our early history of the interference of the King, and his Council, in the litigations of the people, and in the punishment of offenders. Even after the establishment of our present ordinary tribunals such interference may constantly be found, and perhaps long continued usage rendered it at one time lawful in the judgment of contemporaries. There is, however, a period after which, it seems to me, this interference was not merely unsupported by the law, but existed in defiance of it. One of the best-known provisions of "Magna Charta" declared, that no one should be imprisoned, nor put out of his freehold, nor his franchises, nor free customs, unless it were by the

[1] Col. Jur. ii. 51.

judgment of his peers, OR *by the Law of the land.* The Statute of 25 Edward III. st. 5, c. 4, after reciting this clause of the Great Charter, declares, that thenceforth none should be taken by petition, or suggestion, made to the King, or his Council, unless it were by indictment, or presentment of good and lawful people, and in due manner. The 42nd Edw. III. c. 3, is even still more explicit. It recites, that persons falsely accused had been caused to come before the King's Council by writ, and otherwise, upon grievous pain, *against the Law;* and enacts, that no man be put to answer without presentment before Justices, or matter of record, or by due process, and writ original, according to the law of the land. And if any thing should from thenceforth be done to the contrary, *it should be void in the Law, and holden for error.* In practice these statutes do not seem to have been ever rigidly observed; but surely it is impossible to contend, with any show of reason, that after their enactment the assumed jurisdiction of the Council, over cases which might be determined at the Common Law, was any other than a mere usurpation. This point was taken by Mr. Carew, who was brought before the Star Chamber in the first year of James I. The proceeding was *ore tenus,* and the defendant, in his defence, delivered into Court the passage I have quoted from Magna Charta. Hudson, who seems to have been present, relates that the Lord Chancellor Egerton, upon that occasion, did learnedly declare the true meaning of that law, showing the disjunctive, *per legale judicium parium suorum,* which was by indictment, or some writ original, VEL *per legem terræ.*[m] A more palpable quibble can hardly be imagined. It is evident, that whatever may be the meaning of the alternative clause of the passage in Magna Charta, upon which subject there have been many opinions, the jurisdiction exercised by the Council was not shielded by it, inasmuch as, at any event, after the statutes of Edward III., in cases determinable at the Common Law, it was a jurisdiction not consistent with the law of the land, but clearly opposed to it. How far the regulations ratified by the Parliament during the minority of Henry VI. may be considered to affect the question, I can scarcely determine. That these regulations were intended to be temporary, may be in-

[m] Col. Jur. ii. 4.

ferred, not merely from their contents, but from the circumstance of their frequent repetition. On the other hand, the acquiescence of the Parliament in the exercise, by the Council, of powers opposed to the Law, seems to indicate, that out of the continued breach of the statutes, there had grown a tribunal which was at any event partly recognised. From the time of the passing of the statutes of Edward III. down to the parliamentary regulations in Henry VI. there were perpetual complaints by the Commons in Parliament, of the perseverance of the Council in the assumption of powers unauthorised by the law; but from the time of the parliamentary regulations in Henry VI. there were no such complaints. The business before the Council increased; the old restrictions upon its power were more and more disregarded, and, with the exception of some few complaints from individuals, its growth was entirely unchecked. Constant usage strengthened the usurped authority, and, by a course of gradual assumption, the power of the Council reached the tyrannical height from which it ultimately fell.

After the passing of the act of Henry VII. the judicial authority exercised by the Council seems to me to have stood thus:

I. The authority given by the Statute, which soon merged as it were in the other, assumed, authority of the Council, and came to be exercised by the body of the Council generally, although such a practice was clearly contrary to the Statute.

II. An authority assumed over cases which might be determined at the Common Law. This authority was an usurpation in defiance of the Statutes, except so far as it may be thought to have been sanctioned, in certain peculiar cases, by the regulations of Henry VI. or long continued usage.

III. A concurrent authority assumed over cases already determined, or in course of determination at the Common Law, which was altogether an usurpation. And,

IV. An authority over cases not determinable either in the Courts of Common Law, or in Chancery. Such cases were very rare; if there were any such, it may be thought that there existed in the Sovereign a residuum of the prerogative of dispensing justice, and that, by virtue of that residuum, the Council had a right to determine such cases.

During the reign of Henry VII. our attention is not so much drawn to

the particular cases determined in the Star Chamber, as it is to the general system which prevailed there. This Court was the instrument by which the politic rapacity of the Sovereign and the subtilty of his favourite "promoters of suits" accomplished their nefarious purposes. If a man were descended from a stock that had favoured the White Rose; if he were suspected of entertaining a feeling of pity for the misfortunes of the Earl of Warwick; if his behaviour indicated a lofty spirit; or, even, if he were merely thought to be moderately rich; neither a dignified station in society, nor purity of life, nor cautiousness of conduct, could afford him any protection. Some statute which had long lain "like a rusty sword quite out of use," but which was yet called "the law," was put in force against him by the King's receivers of forfeitures. If his purse were found to be empty, the prejudged culprit was committed to prison, until a pardon was purchased by the compassion of his friends; if full, the consideration seems to have been, how to manage so as to leave behind just enough to furnish a temptation for a second display of the ingenuity of the promoters. During the greater part of the King's reign his attention was occupied by the conspiracies of Simnel and Warbeck, the insurrections in the North, and in Cornwall, and by the interest he took in the affairs of Burgundy; his natural disposition seems also to have been restrained by Archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Bray; but after the deaths of these two Counsellors, and of his Queen, Elizabeth, the only link which bound him to the house of York—"outlawries, olde recognizances of the peace and good abearing, escapes, riots, and innumerable statutes penal were put in execution, and called upon, by Empson and Dudley; so that every man, both of the spiritualitie and temporalitie, having either land or substance, was called to this plucking banquet; according to the Psalmist saying, all declined and fell together, and no man, although he were never so clere and gyltles, in conclusion, durst aventure a tryall, seynge the experience of them that passed before. For these two ravenynge wolves had such a garde of false perjured persons apperteignynge to them, which were by their commandment empanyeled on every quest, that the King was sure to wynne whosoever lost. Learned men of the lawe, when they were required of their advise, would saye, 'to agree, is the best counsayl that I can give you.' By this undewe

meanes these covetous persones filled the Kinges cofers and enriched themselves. And, at this unreasonable and extorte doynge, noble men grudged, meane men kycked, poore men lamented, preachers openlie at Paules crosse and other places exclaimed, rebuked and detested, but yet they would never amend."[n]

Amongst the MSS. in the British Museum are two papers which furnish some curious particulars of the manner in which these proceedings were managed. One of them[o] has been noticed by Mr. Turner, in his History of England, and a singularly incorrect transcript of it inserted by him in a note to his fourth volume (p. 97, 3rd edition 8vo). The other paper, which is amongst the Lansdown MSS. no. 160.) does not seem to have been noticed; I have therefore subjoined a copy of it.[p] The paper published by Mr. Turner is a copy of an account of the sums received by Edmund Dudley for the King's use during the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd years of the reign; that to which I request your attention, is a selected account of sums received for cases in which persons, who had been prosecuted for breaches of the law, either real or pretended, had compounded with the King, and paid fines to be discharged. This account refers to the same period as that of Dudley, and comprehends most of Dudley's receipts, together with many others. It is in the handwriting of Sir Julius Cæsar, and was probably taken from the original accounts, as it seems to have been made use of, in the Star Chamber, upon a question which arose in that Court in the cause of the Earl of Suffolk, in the reign of James I. Amongst the persons named in this paper are many of the chief nobility of the time;—the unhappy Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, stands at the head of the list for 500 marks. At a little distance follow, "Sir William Capel and Giles Capel his son, for their pardons £1000." Sir William Capel was an Alderman of London. His "first trouble," as Fabyan terms it,[q] began in the 10th year of the King's reign, when being called in question for the breach of certain statutes "made beforetimes," he was condemned to pay a fine amounting to £2743. Ultimately he compounded for £1615. 6*s*. 8*d*. "which he paid."[r]

n Hall, p. 502.
o Harl. MS. no. 1877.
p See p. 384.
q Fabyan, 685.
r Stowe, p. 475.

From these MSS. it appears that a second "trouble" befel Sir William Capel, jointly with his son, in the 20th year of the reign, from which they purchased a release upon payment of £100 down, and entering into a recognizance for £900 more. In the 23rd year, Sir William Capel was "agayne put in vexacyon by sute of the Kinge for things done by him in the time of his mayoraltie."[s] Either his purse or his patience was exhausted, and upon this occasion he refused all composition, "and after prysonment in the Countour, and sheriffes house, was by the kinges counsell commanded to the Tower, where he remayned until the king died, and shortly after was delivered with many other." Sir William Capel was not the only citizen who was thus abused. Thomas Kneysworth, Mayor in 1506, and Shore and Grove, his two Sheriffs, were prosecuted in 1507, and fined, Kneysworth and Shore £500 each, and Grove £133. 6*s*. 8*d*., besides imprisonment in the Marshalsea.[t] Kebell, an Alderman, was fined 1000 marks, which he paid to Dudley. Alderman Christopher Hawes "was so long vexed by the said promoters that it shortened his life by thoughtaking."[u] In like manner Sir Lawrence Aylmer, Mayor in 1508, was prosecuted for some similar offence, and refusing to compound, remained in custody until the opportune death of the King released him, along with Sir William Capel. It seems to have been scarcely possible to fill any of the civil offices without giving occasion of advantage to these watchful informers. Eschaetors, customers, controllers, sheriffs, are to be found in the MSS. I have referred to, and the King seems to have taken double advantage of these officers, by first selling them their appointments, and afterwards scrutinising their conduct with the most vigilant severity. Amongst the items in this account I would particularly draw your attention to the following, which form a curious commentary upon the celebrated provision of Magna Charta, "nulli vendemus rectum aut justiciam."

"For the pardon of Will. Tivell late in the Fleete for an outlawry of rape and other offences, 100 lib.

"Of the parson of Clyve, his discharge of such matters as he was charged with before the Counsell, 20 lib.

[s] Fabyan, p. 689. [t] Fabyan. Harl. MS. 1877. [u] Stowe, 488.

" For the discharge of an Indictment of murther found in Lincolnshire ag^t^ Jo. Cutlare, Clerk, 300 marks.

" For the discharge of Thomas Symonds, Clerk, prisoner in the Tower for words unfitting, 20 lib.

" For the pardon of Will. Harper for treasons, felonies, escapes, and other offences, 400 marks.

" For Sir David Owen, for a pardon for hunting, 300 marks.

" For the generall pardon to the Lord Clifford, for divers damages that he stood in to the King's Grace, as touching the quo warranto for the Sheriffwick of Westmoreland, and intrusion of the coronage of the same, &c. 400 marks.

" For the pardon of murther of Sir John Fenes, K^t^, 25 lib.

" For the discharge of the Earl of Devon for reteyners, 1000 marks.

" Of Jo. Montgomery, K^t^. to have the King's favour in traversing an Indictment of murther in Staffordshire, 40 lib.

" For Rede of Pawles for his discharge of and for a letter by him sent to Rome against the Archbishop of Canterbury, 50 marks.

" For the King's gracious favour in the recovering the 800 marks assessed upon the tenants of Breknok, 300 marks.

" For the Earl of Derby for his pardon, 6000 lib.

" Payd by the Erle of Northumberland for the King's gracious favour to him shewed in the matter betwixt Sir Jo. Hotham, K^t^, and the same Earle, and further to be dismissed out of the Starr Chamber for that cause, 100 lib.

" For the pardon of the Earl of Northumberland, 10,000 lib.

" For the King's most gracious favour to Swan and other certeine persons of Kent to be discharged of an attaint sued against them by the Earl of Essex and Sir Will. Say, 800 lib.

" For the general pardon of the Bishop of Sarum, 1000 ^li^.

From these, and many other similar items, it would seem that the King assumed the power of withdrawing causes from the jurisdiction of all the Courts, upon the accused party making a pecuniary arrangement with his receivers; or, as the phrase ran in the Star Chamber, " the King took the matter into his own hands," and the prisoner was discharged upon the King's Attorney certifying that fact to the Court.[x]

Lord Bacon has made us acquainted with the traditional story of the

[x] Lansdowne MS. 160, p. 307.

King's conduct to the Earl of Oxford, whose retainers, dressed in liveries, came around him upon occasion of a visit from the King. Henry expressed his thanks for the good cheer he had received, but added, "I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight,—my Attorney must speak with you;" which words were the prelude to a fine of 15,000 marks. Tradition has probably exaggerated the amount of the fine, but the anecdote is perfectly in character with the practices evidenced in the MSS. I have referred to, and unites with them in manifesting how greatly the profits arising from the breach of the law, stimulated Henry's exertions to maintain its authority amongst his subjects. He converted offences into a source of revenue, and was not anxious to carry into effect the spirit of the law, but to make money out of the breach of the mere letter of the statutes.

The accession of Henry VIII. produced an extraordinary change in the Star Chamber. The Council no longer listened, approvingly, to the accusations of the late King's Commissioners of Forfeitures, but immediately proceeded to sit in judgment upon the accusers. They were committed to the Tower on the very day after the new King was proclaimed. Many other persons, who, in conjunction with Empson and Dudley, had made a trade of informing against the people for breaches of the penal statutes, and who were commonly called "Promoters," because they "promoted many honest men's vexations," were apprehended and committed to prison. Hall mentions the names of seven of these worthies, adding, emphatically, and with evident regret, that "the most craftiest knave of all, called Giovanni Baptista Grimaldi, escaped, and came to Westminster, and there took sanctuary."[y] A general pardon was proclaimed for all offences, except murder, felony, and treason: and, it was added, that if any man had wrongfully sustained injury, or loss of goods, through the crafty devices of Empson and Dudley, he would receive satisfaction upon petition to the King. A crowd of applicants immediately besieged the Council, who "examined and tried their causes, and such as they found to be manifestly and openly injured, to them they made due restitution." The which thing being bruited amongst the common people, "Lord!" exclaims Grafton,[z] "how they re-

[y] Hall, 506.

[z] Grafton, ii. 256.

sorted in great flocks and heaps, and rushed into the Court with the rest, whether they had been justly punished or not, and they also, with horrible and great exclamation, cried out upon the Commissioners (Empson and Dudley) yea, and many of them that most exclaimed were such as had been touched nothing at all." The result was, as might have been anticipated, that the Council very soon desisted from the promised restitution.

The "Promoters," notwithstanding the general pardon, were sentenced by the Council, some of them to pay fines, and others to ride about the City on horseback, with their faces towards the horses' tails, and, afterwards, to stand in the pillory in Cornhill, and wear papers indicative of their offences. Such a punishment was, in truth, an invitation to the people to revenge themselves upon their persecutors, and the opportunity it afforded was not lost. Three of the ringleaders, upon whom this sentence was carried into effect on the 6th June 1509, died, in Newgate, within a few days afterwards:—"for very shame," say some of the authorities, but, more probably from ill usage in the pillory, the cause assigned by others.

The fate of Empson and Dudley is well known. The people clamourously demanded their punishment; but, in the eye of the law, their efforts to enforce the law did not constitute a crime. To please the people, a groundless and ridiculous pretence of a treasonable conspiracy was preferred against them; there was no difficulty in finding juries ready to convict them of any offence, and even the Parliament did not scruple to join in the general hue and cry. They were sentenced to death, but probably without any intention of carrying the sentence into execution. It happened, however, that Henry set out, at that time, upon his first progress; finding himself annoyed, wherever he went, by outcries for vengeance against the unpopular ministers, he at once dispatched a warrant for their execution, and they were accordingly sent to the block, to add to the enjoyment of a royal progress. Empson's forfeited mansion, with its orchard aud twelve gardens, situate in Saint Bride's, Fleet Street, and occupying the ground now known as Salisbury Square, and Dorset Street, was granted to Wolsey on the 30th January, 1510.[a]

[a] Cavendish, 79. Rymer, v. 569.

I have remarked that the unfortunate Edward Stafford was one of the noblemen who fell under the power of this Court in the time of Henry VII. The new reign was inauspicious to him and his family from its commencement. His brother, Henry Stafford, was attached upon a charge of treason, at the same time as Empson and Dudley, and not released from the Tower until after the expiration of several months. The Duke himself was not permitted to exercise the important office of Lord High Constable, which the Staffords inherited from the Bohuns, until he had proved his title to it in the Star Chamber. Short notes of the course of the proceedings, with reference to the Constableship, may be found in the Lansdowne MS. No. 639, (p. 70, 71, and 72.) Shortly afterwards, the Duke applied to the Star Chamber against one Lucas, who had said of him, that he had no more conscience than a dog, and that if he could get wealth he cared not how it came. Having already sued this libeller at the Common Law, upon the statute of *Scandalum Magnatum*, and recovered £40 damages, the Duke's subsequent application to the Court of Star Chamber, in which he used the record of the judgment of the inferior tribunal as evidence, has very much the appearance of a vindictive and oppressive proceeding.[b] There are traces of another cause before this Court, in which the Duke of Buckingham prosecuted one Ap Morgan, in the 7th year of Henry VIII., but I have not been able to find the occasion or result of this cause. The credit of the witnesses for the Duke was impeached, and there was a reference to the Master of the Rolls and Dr. Taylor to examine into the matter, but with what success does not appear.[c] The jealousy with which the Duke was regarded at Court is clearly indicated by the proceedings of the Star Chamber in the case of Sir William Bulmer, a case which Henry thought of sufficient importance to deliver judgment in it personally. The charge was, that Sir William Bulmer, being the King's sworn servant, refused the King's service, and became a retainer of the Duke of Buckingham. The King indignantly declared, "that he would none of his servauntes should hang on another mannes sleeve, and that he was as wel able to maintein him as the Duke of Buckingham, and that what might be thought by his departyng,

[b] Star Chamber Cases, p. 13, b.

[c] Lansdowne MS. no. 639, p. 92. Coll. Jur. ii. 201.

and what myght be supposed by the Duke's retaining, he would not then declare." The knight kneeled at the bar during the proceedings, fervently beseeching the King to have mercy upon him, and "never a nobleman there durst entreat for him, the King was so highly displeased with him." In the end, the King, whose anger may be supposed to have had some policy in it, forgave Sir William Bulmer, declaring as the same time, in words which contain a clue to the whole proceeding, "We will that none of our servauntes shall belong to any other person but to us, nor we will not that our subjects repine or grudge at such as we favoure, for our pleasure we will have in that cace as us liketh, for one we will favour now, and another at suche time as us shall like: and therefore, Sir William, if you serve us hartely, you shall not be forgotten, and for this time we pardon you."[d] These words seem to indicate that the conduct of Sir William Bulmer originated in a grudge against the fortunes of the King's favourite. The transfer of his services to the Duke of Buckingham, and the Duke's indiscretion in accepting them, certainly placed both the parties in a state of very imprudent opposition to the King. This case occurred in 1519. Two years afterwards, when the Duke was put upon his trial, one of the charges against him was, that having been apprehensive that he should be sent to the Tower, upon this occasion, he had subsequently declared, that, if that had been the case, he would have played the part which his father intended to have acted towards Richard III. at Salisbury; meaning, that he would have asked an audience of the King in order to assassinate him."[e]

Lord Herbert writes, that the accusation against the Duke of Buckingham was deferred until he was "weakened in his friends and allies," amongst whom he assigns the first place to Henry Algernon Percy, 5th Earl of Northumberland, whose daughter the Duke had married. The "weakening" of the Earl of Northumberland, to which Herbert refers, was the result of a suit in the Star Chamber, respecting the Earl's claim to the custody of certain wards. The matter appears to have been first brought before the Court on the 10th of April 1516, when the Earl was ordered to appear on the next Sunday, and was directed to make up his mind in the mean time,

[d] Hall, 600. Grafton, ii. 300.

[e] Herbert, 110.

whether he would answer such things as should be objected against him on behalf of the King, or would submit to the King's mercy. On the 16th April the Earl appeared, and submitted himself with great humility, confessing himself guilty in the matters objected against him, and entreating the Lords, and particularly the Cardinal, to intercede for him with the King.[f] It would seem that, notwithstanding his submission, he remained for some time in close custody.[g] I may be permitted to notice that this is the same Earl of Northumberland who was the patron of Skelton, and whose Household Book has deservedly attracted so much attention.

At the same time that the King passed judgment in the case of Sir William Bulmer, Lord Edmund Howard, third son of the Duke of Norfolk, Sir Matthew Browne, and John Skot of Camerwell, were brought before the Star Chamber charged with riots and maintenance of offenders in the county of Surrey, and Lord Ogle, charged with some misdemeanour in the North. The King pardoned them all, except Lord Ogle, whom he addressed thus: "Sir, your matter concerneth murder of our subjecte, whiche great offence is not only to us but to God, and therefore we remit you to the Common Law."[h]

I have brought into one view the cases against Buckingham, Northumberland, and Lord Edmund Howard, that it may be seen in what manner the Cardinal persevered in the purpose of Henry VII. to reduce the power of the aristocracy. Henry VII. converted his policy into a source of wealth,—the Cardinal made it the means of furthering his own advancement; for the noble families of Stafford, Percy, and Howard were his personal opponents. For the honour of Wolsey let it be noticed that, during his administration, there prevailed in this Court neither the pecuniary meanness, which was its prominent vice under his immediate predecessors, nor the cruelty which distinguished it at a later period. During his time, and indeed throughout the reign of Henry VIII. the power exercised by the Star Chamber in public causes was rather that of a Court of Inquiry than a Court of Determination. The numerous cruelties of that unhappy reign were perpetrated under the sanction of Juries, and the authority of tribu-

[f] Lansd. MS. No. 639, p. 92. [g] Herbert, 108. [h] Hall, 600.

nals recognized by the Common Law. The Council frequently investigated alleged offences, and occasionally committed to the Tower, but there are no traces of the long imprisonments, the degrading and barbarous punishments, or the oppressive fines, which at other periods were inflicted under the sanction of its authority. Perhaps an explanation of this circumstance may be found in the sanguinary disposition of the monarch, and the obsequiousness of juries. Offences which were formerly thought fit subjects for the Star Chamber were now punished with death; the boundaries of the crime of treason were enlarged so as to inclose words, and even wishes, as well as acts; but treason was a crime not cognizable before the Council, and death a punishment which even in the plenitude of their authority they never dared to inflict. To carry these new laws into effect it was therefore necessary to resort to the ordinary tribunals.

Wolsey, always delighted with magnificence, made a great show of it in the Star Chamber. In the latter part of the reign it often happened that one Privy Councillor sate in the Court, alone; sometimes there were two, and very seldom more.[i] The MS. from which I obtain this information, contrasts this meagre attendance with the splendour of the Court under the Cardinal of York; during whose time "the presence that sate with him was always great," and Cavendish, in a well known passage, has detailed the pompous "order of his going to Westminster Hall, surrounded by noblemen, and preceded by cross-bearers and pillar-bearers."[k] How striking is the contrast presented by Hall's simple intimation that, when he fell into disfavour, "he came into Westminster Hall, with all his trayne, the first day of terme, but none of the King's servauntes would go before, as they were wont to do, and so he sat in the Chancery, but not in the Starre Chamber, for all the Lordes and other the King's Counsaill were gone to Windsor to the King."[l]

Wolsey's administration of justice in private causes has been often praised. In the Star Chamber "he spared neither high nor low, but judged every estate according to their merits and deserts."[m] Even Hall, who is never

[i] Lansd. MS. No. 160, p. 305.
[l] Hall, 760.
[k] Cavendish, 105. Singer's 2nd edit.

friendly towards him, admits that "for a truth he so punished perjurye with open punishment and open papers werynge, that in his time it was lesse used. He punished also lordes, knyghtes, and men of all sortes for ryotes, bearing, and maintenance in their countreyes, that the poor men lyved quietly, so that no man durst beare for feare of imprisonment, but he himself and his servauntes were well punished therefore."[n] In political cases the object of the Cardinal's Star Chamber prosecutions does not seem to have been the punishment of offenders so much as the procuring a general submission to the authority of the King. Those who submitted were usually pardoned, whilst the obstinate were in most cases turned over to the Common Law.

After the time of Wolsey there occurred, during the remainder of the reign of Henry VIII., but few public cases in the Star Chamber of sufficient importance to be noticed in a sketch like the present. Wolsey stamped his individual character upon the Court,—he made it subservient to the furtherance of political and personal purposes—and when he fell, the Court seems for a time to have lost the use to which he applied it. His successors, who were fully, and probably more usefully, occupied in private causes, brought before it but little public business; so that, with the exception of occasional interference in religious matters, and matters of police, we seldom hear of the Star Chamber.

I shall bring this letter to a close with some short notices of a few of the cases which occurred during this reign. In selecting the following cases, I have taken some of those which appear to be of the greatest interest, either historically, or as illustrative of manners: the number might be very much increased; but I fear, as it is, I shall be found to trespass too long upon your attention.

In the 2nd of Henry VIII. Thomas Hall, of Ipswich, was committed to the Fleet during pleasure, for saying, "The Queen is delivered of a knave child." The Queen was delivered of a son in this year, but I presume the committal of Hall occurred before that event, and that his pretended offence was the spreading of a false rumour.[o]

[m] Cavendish, 107. [n] Hall, 584. [o] Lansd. MS. No. 639, p. 78.

25th April, 7 Henry VIII. "Communication was had this day between the Lordes and the Mayor and Aldermen of London, for the enquiry for two slanderous bills, as well against the kinges Highnes, as against his most honorable counsell, with all due meanes, as they would make search w^th^in the saide Cittie, to the intent that they might the better, and more readily, attaine to the knowledge whoe writt those bills; for this was devised, that every twoe aldermen should have assistance to them of one of the knights under named, and that the same twoe aldermen and knights, in theire severall wardes w^th^in the Cittie aforesaid, shall goe to every merchant's house, and others, keeping a booke of such wares as he occupieth, and of the same to take the last booke, and that booke to be sealed, w^th^ the seales of the Alderman of the ward where [the merchant dwelleth], the seale of the Knight Assistant, and the merchant's seale, and the same book, so sealed, to be conveyed to the Guildhall, there to remain untill such time as they be duly searched, whether there be in them anie such like hand as is contained in the said billes, or any of them, and thereupon to be redelivered to the merchants after due search made."[p] This strange inquiry was in all probability unsuccessful, as I do not find that it was followed up by any prosecution. Guildhall would "see another sight," if the books of the shopkeepers of London could now be gathered together by any such summary proceeding.

25th June, 8th Henry VIII. The Mayor of Newcastle was committed to the Tower for perjury, in saying that he did not know the names of those who made an insurrection at New Castle, and afterwards admitted that he did.[q] The "saying" here referred to probably alludes to his examination before the Council.

In the same year Thomas Lucas, a privy councillor, was sent to the Tower for speaking scandalous words of the Lord Cardinal.[r]

In the 9th Henry VIII. Dr. Allan and Sir Christopher Plummer, Doctors of Civil Law, were fined 900 marks, which was ordered to be employed for the new building of the rooms from the Court of Star Chamber to the bridge, in the palace, and to be paid to Sir John Heyron, who had the charge of the erection.[s]

p Ibid. p. 92. q Ibid. p. 93. r Ibid. p. 95 s Col. Jur. ii. p. 64.

In 16th Henry VIII. Sir Robert Constable, for taking away one Agnes Brisacre, the King's ward, without license, and affiancing her to his son, submitted himself on his knees upon the quadrangle of the table of the Court, and was sent to the Fleet.[t]

Lord Dacres, of the North, acknowledged that he had been negligent in the punishing of thieves, and that he had taken one, called Hector Carleton, into his house, knowing him to be a thief. His Lordship was committed, but soon released.[u]

Knivett, and a person called Long James, asked forgiveness of the late Sheriff of London, for unfitting words given by them to him, "in the wrastling plane at Clerkenwell att the wrestling time last past," and upon their submission, were discharged.[x]

The ancients of the Inns of Court, with the readers and principals of all the Inns of Chancery, having been summoned, attended the Court of Star Chamber, and "It was advised them, that they should not thenceforth suffer the gentlemen students among them to be out of their houses after six of the clock in the night, without very great and necessary causes, nor to weare upon them any manner of weapon."[y]

On the 9th May, 17th Henry VIII. John Devereux, a gentleman of Huntingdonshire, was brought before the Star Chamber from the Fleet, charged with a riot, in having obstructed the illegal Commissioners sent throughout the kingdom to exact benevolences from the people. The riot was confessed, and the prisoner committed to the Tower. Ten days afterwards he was again brought to the bar, together with John Skudder of Kent. They were led through the streets bare-footed, and in their shirts. Placed at the bar, "the Cardinal shewed them their offences with terrible words, and after that shewed them the King's mercy extended to them, and declared their pardon." On the following day a similar scene was acted with some other persons who had obstructed the Commissioners in Suffolk, Wolsey's native county, and for which he always entertained a partiality. Upon this occasion, after the King's pardon had been declared, the King's Attorney

[t] Col. Jur. ii. p. 117. Lansd. MS. No. 659, p. 114.
[u] Ibid. p. 116.
[x] 3 Henry VIII. ibid. 107. Col. Jur. ii. p. 102.
[y] Lansd. MS. No. 639, p. 118.

"asked suretie for the future good abearing" of the prisoners. They told him they could find none; when the Cardinal said, "I will be one, because you are my countrymen, and my Lorde of Norfolk will be another." The prisoners were then discharged, and had money to bring them home.[z] All this was probably predetermined with a view to Wolsey's popularity in Suffolk.

The making of proclamations was a royal privilege, and any infringement upon it was cognizable in the Star Chamber. A striking instance of the jealousy with which this prerogative was regarded, occurred in the 22nd Henry VIII. when Sir J. K——, of the county of Northumberland, who had caused proclamation to be made in several towns, that all persons to whom J. S. was indebted, should come to him, and should be paid, he being executor of J. S., was fined and committed to the Fleet.[a]

John Arundell, Esq. humbly submitted himself to the King's mercy for going beyond sea without a license, and was thereupon discharged from the Fleet.[b] The illegality of departing from the realm without a license was founded upon the statute of 5 Richard II. c. 2.

Sir Randall Brereton and his son Richard Brereton, and Sir William Poole, were charged that, without the King's license, they had taken away "the King's widdowe" (that is, the widow of a tenant *in capite*, whose dower it was the King's privilege to assign, and who ought not to have married without the King's consent); and Richard Brereton was charged with having married her. They all confessed their offences in the presence of the Lords, humbly beseeching my Lord Cardinal "to be meane to the King's grace for them."[c] They were committed.

It is well known that the first edition of Tindal's translation of the Bible was bought up by Bishop Tunstall, and destroyed. The Bishop thus enabled Tindal to publish a second corrected edition. The books were printed on the continent, and transmitted for sale to John Tindal and Thomas Patmore, merchants of London, and the former of them a brother of the translator. After dispersing them secretly for some time, John Tindal and Patmore were discovered, and taken before the Star Chamber, at the instance

[z] Hall, 701. Lansd. MS. No. 639, p. 117.
[a] Star Chamber Cases, p. 41 b.
[b] Lansd. MS. No. 639, p. 118.
[c] Ibid. p. 97.

of the Bishop of London. Sir Thomas More, who was then Chancellor, sentenced them to ride on horseback about the City, with their faces to the horses' tails, with papers on their heads, and some of the books they had sold, pinned or tacked to their gowns or cloaks. After having completed their course round the City, they were to be brought to the Standard in Cheap, where with their own hands they were to consign the books to the flames. In addition to all this, they were to pay such fines as the King should please.[d]

On the 1st April, 1543, the Earl of Surrey, Thomas Wyatt, and "Young Pickering," having been called before the Council, were charged with eating flesh during Lent, and also with walking about the streets of London during the night time, breaking the windows of the houses with stones shot from cross-bows. As to the first charge, they all alleged a license, but Lord Surrey admitted that "he had not so secretly used the same as appertained." Wyatt and Pickering at first denied all knowledge of the breaking of windows, but Lord Surrey admitted that he had done so, beseeching the Council not to impute the offence to levity, and protesting that his motive was a religious one. Observing the corrupt and licentious manners of the citizens, and that the remonstrances of their spiritual pastors had been urged in vain, "I went," exclaimed this interesting nobleman, "at midnight through the streets, and shot from my cross-bow at their windows, that the stones passing noiseless through the air, and breaking in suddenly upon their guilty secrecy, might remind them of the suddenness of that punishment which the Scriptures tell us Divine Justice will inflict on impenitent sinners, and so lead them to reformation." Surrey was committed to the Fleet, Wyatt to the Compter, and Pickering to the Porter's-lodge. On the following day Wyatt and Pickering were again called before the Council, and, after some resistance, confessed that they had participated in

[d] Strype's Cranmer, p. 81, edition 1694. Strype adds that the fine set upon them was £18,840. 0*s*. 10*d*. "as was extant to be seen in the records of the Star Chamber." Upon reference to Harl. MS. 425, p. 15, it seems to me that the records of the Star Chamber ought to have been quoted merely as an authority for the personal punishment, and not for the fine. It is probable from the entries in the margin of that MS. that the fine was £1840. 0*s*. 10*d*., and not the incredible sum before mentioned.

the enthusiasm of Surrey. They were committed to the Tower, and not released until the 3rd of May, when they entered into recognizances of £200 each, and were discharged. It does not appear how long Surrey was confined.[e]

8th July, 1545. Edmond Finch, who had been committed to the Marshalsea for slander of Sir Thomas Cheney, was ordered to be conveyed to the Sheriff of Kent, with letters to see him punished by standing in the pillory two market days, one at Cranbrook, the other at Dartford, with a paper on his head written in great letters, "For slanderous words of the King's Council."[f]

27th July 1545. One John George, of Bramley in Hampshire, having spoken seditious words, as was declared by Richard Bullock, the same Richard was sent with letters to William More for his examination, and in case the said George should be author of the matter, then to cause him to have his ears nailed to the pillory.[g]

1st September, 1545. Thomas Yeomans, who had been roaming about the country in a frenzied manner, uttering prophesies, and "talking of the Scripture," was committed until inquiries were made respecting his former life.[h] On the 24th September he was again brought before the Council, having come to himself, repenting his folly, and declaring that he had been "seduced for the love of a woman," he was, with a good lesson, set at liberty.[i]

29th November, 1545. Thomas Saunders, of Coventry, who had been committed to the King's Bench on the 19th May, for "a book touching religion noted with his hande," was discharged, because that book extended not to any such offence as appeared against the [six] Articles, and he had so long remained in prison.[k]

A very considerable addition was made to the business of the Star Chamber by the statutes passed in this reign, to enable persons to divide their lands. I need scarcely remark, that by the Common Law an estate in fee-simple could not be devised. After the invention of uses, it became the practice to devise the use, by which subtilty an equitable estate was vested

e Privy Council books cited by Dr. Nott, Life of Surrey, p. 53.
f Harl. MS. 256, p. 41 b.
g Ibid. p. 50.
h Ibid. p. 65 a.
i Ibid. p. 73 a.
k Ibid. p. 95 b.

in the devisee, but, until the passing of the Statute of Wills, no actual power of devising lands existed. When the state of education in the reign of Henry VIII. is considered, it will not be thought remarkable that the passing of this statute gave occasion to an infinity of frauds in the opportunities which it afforded for the addition or substitution of words in a will, by which the intention of a testator was very often defeated. "The Statute of Wills," said Lord Ellesmere, "was not only the ruin of ancient families, but the nurse of forgeries; for by colour of making men's wills, men's lands were conveyed in the extremity of their sickness, when they had no power of disposing of them." All causes arising out of this description of fraud were cognizable in the Star Chamber, and the number of them was soon very considerable. I might quote a multitude of instances, but they are now of little interest; and I will forbear, adding merely, as a termination to my letter, an anecdote which the Chancellor, from whom I have just quoted, often merrily told, as an illustration of the evils of the Statute of Wills. Unless the story be better known than I am aware of, some people may think it worth more than all my cases. "A friar coming to visit a great man in his sickness, and finding him past memory, took opportunity, according to the custom of the times, to make provision for the monastery whereof he was; and finding that the sick man could only speak some one syllable, which was for the most part 'yea,' or 'nay,' in an imperfect voice, forthwith took upon him to make his will; and demanding of him, 'Will you give such a piece of land to our house to pray for your soul?' The dying man sounded 'Yea.' Then he asked him, 'Will you give such land to the maintenance of lights to our Lady?' The sound was again, 'Yea.' Whereupon he boldly asked him many such questions. The son and heir standing by, and hearing his land going away so fast by his father's word 'Yea,' thought fit to ask one question as well as the friar, which was,—'Shall I take a cudgel and beat this friar out of the chamber?' The sick man's answer was again, 'Yea;' which the son quickly performed, and saved unto himself his father's lands."[1]

I have the honour to be, my dear Sir,

your very faithful humble servant,

JOHN BRUCE.

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S.
Treasurer S. A.

[1] Harl. MS. No. 1226.

APPENDIX.

Case of the Earl of Devon and Sir William Bonville.

At a sitting of the Council on the 15th of November, 20th Henry VI.

" It was advised by the Lordes, that for love, good accorde and concord, to be had betwixte the Earle of Devon on the one parte, and Sir William Bonville on the other, and by all meanes to bringe them and induce them thereto, upon and for certain disorders, dissentions, and debates late had and growinge betwixte them: for the ende whereof they have compromitted them to stand to certaine Lordes awardes, that every eiche of them be bounde to other in 2000li by simple obligacon to stand to the saide Lordes awarde, the said obligacons to be putt in indifferente menes handes, and he of the said parties yt refuseth the awarde soe to be made, that his obligacon be delivered to the other partie for the recoverye as Lawe will." [m]

At a sitting of the Council in the Star Chamber on the 21st of November, 20th Henry VI.

" Sir Phillippe Chetwine, Knight,[n] sworne for to saye the truth of that that he shall be demanded of, saide:

" That he late cominge from Bristowe, at the wch tyme came in his companye from Bristowe William Legge and Nicholas Hunte, marchantes of Bristowe, for their more safety, because yt was supposed that they brought money wth them, and they all cominge through the towne of Hungerforde, and riding through the water, there come after him upon him an xvj persons or mo, armed wth jacks, sallads, and swordes, comandinge feirsly from whence that they come, and the m'chaunts answeared from Bristowe, and answeared some of the said Sr Phillipp's men, amongst the which there was one of Sr Phillip's men demanded, and he answeared from Bristowe, and the demander said, nay, and with that would have bereft the said servant of Sr Phillip's of his sword, the wch he would not suffer him soe to doe. And then the said demander drew his owne sword and smote at the said servant and the and at another stroake glansinge on his hande kutt his glove wch was furred, and then forthwth came in a great pace out of the said Hungerford a 30 persons mo of the said demanders fellowship; so that theye were in all to the number of 50 persons, and questioned them alsoe from whence that they came, and they said from Bristowe, soe howe be it that some of them knew the said Sr Phillipp, and suffered them to goe.

[m] Harl. MSS. 169, p. 49 b.

[n] Sir Philip Chetwine was Mayor of Bayonne. Harl. MS. 169, p. 64 b.

" But as some said they supposed that the said Sr Phillip and his men had bin towards Bonevile.

" It was furthermore demanded by my Lo. Chancellor thereof that he knewe whose men and what they were.

" And the said Sr Phillipp answeared that he knewe not whose men they were, nor what they were; he said he sawe some in the Erle of Somersett's livery; alsoe he said that some of Hungerford said to some of the fellowes of the said Sr Phillip that they were owards the Earle of Devon." o

At a sitting of the Council in the Star Chamber on the 22nd of November, 20th Henry VI.

" In the matter betweene the Earle of Devon and Sr William Bonevill, Knight, which was for the office of Stuarde of the Duchey of Cornewall, or for the office of the Stuarde of the County of Cornewall, the sayd Earle is condescended to put the said matter in treaty.

" And likewise after longe comunycac̃on had wth the Lordes of the Kynges Counsell he is condescended to treatye of the mutenyes, discencones, discordes, and debates that from the beginninge of the worlde unto now ne be had and done betwixt him and the said Bonvill.

" Arbytrators to ende all the said matteres betwixte the sayd parties, too, the Chiefe Justices, and the end to be made by the moys of Ester next.

" Phillipe Chetwine sworne, and demanded whether any person stirred him to laye the charge upon the Earle of Devon as hee confessed the 21 daye of November laste or not, said by the oath that he had made, that never person styrred him thereto." p

At a meeting of the Council on the 28th November, 20th Henry VI.

" It was rehersed by my Lord Chancellor, by the Kinge's commandemente, to the Earle of Devon, that tyme beinge there presente, that ye Kinge considereth well the great Ryottes, disorders, dissenc̃ones, and debates, the wch now of late have growne and been betwixte the said Earle of Devon, and his servantes and friends, and Sir William Bonvill, knight, his servantes and freindes, the wch hath caused manslaughter, the Kinge's peace greatelie troubled and broken, to the greate inquietness of his shires of Cornewall and of Devon, and also of other places, to the unease not only of them and theires, but also of his subiectes dwellinge therein: And as it is done him to understande for the said disorders divers companyes of men have been seene arrayed in guise of warre, as wth jackes and other arrayes and wepons for the warres, the wch was of more likelyhoode to trouble

o Harl. MS. 169, p. 50 a.

p Ibid. p. 54 a.

the Kinges peace than otherwise. And the Kinge willinge his peace to be well and duly kepte wthout any interuptyon or breache of it by any of his subiectes, of what estate, degree, or condicon that he be of, for it fyttethe to non his leige men to take at his owne hande to avenge his owne quarrel, neither matter, by waye of feate or otherwise, for he is their soveraine Lord w^{ch} will doe right, hathe therefore charged the saide Lord of Devon, upon the faith and legeance that he oweth unto him, and as he will eschewe his greevos indignacon, that nether by waye of abettmente, procuringe, nor otherwise, he ne doe neither procure, nor in all that he cane or maye suffere to be doe or procured, in that he can and may let it, any bodelye harme, hurte, or domag bodely to the said S^{r} William, neither to any of his servantes, freindes, well willeres, or allyes. And that if he knowe any that will doe, or procure to be done, any bodely harme to the said S^{r} William, or to any of his s̃vants, frendes, well willeres and allyes, the said Earle shall, in all the goodely haste that he may and can, notefye it unto the said S^{r} William, to the intente that he and his may escheue suche bodely hurtes as above.

" And forthewith it was demaunded at the same tyme by my Lord Chauncelor, by the Kinges co̅maundem^{t}, yf that the sayd Earle would doe and performe the Kinges will and co̅maundem^{t} as above; And he sayd and promysed yea, and that to doe, he tooke my Lord Chauncelor by the hand, and promysed by his faith so to doe.

" And in likewise forthewth it was rehearsed as above by my Lord Chauncelor to the sayd S^{r} William, and also co̅maunded as above. The w^{ch} so done, rehearsed, and also charged as above, and also demaunded of the said S^{r} William as was demaunded of the said Earle, the said William sayd and promysed yea, and that to doe he tooke my said Lord Chauncelor by the hande, and promysed by his faith soe to doe.

" And furthermore it was rehearsed then by my Lord Chauncelor to either of them to parte in the Kinges presence, that there, as they have promised for all manner of dissen-c̃ones, disorders, and debates that hath be and is hanging betwixt them. And alsoe for the office of the Stewardship of Cornewall, &c. to stande to the awarde and arbetramente of certayne Lordes and Judges, so that the said awarde be made by the first daye of Marche nexte.

" The Kinge will and chargeth bothe the said Earle and Bonvill so to doe.

" And consideringe that the said offyce hath, as is supposed, bene greate cause of the said debates; wherefor the Kinge willinge that neither of them should occupie it as yet, hath therefore charged both the said Earle and the said S^{r} William that either of them shall bringe and deliver his pattents of y^{e} said office to the Lord Chamberlen by the feaste of the Natyvetie nexte cominge, to the intente that, the said pattentes seene, and more deliberacon had w^{ch} of the said pattents is available, it might be so shewed and delivered unto them, that herein all strifes betwixte them should cease. And they eiche of them promysed soe to doe.

" And furthermore in the Kinges presence it was rehearsed to either of them aparte, that, thereas thorough the said ryottes, disorders, and debates the Kinges peace hath ben greately troubled and broken, and divers and many men hurte and slaine, the Kinge will sende therefore his ŧres of Coñissyon for to enquire who and wch were beginners, causeres, and doeres thereof, and upon him or them that shalbe found guiltie therein, the Kinge will doe such punishmente that it shall turne to otheres in example." [q]

After a lapse of fourteen years from the time of this reconciliation, a writer in the Paston Letters says, " there is great variance between the Earl of Devonshire and the Lord Bonvill *as hath been many a day*." He then details a frightful outrage committed by the son and heir of the Earl of Devon and sixty men at arms, upon the person of an old gentleman, " who was of counsel with Lord Bonvill," and whom they treacherously murdered.[r]

Case of the Mayors of Colchester.

At a sitting of the Council in the Star Chamber on the 22nd November, 20th Henry VI.

" John Combe, John Balman, John Steere, late Maiores of Colchester, and a woman called Julyan Savage, heringe tell that one Thomas Bocher, prisoner in the King's Benche, had impeached them to the Kinge and his Counsell, that is to saye, that the sayd John, John, and John, in the tyme of their Mairaltyes, and also the sayd woman, shoulden saye unto the sayd Thomas, that on Thomas Bentley shoulde be untrue to the Kinge, came to the Kinges Counsaille, not sente for, and offered their bodyes to due punishement there, yf that the said informacyon were founde true, the wch at that tyme were sworn to answere to such thinges as that they should be demanded of.

" It was then demaunded of every of them there, yf that ever he had at any tyme such comunycaĉon wth the said Thomas as above, or any other comunycaĉon, ye wch should hurte or prejudice the Kinges ꝑson, and every of them answered and said nay.

" And the Lordes of the Kinges Counsaill hearinge this, beinge presente at that tyme Sr John Hodye, Cheefe Justice of the King's Benche, and Sr Richard Newton, Cheefe Judge of the Comon Pleas, and seeinge that the persons charged, were but simple persones, by whose cominge unsente for, there was to be supposed great truthe for their acquittall, and also that they were inocente of the sayd crime, and considered also the un-

[q] Harl. MS. No. 169, p. 59 a.

[r] Paston Letters, i. 115.

thriftines of the sayd Thomas, dismissed at that tyme the said persons impeached, and charged them that at such tymes as it should like the Kynge to sende for them, that they shoulde come and appeare, and so they said they would." [s]

Case of the English Merchants.

At a sitting of the Council in the Star Chamber the 23rd November, 20th Henry VI.

"Englishe Marchauntes have put a Bill of diveres complaintes upon Marchantes of Pruce, Hanses, and the Danske, beinge beyonde the sea, the wch bill is delivered to the marchants of the sayd Countrye being then before the Lordes, for to answere thereto on Satterdaye next." [t]

In the Star Chamber on the 25th November, 20th Henry VI.

"The Bille put in to the Counsell by the Englishe men the xxiij day of this presente monthe against them of Pruce and of the Hanses and Danske, whereupon at this day it was demanded them of the sayd Countryes being in London to bringe answere in writynge. They have this daye given answere in writinge to the Lordes of the Counsell.

"The wch before them redd, so seemed to the saide Lordes of the Counsell, that the Complainte that the Englishemen made, as their said bill contayneth, was of more likelynes true, then ells. And willinge for so muche as by the said complainte it shewed that the said Englishemen were not, nor be not treated, ruled, neither demeaned in Pruce, Hance, nor Danske, as that they of those countryes ben treated here in Englande. And also that they be otherwise treated, ruled, and demeaned in the sayd countryes then that the lr̃es and seales of the Mr. of Pruce remaininge in the Kinges treasurie would aske or require, and otherwise then they have been treated heretofore, have therefore desired and charged them of the Pruce, Hanse, and Danske, that tyme beinge before them to write to their Countryes, to the sayd master and the Governor of Pruce, Hanses, and Dansicke, shewing unto them the said Englishemenes complaintes, and desiringe the wronges to be redressed, and from henceforward to suffer Englishemen Marchantes to use and doe in the sayd Countryes as they have done before this tyme, and as they oughte to doe, for else the King and the Lordes here will otherwise ordaine and purvaye in this behalfe. The Prucieres, and them of Hanszes and Danske beinge here in this Lande, for it was thought at that tyme by the sayd Lordes, that as they of Englande were ruled in the abovesaid countrye, that they of the same beinge nowe here and repairinge hether, should be ruled in semblable wise.

[s] Harl. MS. 169, p. 54 b. [t] Ibid. p. 55 a.

" And furthermore, at the same tyme it was advised by the sayd Lordes, that a Clarke and a Marchante should be sente from the Kinge in Ambassage w^th^ Englishemen's complaintes to the said master of Pruce, and to them of the Hansze, for reformac̃on of Englishemen's complaintes.

" Wherefore it was comaunded the Marchants Englishe to advise them of a convenable Marchante in this behalf, and the Lordes would laye these matters before the Kinge on Monday nexte at Kenington, to the intent that it would like his Highnes to advise him of a Clarke also in this behalfe." [u]

It appears (ibid. p. 62 a. and p. 87 b.) that after some further inquiry this course was adopted.

Lansd. MSS. No. 160, *fol.* 311.

20 Hen. 7. The Duke of Buckingham 500 marks by obligation for y^e^ Soveraigne.

25 Jan. 4 Obligations of Wil. Cloxton for payment of 200 lib. for his fine.

Of my L. of Canterbury for 5 severall recognizāces, 2664 lib. for the escape of 16 co$\tilde{v}$cts, &c.

Of Sir Wil. Capell & Giles Capell his son for theire p̄dons, 1000 lib.

Of Henry Tey for his p̄don for his offence in his shrevaltie, 100^li.^

The like for Pyrton, 100 markes.

The like for Hūfrey Kynaston, 200 markes.

For the p̄don of Rich. Woodrof, k^t.^ for the p̃munire, 40^li.^

For the p̄don of Mathewe Wentworth for the escheatorship of Yorkshire, twentie lib.

3 Maii. Of Sir Edward Stanley, for the escape of one Broke, 100^lib.^

20 Hen. 7. For the p̄don of Wil. Tivell, late in the Fleete, for an outlawry of rape and other offences, 100 lib.

Of the Abbot of S^t.^ Albans 80^lib.^ for the discharge of a fine of 100^lib.^ for the escape of one Js. Banester cōvict of felony.

Of John Alkok xx^li.^ for a fine for a misprision of felony.

Of the p̄son of Clyve, his discharge of such matters as he was charged with before the Counsell, 20 lib.

For the discharge of an Indictment of murther found in Lincolnshire against Jo. Cutlare, Clerk, 300 markes.

[u] Harl. MS. No. 169, p. 57 a.

4 Sept. Of the Executors of Sir Reynold Bray, for the discharge of an information in
21 Hen. 7. the Excheq. for the forfeitures of certain wolls shipped contrary to the Statute, 1200 marks.

27 Oct. For the ꝑdon of Wil. Prat, 100 lib.

For the ꝑdon of Salmon for hunting, 60 lib.

16 Nov. For the ꝑdon of Sir Thoˢ. Knight, 200 lib.

17 Nov. For Barlings ꝑdon for felonies & other offences, 100 marks.

For the ꝑdon of Rafe Paine, 100 markes.

For the ꝑdon of Arnold Coe during his Escheatorship.

6 Dec. For the discharge of Tho. Symonds, Clerk, prisoner in the Tower for wordes unfitting, 20 lib.

11 Dec. For the ꝑdon of Wil. Harp, for treasons, felonies, escapes, & other offenses, 400 marks.

19 Dec. For the ꝑdon of Wymond Rawley, for misprisions & other offenses, 700 marks.

20 Dec. For Sir Jo. Digby for the escapes of the Marshalsea, for his ꝑdon, 600 lib.

2 Mart. For the ꝑdon of the L. Dacres of the South, for his intrusion of his landes in Lancashire, 200 lib.

3 Mart. For the ꝑdon of Sir Edward Stanley & 56 ꝑsons for their ꝑdons for reteyners in the county of York, 200 lib.

11 Mart. For the ꝑdon of Wil. Curteys, late Customer of London, for discharge of his offenses in that office, 500 marks.

For Sir David Owen, for a ꝑdon for hunting, 300 marks.

13 April. For the ꝑdon of Wil. Grene, Customer of Lin, 100 markes.

20 April. For Tho. Hazelwood's discharge of the escape of Sir Edward Burgh, 300 lib.

24 April. For the ꝑdon of Harry Uvedall, for his offenses in the office of Controller of the ports of Pool & Weymouth, 300 marks.

27 April. For the ꝑdon of Jasper Fitoll, for his offenses in the office of Customership of Pole, 100 lib.

22 Maii. For the discharge of Sir Thoˢ. Sutton, Kᵗ. for Kedells milles, &c. to the annoyance of water passages, 300 markes.

4 Junii. For the discharge of Js. Dawtrey for his hunting, 40 markes.

14 Junii. For the gñrall ꝑdon to the L. Clifford for divers damages that he stood in to the kings grace, as touching the qᵒ warranto for the Sheriffwick of Westmoreland & intrusion of the coronage of the same, &c. 400 markes.

For the discharge of the intrusion of Sir Wil. Say of certeine lands in the West country of the inñance of one Hill his first wife, 2500 markes.

8 Julii. For the discharge of Norbrig of Guilford, for a riot committed on Monday in Easter week last, 20 marks.

16 Julii. For the ꝑdon of murther of Sir Jo. Fenes, K^{t}. 25 lib.
For the ꝑdon of the B. of Exõn, 200 lib.
For the ꝑdon of Barnard Olen, Clerk, for treasons, 40 marks.
17 Julii. For the ꝑdon of murther for Rich. Breteyn, 25 lib.
20 Julii. For the ꝑdon of Rich. Sandys & 15 other ꝑsons for hunting, 40 marks.
For the discharge of the Earle of Devon for reteyners, 1000 markes.
Of Jo. Montgomery, K^{t}, to have the king's favour in traversing an indictment of murther in Staffordshire, 40 lib.
24 Julii. For the discharge of D. Church for certain wordes spoken by him, 100 markes.
For Rede of Pawles for his discharge of & for a letter by him sent to Rome against the Archbishop of Canterbury, 50 marks.
7 Aug. For the intrusions of Sir Edward Harward & Alice his wife into certeine lands, &c. 533 lib.
For the intrusions of the L. Harry Buk & the Lady Marquesse his wife into certeine lands, 400 markes.
ult. Aug. For the king's gracious favour in the recovering the 800 markes assessed upon
22 Hen. 7. the tenants of Brecknok, 300 markes.
10 Sept. For the ꝑdon of John ap Madok ap Hoell, undersheriff of Carnarvon in Wales, 100 marks.
22 Sept. For the ꝑdon of Sir Jo. Cotismour of misprision, 400 markes.
28 Sept. For the ꝑdon of Joh. Rodon for hunting, 20 lib.
11 Nov. For the discharge of the B. of Rochester, for the escapes of Rob. Browne & Tho^{s}. Pell, convicted ꝑsons, 200 lib.
26 Nov. For the Erle of Derby for his ꝑdon, 6000 lib.
6 Dec. For the ꝑdon of Giles L. Daubeny, for receipts of money at Calais by reason of his office, wc̃h belonged to the king's grace, 2000 lib.
2 Feb. Payd by the Erle of Northumberland for the king's gracious favour to him shewed in the matter betwixt Sir Jo. Hotham, K^{t}. & y^{e} same Erle, & fur^{r} to be dismissed out of the Starr Chamber for that cause, 100 lib.
For the B. of Lincoln his ꝑdon of the escape of Hugh Jones, a Clerk cõvict, 100 lib.
18 Feb. For the ꝑdon of Kebell, Alderman of London, 1000 markes.
For Henry Hassall his discharge of Reteyners, & hunting in Lancashire, 40 markes.
3 Mart. For the ꝑdon of Rob. Hall for hunting in Bramyley, 50 markes.
8 Mart. For the ꝑdon of M^{r}. Wall, for reteyners, riots, hunting, & such other offenses, & a warrant to cõfesse his travers of & to the same, 40 lib.
29 Maii. For Sir Philip Calthrop his ꝑdon for intrusions, 500 lib.

21 Julii. For the ꝑdon of Simon Digby, for his misbehaviour in the office of weyeing of wolls at the port of Hull, 100 markes.

14 Jul. For the ꝑdon of S^r^ Henry Vernon, 900 lib.

21 Jul. For the ꝑdon of Tho. Wake, prisoner in the Tower of London, 1000 m̃ks.

11 Nov. For the L. Conyers discharge of a riot co̅mitted by him & others against the
23 Hen. 7. L. Darcy, 1000 lib.

17 Nov. For the ꝑdon of Sir Ja. Hubert, K^t^. 800 m̃ks.
For the ꝑdon of the Lady Percivall, 1000 lib.

25 Nov. For the ꝑdon of the E. of Northumberland, 10,000 lib.

3 Dec. For the ꝑdon of the B. of Exoñ, for the escape of 8 ꝑsons, Clerks, cõvict, out of his prison, 800 lib.

15 Dec. For the ꝑdon of the priour of Launceston, 500 markes.

7 Jan. For the ꝑdon of James Yarford, mer^t^. 500 markes.

28 Jan. For the ꝑdon of Roger Lewknor of Sheffield for murther & felony,
23 Hen. 7. 200 lib.

13 Feb. For the ꝑdons of Kingsworth, Shore, &Grove, Aldermen of London, 1123 lib.
For the king's most gracious favour to Swan & other certeine persons of Kent, to be discharged of an attaint sued against them by the E. of Essex and S^r^ Will. Say, 800 lib.

28 Maii. For the gñrall ꝑdon of the B. of Sarum, 1000^li^.
The like for the Abbot of Glastonbury, 200 lib.
For Bellowe, chantry priest of Powles, for his ꝑdon of misprision, 100 markes.

XX. *Further Remarks on the Death of Richard the Second. By* Thomas Amyot, *Esq. F.R.S. Treasurer, in a Letter addressed to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 20th June, 1833.

James Street, Westminster, June 18, 1833.

My dear Sir,

It was not my intention to trouble you further on the subject of the death of Richard the Second, until it might be rendered necessary by some remarks, which Mr. Tytler, in a very courteous communication, gave me reason to expect from him, and which, I understand, are still likely to appear. But having been recently favoured by Sir Harris Nicolas with the transcript of an important record connected with that event, I will not any longer defer availing myself of his permission to lay it before the Society. It has been extracted by him from the Minutes of Henry the Fourth's Privy Council, in the British Museum, which I am glad to learn he is now editing for the press, under the authority of the Commissioners of Records. The entry was made in February 1400, the first year of Henry's reign, and is in the following words:

Cottonian MS. Cleopatra F. III.

Minutes of Council, Feb. 1 Hen. IV. 1400.[a]

[fol. 9.] Fait a remembrer de certains matires necessairs a monstrer au grant conseil du Roy.

En primes si R. nadgairs Roy soit uncore vivant a ce que len suppose quil est sordenez soit quil soit b̄n & seurement gardez pur sauvacion de lestat du Roi & de son roiaume.

[a] The date, as Sir Henry Ellis informs me, appears to be in the hand-writing of Sir Robert Cotton. Sufficient reasons, however, have been given by Sir Harris Nicolas, for fixing it very early in the month of February 1400.

[fol. 10 b.] Quant a le primer article il semble au conseil expedient de parler au Roi qen cas que R. nadgairs Roy, &c. soit uncore vivant quil soit mys en seuretee aggreable a les frs du roiaume & sil soit alez de vie a trespassement qadonqes soit il monstrez ovtem̃t au poeple au fin quils ent puissent avoir conissance.

From these Minutes, it appears that the convulsed state into which the country had been thrown by the recent insurrection of the late King's adherents, had urged on the Privy Council the expediency of advising Henry to take measures for ensuring Richard's safe custody, if, as they supposed, he were still living, but if he were dead, to show his body openly to the people, in order that they might have knowledge of that event.

The entries thus cautiously made are considered by Sir Harris Nicolas to strengthen the opinion, that the body exhibited was actually Richard's, whilst they prove that the idea of such an exhibition originated not with Henry himself, but with his Council, and in his absence. He also justly, as I think, observes to me, that it appears very unlikely that such entries would occur among twenty other notes of business of considerable importance, principally relating to the Earl of Kent's rebellion, if the whole proceeding had been a farce merely to delude the people.

In these opinions I fully concur. To me it seems highly improbable that Henry, in carrying into execution a measure gravely and deliberately recommended to him by the Lords of his Council, would have ventured, with the eyes of that Council upon him, to practise a deception, by substituting for the body of Richard, that of Maudelain the priest, or any other person who might have been thought to resemble him. The journey of the corpse from Pontefract to London (which, at that period, must have occupied many days) must have been a matter of notoriety, falling within the knowledge of the Council. Nor, with their attention thus evidently directed towards his proceedings, could it have been easy for him to impose on their credulity, or on that of the people, by exhibiting the body of Maudelain, who had been actually hanged, and afterwards beheaded, in London, a few weeks before. The evidence therefore against the supposed escape of Richard into Scotland, appears to me from these entries to receive, if it were at all wanted, a strong additional confirmation. But with respect to the manner of his death, it may, perhaps, be thought by those who believe that event to have been

caused by violence, that the suggestion of the Council might have served as an incentive on Henry to dispose of his captive rival without delay. Its effect, however, appears to me likely to have been very different. Had Henry even contemplated such an act, the commission of it would probably have been rather delayed than hastened by the knowledge that the course which he might pursue in relation to his prisoner, was the subject of official inquiry, and of anxious consideration. The politic King, still insecurely seated on his throne, and conscious that not only the common people, but even his own Council were narrowly watching Richard's destiny, would surely have shrunk at such a moment, from incurring "the deep damnation of his taking off." Indeed, the doubt expressed in the minute whether Richard still lived, would seem to imply, that his last illness, occasioned (as is asserted by Walsingham, Otterbourne, and other contemporary historians) by his voluntary abstinence from food, on receiving the news of the overthrow of his friends, had already commenced, and that the rumour of it had reached the Council. But whatever conclusion may be drawn from it, the record itself is of too much importance to be omitted in any inquiry connected with the time and circumstances of Richard's death. It is certainly remarkable (as Sir Harris Nicolas has observed) that no historian has hitherto consulted the MSS. among which it appears, open as they have long been to public inspection at the British Museum.

While on this subject, I may perhaps be permitted briefly to allude to an explanation with which I was favoured by Sir Walter Scott, as to the opinion I had supposed him to entertain on the question discussed in my last Paper. It will be recollected that, just before Mr. Tytler's Dissertation appeared, Sir Walter, in his History of Scotland, announced the forthcoming publication with an avowal (as I conceived) of his own impression of the truth of the story of Richard's escape from Pontefract, and his imprisonment at Stirling. But in a kind letter which he addressed to me, on my sending him a copy of my reply to Mr. Tytler, he stated, that he had not meant to express a *conviction* of his belief in that relation, but that he had thought the matter worth grave observation, which it had not hitherto received;—adding that, when he had looked at the controversy, it had seemed to him that the person confined at Stirling, whether he were the

the real king or an impostor, was a subject of apprehension and vexation to Bolingbroke. This was undoubtedly the case so long as Richard's numerous and active adherents had been ready to avail themselves of the rumour of his captivity. But it has been clearly shewn that Henry's apprehensions were not strong enough to induce him to make any great sacrifices for obtaining possession of the impostor's person. Neither did they prevent him from demanding the late Queen Isabella for his son's bride ;—a convincing proof that he then considered her to be Richard's widow.[b] Sir James Mackintosh, in a friendly communication to me, concurring in the view I had taken of the question, expressed a doubt whether I had laid sufficient stress on the arguments derived from Northumberland's long stay in Scotland, or from Archbishop Scrope's proclamation. As those arguments had been already used by him, I did not consider it necessary for me to do much more than advert to them, and to express my conviction in their truth and cogency. The evidence, however, on both sides of the question, has been impartially summed up by Lord Dover, in the Dissertation which he delivered from the chair of the Royal Society of Literature ; and I cannot conceal the satisfaction I have felt on observing that, without seeking for any further arguments than those which I had already employed, to disprove the Scottish story, his Lordship did not hesitate to express his concurrence in the conclusion I had drawn from them.

Believe me always,

dear Sir Henry,

Yours most faithfully,

THOMAS AMYOT.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.
Secretary.

b Since the above Paper was read to the Society, Sir Harris Nicolas has favoured me with a copy of his Preface to his yet unpublished volumes, in which I find he has remarked that the fact of Henry's seeking his son's alliance with Isabella, has not been adduced with sufficient force. On turning, however, to the Archæologia, vol. xxiii. p. 293 and 4, it will be found that I had not only cited Biondi's notice of this remarkable circumstance, but had urged it as a strong proof that Henry knew Richard to be dead.

XXI. *Observations on the Coffin-Plate and History of Gunilda, sister of the Saxon King Harold II. By* G. F. Beltz, *Esq. F.S.A., Lancaster Herald, in a Letter to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 23rd May, 1833.

Heralds' College, April 3, 1833.

My dear Sir,

Though I am aware that a leaden Plate, found in 1786 at Bruges, in the place of sepulture of Gunilda, sister to the last of our Saxon Kings, has already been under the consideration of yourself and of Mr. Petrie, I am nevertheless induced, having lately had the advantage of inspecting this interesting relic of the eleventh century, to offer to the Society, through your obliging medium, a Fac-simile of the Inscription thereon, taken from the Plate itself; together with the result of my enquiries respecting the circumstances which attended the discovery; and some particulars concerning another British Princess, of the same name and age, whose remains are asserted to have been deposited, at an antecedent period, near the identical spot which those of the daughter of Earl Godwin appear to have occupied.

Our historians and genealogists, in enumerating the family of that powerful Chief, by his second wife, Githa, sister of Sweyn King of Denmark, and niece of Canute the Great, have described it as having consisted of seven sons and a daughter, Edgitha, the consort of Edward the Confessor: some have added another daughter, named Githa, without stating what became of her; but all have omitted, so far as I have seen, mention of

Gunilda, whose existence and filiation are, however, clearly ascertained by Domesday.

Until, therefore, the Memorial in question was accidentally brought to light, it seems not to have been known that this noble lady, recorded in the Great Survey as having possessed the estates of Criche and Hardintone in Somersetshire, had, upon the defeat and death of her brother Harold, sought an asylum (probably at the same time with her mother Githa) in Flanders; that she resided for several years at St. Omer's, and afterwards at Bruges; visited Denmark from thence; and finally closed her life at Bruges on the 24th of August 1087.

The proximity of Bruges to our coast, and the important influence which the sovereigns of Flanders, who held their court in that city, exercised in the affairs of Europe, made it frequently a place of refuge for the victims of party troubles in England. It was resorted to, after the death of Canute, by Queen Emma, who, according to contemporary testimony (*Emmæ Encomium*, edited by Maseres, p. 32) was entertained in the castle of Bruges with regal splendour; and it was from thence that she accompanied her son Hardecanute on his expedition to take possession of the English throne upon the demise of Harold the First. It appears also, by the annals of Hoveden and of Walter of Coventry, that a noble Danish matron of the name of Gunilda, whom they describe as the daughter of Wictegeorn, King of the Wenden, by a sister of Canute, and the widow of the Earls Hacun and Harald, fled to Bruges, in 1044, with her sons Heminingus and Turkill; and passed from thence into Denmark. Earl Godwin himself, with his consort Githa and five of their sons, are mentioned by Hoveden and others, to have retired to the same city in 1051, in order to avoid the vengeance of Edward the Confessor; and it is supposed to have been upon that occasion that his second son, Tostig, Earl of Northumberland, married Judith the daughter of Baldwin Earl of Flanders.

I mention these facts, and particularly the last, as tending to strengthen the probability that Bruges would have been selected, as a more convenient asylum than perhaps any other, by a daughter of the same noble house, when constrained to pass the remnant of her days in a foreign land.

After a lapse of seven centuries, whilst workmen were employed in pre-

parations for the enlargement of a portal opening upon the cloister on the north side of the ancient cathedral of St. Donat, they discovered, on the 31st of March 1786, a hollow space within the wall, part of which was to be removed in order to carry their object into effect. The Bishop of Bruges, whose palace adjoined the church, being apprised of the circumstance, repaired to the spot, accompanied by several of his clergy; and, on enlarging the aperture in their presence, it was ascertained that the cavity within the thickest part of the wall, at the height of about three feet from the pavement, formed a tomb. There still remained several fragments of a wooden coffin, and bones of a human body; at the head of which lay the leaden Plate in question, the dimensions of which are about ten inches by eight. A procès-verbal of the discovery, drawn up on the occasion, signed by the Bishop and several priests, and bearing date the 9th of the following month, recites the inscription on the plate, being, with some little difference arising from the difficulty of then decyphering it, as follows:

✠ Pater noster ·:· Credo in Deum patrem
et cetera que in Simbolo Apostolorum [or Apostolico] sunt scripta.
Gunildis, nobilissimis orta parentibus, genere angla, pa-
-tre Goduuino Comite, sub cujus dominio maxima pars
militabat anglie, matre-githa illustri prosapia Dacorum oriunda:
Hec, dum voveret adhuc puella virginalem castitatem, desiderans
spirituale conjugium, sprevit connubia nonnullorum nobilium principum:
hecque, dum jam ad nubilem etatem pervenisset, anglia devicta
a UUillelmo normannorum comite et ab eodem interfecto
fratre suo rege anglorum haroldo, relicta patria, apud
Sanctum Audomarum aliquot annos exulans in flandria, Christum
quem pie amabat in pectore, sancte semper colebat in opere,
circa sibi famulantes hilaris et modesta, erga extra-
-neos benivola et justa, pauperibus larga, suo cor-
-pori admodum parca; quid dicam? adeo ut,
omnibus illecebris se abstinendo, per multos annos
ante sui diem obitus, non vesceretur carnibus, neque
quicquam, quod sibi dulce visum est, gustando; sed vix ne-
-cessaria vite capiendo; cilicio induta ut nec etiam quibusdam pateret fami-
-liaribus, conflictando cum viciis vicit in virtutibus: De hinc
transiens Bruggas, et transvolutis quibusdam annis, et inde

pertransiens in Daciam, huc reversa Virgo transmigravit
in Domino, anno incarnationis Domini millesimo LXXXVII nono Kalendas
Septembris, luna XXII.

The bones, together with the remains of the coffin, and the plate, were thereupon deposited in a new wooden chest; which, having been sealed with the episcopal seal, was walled in nearly on the precise spot where the relics had been discovered.

In 1804, whilst Bruges was under the French dominion, the venerable edifice of St. Donat was sold by order of the government; and the purchasers proceeded to the demolition of it, for the purpose of disposing of the materials: which operation was performed so effectually, that a single stone of that vast building is not now to be seen on the site which it occupied, and which, at this day, forms a small square, planted with trees, and used as a public promenade in front of the Hotel-de-Ville.

Two soldiers of the garrison, who, with a number of other workmen, were charged with the demolition, found, on the 26th of February in that year, the chest so deposited in 1786, and offered it for sale to one Rietaghe, an upholsterer in the neighbourhood; who, having no inclination to deal with such an object, the soldiers broke up the chest and threw away the contents; reserving only one small bone and the leaden plate. Upon the report of the upholsterer to Pierre Ledoulx, a painter of some antiquarian taste, the latter possessed himself of the relics for three francs, and presented them to M. Van Huerne, a citizen of Bruges, by whom they were placed in their present depository, the sacristy of the church of St. Sauveur, accompanied by a not very instructive essay thereon from the pen of M. Caÿtan, one of the canons.

Whilst engaged in considering this memorial with reference to the external as well as internal evidence of its authenticity, my attention was directed by M. Coppieter-Twallant, the present worthy and intelligent Burgomaster of Bruges, and M. Scourion, the learned Secretary and Librarian of that city, to the history and fate of another Gunilda, of whom the accounts appeared to be, on a first view, so conflicting, that I deemed a little time would not be unprofitably bestowed in an endeavour to develope the truth.

It is indeed remarkable that, whilst the memory of Gunilda, the daughter

of Godwin, had sunk into complete oblivion at Bruges, authors of such eminence as Meyer, the annalist, and Sanderus, the topographer, of Flanders, should have produced, in her place, Gunilda the daughter of Canute; and, at the same time, adopted the assumptions of our early chroniclers touching the latter of those ladies, which, if not, as I conceive them to be, satisfactorily refuted, are certainly at variance with what must be regarded as authentic history.

Jacobus Meyer, who had been, for a long period, chaplain of St. Donat, and Professor of Humanities in the school maintained by the Chapter, and who died at Bruges in 1552, in his "Commentarii sive annales rerum Flandricarum," (fol. Antw. 1561, page 209^{b}.) relates, that, in the year 1389, the the church of St. Donat having fallen into great decay, a contribution towards the means for repairing the same had been supplied by the sale of certain precious articles of gold and silver which had been, of old, given to the church by Gunilda daughter of Canute, King of Denmark and England, by Emma sister of Richard Duke of Normandy; which Gunilda had, in 1036, intermarried with Henry son of the Emperor Conrad, and died at Bruges in 1043, "ut alibi fusius," he adds, "per Dei gratiam explicabimus." He proceeds to state, that she was buried at St. Donat's, near the north door, where an image of the Virgin Mary might then be seen over her tomb: that, although Polydor Vergil, Cuspinianus, William of Malmesbury, and other writers, had made mention of her, neither of them appeared to have been acquainted with her ulterior fate, or her place of burial: that, after having been falsely accused of adultery, her innocence had been established by trial by duel, in which an English youth in her service had slain her accuser, a warrior of gigantic stature: that she had thereupon transmitted letters of divorce to her unjust husband, and repaired to her kinsman Baldwin the Pious, Count of Flanders, in whose castle at Bruges, adjoining the church of St. Donat, she had devoted the remainder of her life to religious exercises, and died on the XII calends of September [21st of August], on which day her obsequies continued to be annually solemnized: and that she had bequeathed, amongst other things, to that church a Psalter, then still denominated "The Psalter of Gunilda," being in Latin, with

certain Saxon narratives, not sufficiently understood, as Meyer observes, by any person at Bruges.

Pontanus in "Rerum Danicarum Historia," (fol. Amst. 1631, pp. 157, 175), follows Meyer in his account of the life and death of Gunilda, and narrates, upon the authority of Antonius Schoonhovius, a canon of St. Donat, who, he states, had consulted the archives of the church upon the subject, that the gifts of the princess to the Chapter, in her lifetime and at her death, were of considerable value, comprising, amongst other matters, a splendid crown ("corona augustalis,") and many works of the best authors, richly ornamented, of which the Psalter, "in the *Danish* language," only remained.

Sanderus, in his "Flandria Illustrata" (fol. Col. Agripp. 1641, vol. i. p. 212) subjoins, to an epitome of the former account, an epitaph in memory of Gunilda, of which a copy in MS. has been also preserved, carefully collated, before the destruction of the church, with the original inscription, which is recollected to have been seen engraven on a tablet of blueish free-stone, inserted in the wall of the cloister, behind the spot where the remains of the sister of Harold were discovered: this copy, differing somewhat from that printed by Sanderus, is as follows:

Gunildæ Canuti
Angliæ, Daniæ, Marciæ, Norwegiæ et Sueciæ
Regis filiæ,
Augusti Henrici nigri Conjugi,
post acceptam gravissimam a Marito injuriam
in hoc Castello religiose viventi
et anno domini MXLII, XII Kalendas Septembris
defunctæ,
hoc monumentum
ecclesia cui perquam erat munifica
erexit.

It is to be observed, that Meyer places the death in 1043; whilst Sanderus gives it in 1042, in conformity with the MS. inscription. I need scarcely notice that the use, both in the printed and the manuscript copy, of the diphthong "æ," and also the style "Daniæ, Marciæ," for Denmark (the Latin term for which was, in the middle age, more generally "Dacia"), as well as

the linear arrangement of the inscription, point it out as comparatively modern. There is, as I learnt, a tradition that it had been *renewed* about two centuries ago; but, if it had been extant in the time of Meyer, he would doubtless have referred to it. The date of the supposed renewal may, therefore, probably have been that of the original conception, about the time of Sanderus.

The Flemish work, entitled "Chronyke van Vlaenderen," printed at Bruges in 1727, mentions also the anniversary service for "the Empress" Gunilda, performed on the 21st of August; and adds that, immediately before the mass, the canons were accustomed to proceed to the cloister, in order to chaunt the Psalms near her tomb. This solemnity continued to be regularly observed within the memory of some of the present inhabitants of the city, and ceased probably only with the dissolution of the Chapter during the French revolution.

Nothing which has been quoted would appear to militate against the presumption, that these traditions had reference to Gunilda the daughter of Godwin, of whom there is reason to believe that she possessed ample means for endowing the church within the precincts of which she closed her earthly career: and, had such means failed in consequence of the seizure of her lands under the Norman ascendancy, there can be no doubt that her mother, Githa, who is stated to have taken refuge in Flanders, after having offered to redeem the body of her unfortunate son by its weight in gold, carried ample treasure with her. The circumstance, too, of the annual performance of the obsequies near the precise place of interment, and three days only before that recorded on the plate as the day of the death of Gunilda, corroborates the inference that the service was in honour of her memory. It is, besides, well known that the day of burial is frequently given in monumental inscriptions for that of the decease.

I cannot find that Meyer has any where redeemed his pledge to adduce *fuller* testimony in proof of the assertion, originating, I believe, with him, that Gunilda, the consort of Henry King of the Romans, afterwards Emperor by the title of Henry III., died and was interred at Bruges; an assertion which, after having denounced the ignorance of the English historians upon that point, it was incumbent upon him to substantiate by every means in his power. Neither that learned author, however, or either of the

others from whose works I have made the foregoing extracts, appears to have been aware of the existence of evidence negativing, as I apprehend decisively, not only the alleged fact of the decease of Gunilda at Bruges, but also the charge of adultery, the duel, and the divorce.

Canute the Great, during his celebrated visit to Rome, assisted at the coronation of the Emperor Conrad II., called "Salicus," and the Empress Gisela, or Hisla, on the 7th calends of April, or 26th of March, 1027; and, as he is stated to have availed himself of that opportunity of treating with the Emperor upon several objects of his policy, it may be inferred that he then also affianced his daughter Gunilda (whose age, she being younger than her brother Hardecanute, could not, at that time, have exceeded eight years,) to their son Henry, who, at the age of nine, had in the year preceding been elected King of the Romans: but Canute did not live to witness the nuptials, which were solemnized, nine years subsequently, with great magnificence at Nimeguen on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, or 29th June, 1036; upon which occasion the young Queen is recorded to have changed her name, and to have received, in the benediction, that of "Chunegunda." (Chronicon Hildensheimense in Duchesne's Hist. Francorum Scriptores, vol. iii. p. 524.)

That the marriage took place in that year cannot be doubted; since, in addition to the respectable authority here cited, the date is corroborated by two other contemporary writers whom I shall presently have occasion to mention. And yet our William of Malmesbury erroneously places the event about six years later, in the reign of Hardecanute. That historian describes the pomp of the entertainments given by that King in commemoration of it, and on the eve of his sister's departure for the continent; which, he says, afforded even in his time, a century after the event, a theme for ballad-singers in the streets. This description is so circumstantial, that we cannot suppose it altogether fabulous. And yet it can only be reconciled upon the assumption that Canute, dying at Shaftesbury in November, 1035 (MS. Tib. B. i. in lib. Cotton.), the departure of Gunilda may have taken place in the summer following, during the divided reign of Harold Harefoot and Hardecanute, and before the expulsion of the latter from the ground which he and his adherents had, for a time, maintained in the West

of England. But, whatever credit may be to be conceded to our historian, when speaking of so remarkable an occurrence within the realm, we must pause before we receive his testimony concerning foreign events for which no authority is given. He is the first of our annalists who asserted the marriage of Henry and Gunilda to have proved unhappy. He relates that, after the illustrious couple had lived together for some years, the Queen was accused of adultery; and that, all her other dependents having been impelled by fear to flight, a boy of her brother's household, whom she had brought with her from England, defied the accuser, a man of gigantic form, to single combat; and that, having accepted the challenge, the defamer was, "by a divine miracle," unnerved by incision of his hamstrings. He adds, that Gunilda, elated by her unexpected triumph ("insperato triumpho"), divorced herself from her husband, with whom neither menace or allurement could prevail upon her to renew the conjugal bond; that she thereupon took the veil, and, in peaceable retirement, grew old ("consenuit") in the service of God. (Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores, ed. Savile, fol. Lond. 1596, lib. ii. c. xii. p. 43.)

For this romantic tale of a credulous age, in which the occurrences of distant countries, transmitted chiefly by oral communication, could but imperfectly reach the seclusion of a monastery, no voucher, as I before observed, is offered: and the three anecdotes of the Emperor Henry, which immediately follow the narrative, are of a character too improbable and absurd to enhance our opinion of the discrimination of our learned chronicler in giving place to them, or their fabulous precursor, in his history. Once produced, however, the marvellous story was repeated, with various embellishment, by Gervase of Canterbury (Lelandi Collect. ed. 1770, vol. i. p. 261); by Coggeshale (MS. in Coll. Armor. fol. 34); by Higden (MS. Polychron. in eodem Coll. fol. 216); by Matthew of Westminster (ed. Lond. 1570, p. 413); Robert of Gloucester (MS. in Coll. Armor. fol. 161); and several others of our annalists; amongst whom Bromton reports even the name of the giant "Roddyngar," and, with Matthew of Westminster, that of the page, or dwarf, "Municon," or "Mimecan." (Chron. Joh. Bromton, ed. Twysden, p. 933.)

The Flemish writers were evidently not apprised that there existed, in the

repositories of literature in Germany, the means of disproving the fiction, which rested, in fact, solely upon the authority of William of Malmesbury.

In the edition of Struvius, of the collection of writers on German History made by Pistorius, who died in 1608 (fol. Ratisb. 1726, vol. iii.), there is a life of the Emperor Conrad Salicus by Wippo, a contemporary, who dedicated his work to the Emperor Henry III. son of Conrad. Having (at page 480) recorded the marriage of Henry with Gunilda in the following words:

"Aº Dñi 1036 Heinricus rex, filius imperatoris, Cnittonis regis Anglorum filiam, nomine Chunelindem, pro regina consecratam regalibus nuptiis in conjugium duxit."

The author traces, in the succeeding pages, the movements of the Imperial family with the minuteness and circumstantiality of an attendant witness. After stating that Conrad, during a campaign against his rebellious subjects in Italy, celebrated, in the beginning of the year 1038, the Christmas festivities at Parma, and narrating other acts of that monarch in the early part of that year, he proceeds to relate that the imperial army was, on its march homeward, attacked by a pestilential malady which committed great ravages, and to which the young Queen, the consort of King Henry, fell a victim on the xv calends of August, or the 18th of July, in that year. He adds, that the "tender and delicate" body of the Queen, having been embalmed, was conveyed into Germany, and interred at Lutburg; whilst, on account of the great heat of the weather, the remains of Duke Hermann (son of the Empress Gisela by a former marriage), who had died of the same contagion, were of necessity deposited at Trent.

The words of Wippo are:

"Eo tempore [1038] propter nimium calorem nimia contagio pestilentiæ exercitum invasit, neque ætatibus neque personis pepercit. Ibi regina Chunelindis, conjux Henrici regis, xv Calendas Augusti, quasi in limine vitæ, ingressu mortis occubuit, relinquens tantummodo solam filiolam de rege quam postea pater Christo desponsans in Abbatissam consecrari fecit. Filius imperatricis Hermannus dux Alemannorum, juvenis bonæ indolis et in rebus bellicis strenuus, eadem peste gravatus inter manus peritissimorum medicorum v Calendas Augusti non sine magno imperii detrimento obiit. Eodem mense atque sequenti maxima multitudo exercitus morbo contacta periit. Corpus reginæ tenerum et delicatum, aromatibus conditum, cum Rege et Imperatrice ductum ad Germaniam, in præpositura Lutburg sepultum est. De duce statutum fuerat, ut in Constantiam civitatem Alemanniæ duceretur, sed, calore nimio obstante, in Tridento sepelitur."

Wippo, in his prefatory address to the Emperor Henry, uses these words: "Mihi autem servulo tuo is animus est, si Deus annuerit, utriusque [scilicet patris et filii] acta referre *quæ acciderunt me superstite;*" and, again, "*de his quæ ipse vidi;*" which preclude all doubt as to his veracity.

Hermannus Contractus, Count of Veringen, and a monk of Reichenau, who was born in 1013, and died in 1054, relates also the marriage of Henry and Chunihildis, daughter of King Cnute, as having taken place at Nimeguen in 1036; and, after stating, under the year 1038, that Conrad had kept the feast of the Nativity of our Lord at the commencement of that year at Parma, adds that Queen Chunihildis, the wife of Henry, died of the contagion on the XVII, instead of the XV calends of August as mentioned by Wippo, and Duke Hermann on the V calends of the same month; that her remains were carried into Germany; and that those of the Duke had sepulture at Trent. There are two parallel texts of these annals printed in the collection of Pistorius already cited.

Otto Bishop of Frisingen, who was of the Imperial family, and had been Chancellor of the Empire, and who died in 1158, relates, in book v, chapter 31, of his Chronicle, that Duke Hermann and Queen Gunilda, called Kunigonda, died of the pestilence on the border of the Adriatic.

The date of 1036 for the marriage, and that of 1038 for the death, under the same circumstances, are also given in two chronicles, "Australis Antiquæ," and "Augustensis Antiquæ," the latter ending in 1104, printed by Freher in his Collection of German historical Writers, fol. Francof. 1600.

These passages, found in coætaneous chronicles, confirm the testimony of Wippo, which, of itself, cannot but be received as of high authority; and appear to me fully to justify our rejection of the alleged trial by duel, and the divorce, as well as the subsequent death and burial of Gunilda at Bruges.

The annals of Hildensheim, already cited, in alluding (at page 525) to the death of the consort of Henry in 1038, state, that her premature end created great affliction in the Imperial family. The compiler of these annals must also have been a contemporary: for, in recording (at p. 526) the death of the Emperor Conrad in 1039, he says, speaking of Henry his son and successor, "qui *nunc* sine quâvis contradictionis molestiâ est intronizatus."

Gunilda, who is said by Wippo to have died "quasi in limine vitæ," could scarcely have attained her 20th year at the time of her death; and would have been but a few years older, had even the imaginary date, assumed by Meyer and the other Flemish writers, been correct. It is, therefore, remarkable that they should not have adverted to the discrepancy between the positive youth of the princess (the marriage of whose father and mother did not take place until 1017) and the "*consenuit*" of William of Malmesbury.

In respect to the date of Gunilda's death, one further proof is found in a charter of the Emperor Henry III. dated the x calends of July, or 22nd June, 1040, in the 2nd year of his reign, inserted in "Codex probationum historiæ gentis Habsburgicæ, editore P. Hergott, Benedictino, Viennæ, fol. 1737, tom. ii. pars 2, p. 114." The charter contains a grant of certain immunities to a monastery called "Fabariensis," and the Emperor alludes therein to his father Conrad, and his own consort Chunigunda, as being both then dead. The words are, "pro æternâ memoriâ patris conjugisque nostræ Chunigundis."

With reference to Lutburg, mentioned by Wippo as the place of interment of Queen Chunelinda, I shall just observe, that it appears by the Chronicon Citzensis, by Paulus Langius Cygnæus, printed by Pistorius (tom. i. p. 1138), that Lintpurg, or Limpurg, a strong castle situated on a mountain between Spires and Worms (inter Nemetes et Vangiones) had been the residence of the Emperor Conrad; and that the Emperor Henry III. in the first year of his reign, converted the castle into a monastery with a rich endowment. Both Conrad and Henry were buried at Spires.

Saxo Grammaticus, who compiled his history of Denmark about the year 1186, says, (ed. Paris, fol. 1514, lib. 10, p. 104^{b}.), that Gunilda had, by Henry, a son called "Magnus."—"At Cæsar ex Gunilda filium æquè fortunâ ac vocabulo Magnum suscepit:" but, according to all historians of the Emperors of the West, Henry Niger had no son of that name. Wippo, in the passage already quoted, states that the Queen left an only daughter, whom her father afterwards caused to be consecrated as an abbess. "L'Art de verifier les Dates," (fol. Paris 1784, tom. ii. p. 16,) calls this daughter Beatrix, and mentions that she became abbess of Gandersheim.

The Emperor Henry married secondly, in 1044, at Ingelheim on the Rhine, Agnes, the daughter of William Duke of Aquitaine.

I shall conclude these observations, by which I fear I have trespassed too long on your attention, with a conjecture, that the error, which our ancient historians must be presumed to have committed in their account of Gunilda, the daughter of Canute, may have had its origin in a vague tradition, which had been transmitted to them, concerning Cunigunda the wife of the Emperor Henry II., who, according to the "Magnum Chronicon Belgicum," (amongst those edited by Pistorius, p. 102), "Cuspinianus de Cæsaribus," (p. 263), and various other authorities, was accused of adultery, and asserted her innocence by walking, barefoot, publicly and unhurt, upon six ploughshares heated by fire; an ordeal to which our Emma, the mother of Queen Gunilda, is said also (but with little probability, the author of "Emmæ Encomium" being silent on the subject) to have submitted for a similar purpose.

I remain, with much respect,

my dear Sir,

yours very faithfully,

G. F. BELTZ, Lancaster.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.

† Pater noster: Credo in dm̄ patrē
ceteraque in simbola aptax sunt scripta
Cunilda nobilissima orta parentibus genere angla pa
tre godwino comite sub cuius dominio maxima pars
militabat angliq; matre githa illustri plapia dacax ornunda
hęc cū noueret adhuc puella uirginalē castitatē desiderans
spiale connubiū spreuit connubia non nullox nobiliū principū
hoc; dum iam adnubilem etatē puenisse anglia deducta
a guilelmo normannorum comite ex abeo dem interfecto
fratre suo rege anglorū haroldo relicta patria apud
Gandauum aliquot annos exulans inflanchria xpm
sue pie amabat impensorum sce semp colebat mope
rea sibi famulantes hilares ac modesta erga extra
neos benuola ac iusta pauperib; larga. suo cor
pori admodum parca; Quid dicā. adeo ut
omnibus illecebris se abstinendo p multos annos
ante sin dum obtus non uescerentur carnibus neq;
quicq; qđ sibi dulce usum est gustando sed uix ne
cessaria uitę capiendo alicio indulta ut nec etiā q'b; dā pater et fra
bonis: confectando cū uicis uicit inuirtutibus. De hinc
transiens brugas ex ibi transuolauit qđ dā amis ex de
Flandrensium dacia huc reuisa uirgo transmigrauit
ad dnō Anno incarnationis dñi o L° LXXXVIII° nonas
sub luna: XXII.



Coffin Plate of Gunilda, Sister of Harold King of England. Preserved at Bruges.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1834

XXII. *Extracts from the Household and Privy Purse Accounts of the Lestranges of Hunstanton, from A.D. 1519 to A.D. 1578; Communicated by* Daniel Gurney, *Esq. F.S.A., in a Letter to* Sir Henry Ellis, *K.H. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 14th March, 1833.

North Runcton, Lynn, March 9, 1833.

Dear Sir,

I SEND for your inspection, and that of the Society of Antiquaries, some extracts from the Household and Privy-purse accounts of the Lestranges of Hunstanton, during the reigns of Henry the Eighth and his children. They appear to me of considerable interest, as detailing the expenditure of the better sort of gentry at that period, and as throwing much light upon the method of life pursued by them.

The Lestranges of Hunstanton were a junior branch of the family of the Barons Lestrange of Knockyn. This family possessed manors in Norfolk at a very early period. Some genealogists derive their descent from the ancient Dukes of Britany, apparently without foundation. They were amongst the retainers of the Fitzalans, who enfeoffed them of the manors of Litcham and Beeston in Norfolk, and of Hunstanton, which latter they held by the service of defending one of the towers of Castle Rising castle. The first of this race was Seward or Sewald, whose descendants assumed the name of Lestrange, for what reason does not appear. Guy Lestrange, of this race, distinguished himself at a tournament held at Castle-Peverel, in Derbyshire, in the reign of Henry the First. This Guy had two brothers, Hamon and John. Of these, John and Guy Lestrange held lands under the Fitzalans,

in Shropshire (Liber Niger Scaccarii). John was the eldest of these brothers, as appears by the circumstance of his name standing before the others in ancient deeds. He was seated at Knockyn, in Shropshire, and his descendants continued there and at Blackmere, in the same county, for many generations; generally summoned as barons to Parliament. John last Lord Lestrange, of Knockyn, died in the reign of Henry the Seventh, leaving Joanna his daughter and heir, who married George Stanley, son of Thomas first Earl of Derby of that name; in which family the barony of Strange continued until the year 1594, when it fell into abeyance amongst the daughters of Ferdinando fifth Earl of Derby. The Dukes of Athol were created Earls Strange in consequence of their descent from the Earls of Derby.

John Lord Lestrange of Knockyn and Isolda his wife, enfeoffed Sir Hamon Lestrange, his younger brother, of the manor of Hunstanton. The original deed of confirmation of this enfeoffment I have seen in the charter-room there. It is dated at Knockyn, on Sunday the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, in the third year of the reign of King Edward son of King Edward (30th November, 1309). This deed is in perfect preservation, except that the seal of Isolda is gone; that of John Lord Lestrange bears the shield of Lestrange, two lions passant, surrounded with the inscription, "S. IOH^{S}. EXTRANE' DE KNOKIN." There is also a confirmation of the gift by Roger seventh Lord Lestrange, to Hamon son of Sir Hamon Lestrange of Hunstanton, dated at Middleton, in Norfolk, the 18th Edward III. (1342), on the condition of receiving annually a rose at the feast of St. John the Baptist, in lieu of all services.

This latter Hamon Lestrange married Catherine, daughter of John de Camois, from which marriage the Lestranges of Hunstanton were presumed to have a claim to the barony of Camois. The family was carried on by intermarriage with various persons of distinction, to Sir Thomas Lestrange of Hunstanton, Knight, whose accounts I have the pleasure of sending for your perusal. This gentleman was Sheriff of Norfolk the 28th of Henry the Eighth. He married Ann, daughter of Nicholas Lord Vaux, of Harrowden. His grandson Sir Hamon Lestrange married, in the reign of Elizabeth, the daughter and coheir of Sir Hugh Hastings of Elsing and Gressenhal in Norfolk, by which marriage the possessions of the Lestranges became con-

siderably augmented. Sir Nicholas Lestrange, of Hunstanton, was created a Baronet in the 5th of Charles the First, and the family continued to reside there and at Gressenhal, until in 1760, upon the death of Sir Henry Lestrange, Baronet, the estates became divided between his two sisters and coheiresses, Armine, who married Nicholas Styleman, Esq. (whose descendant, Henry Lestrange Styleman, Esq. is the present owner of Hunstanton), and Lucy, who married Sir Jacob Astley, Bart. The manor of Hunstanton has continued in one family as long as any in the county of Norfolk, having been possessed by the Lestranges since the reign of Henry the First. The arms of Lestrange of Knockyn were, Gules, two lions passant Argent, which the Hunstanton branch differenced by a bendlet Or.

The ancient mansion of the Lestranges remains in a good state, but has not been inhabited for many years. It is a large house, surrounded with a moat, and was built at the latter end of the fifteenth century by Sir Roger Lestrange, knight of the body to Henry the Seventh, whose arms, impaling those of the Heydons of Norfolk, are carved in stone over the gateway. The building has been partially added to at subsequent periods, but retains much of its original character; it is quadrangular, three sides of the quadrangle being a double house; it is entered by the gateway; and from thence, through a porch, is the way into the house. The Hall is a large room, ornamented with bucks'-heads, and pictures of sporting and military subjects. Passing through it, is the great oak staircase, around which are numerous paintings; amongst others, a portrait of the first Pretender, to the interests of whose family the Lestranges were warmly attached. Within the turn of the staircase is the Chapel, which was open at all sides through the banisters, and to the gallery above; so that the domestics might be present at the offices there performed: for the chapel itself is more like a large pew for the family, and never could have been used before the Reformation. On the faded crimson velvet with which it is hung, are embroidered the words, "In resurrectione tua, Christe cœli et terræ lætentur. Alleluia. Amen." A large parlour upstairs is wainscoted around, and at the cornice is a beautifully executed pedigree of the Lestranges, with

the arms of every match, and the names clearly written. Many family portraits hang in this room, of which by much the best is a very fine one of Sir Thomas Lestrange, by Holbein. The buttery is shown, and kitchen with a wicket in the upper part, where the lady of the house might inspect the proceedings of the servants: also the oyster-room, where the noonday meal of oysters was taken; and the armoury, where still exist many rusty remnants of coats of mail, housings, &c. A great deal of the ancient furniture still exists, of which the Gothic construction of some of the bedsteads is remarkable. Around the old hall are large offices, stew-ponds, a square walled garden, originally laid out in parterres, and an enclosed bowling-green. The house is in a low situation, but in the park is some high ground, on which is an antique summer-house, commanding views of the sea and neighbouring country.

In the church are many monuments of the family: of these the most striking are a mural one of Sir Henry Lestrange, date 1485, and a very fine altar-tomb surmounted with a brass of Sir Roger Lestrange, the original builder of the house.

Hunstanton itself is immediately upon the coast at the extreme north-west of Norfolk; a lofty but insulated cliff runs along the shore for two or three miles, and on either side gradually sinks into flat marsh. At the point of the cliff is St. Edmund's chapel, now a ruin: St. Edmund was said to have landed at this point when he came from Germany to take possession of the kingdom of the East Angles.

The original Accounts, from which I send you extracts, are not all in the same handwriting; they are in paper books without covers; some of them are written by the steward or clerk of the kitchen; some by the personal servant of the knight, and one or two are either by the hand of Lady Lestrange herself, or by that of an amanuensis in her name.

I think it will be found that the average money-value of things in these accounts, is about one-tenth of what they are at present; and where this does not hold good, it probably arises from the article being more or less scarce by comparison with the present day: manufactured goods being of higher value from the absence of any but the most simple machinery at that period,

and the very great variation in the price of wheat showing the uncertainty of the supply.

You will observe repeated mention of articles of "gist," and articles of "store;" the former, I conceive, were undoubtedly given in lieu of rent; the latter were probably what were the produce of the home farm, or what had been previously purchased. The variety of the subjects of these Accounts adds greatly to their interest.

I am, my dear Sir,

your faithful servant,

DANIEL GURNEY.

To Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.

11 Hen. 8, 1519. Le Strange.

(*Tabled,*) RECEYTS, A°. XI^mo.

	£.	s.	d.
In p^is of Wyllm̃ Glover of Elsyng the xij daye of y^e monyth of Octobre for vj Shepe Skynnys	—	—	xij
Itm rec. of my m^r the xiiij^th daye of Octobre . .	xxx	x	—
Itm rec. of John Laurence the xv^th daye of Octobre by the hands of his wiff	iiij	xiij	iiij
Itm rec. of John his son	iij	vj	viij
Itm rec. of M^r John Stede y^e xx^th daye of Octobre for half a hundreth Waynskotts	—	xliij	iiij
Itm rec. of Blackhed's wiff y^e xxj^t daye of Octobre for half a Stone Tallow	—	—	v
Itm rec. of Robt. Rede y^e xxij^d daye of Octobre for my master Woolle & M^r Richard	iiij	x	ij
Itm rec. y^e sam daye of Symon Banggett & Wyllam Raven jun^r in ꝑtye of payment for y^e lytle boate	—	viij	—
Itm rec. of Wyllm̃ Leman y^e xxij^d daye of Novẽbre for xij Shepe Skynnes	—	ij	—
Itm rec. of Robt. Rede the xxx^th daye of Novembre .	iij	xiij	iiij
Itm rec. of M^r ꝑson of Anmer y^e fyrst daye of Decẽbre .	viij	—	—
Itm rec. of Blackhed's wiffe for iij lb. Tallow y^e iiij^th daye of Decembre	—	—	iij
Item rec. of M^r ꝑson of Anm̃ y^e ix^th daye of Decẽbre for a Stone of Tallow	—	—	ix
It̃ rec. of yong John of y^e stable y^e x^th daye of Decemb̃ y^t he brought from S^r Wyllm̃ Aparre for to paye for his Wyn . .	iij	x	—
It̃ rec. of my M^r at Walsynghm̃ y^e xx^th daye of Decembre of y^t money y^t cam from M^r Banyerd	v	—	—
It̃ rec. of John Lawrance y^e xxviij^th daye of Decembre in ꝑtye of payment of y^e Rent of Fryng	—	l	—
It̃ rec. y^e ij^d daye of y^e month of Januarye of M^r Rychard Banyard	iij	—	—
Itm rec. of Symon Bangotts & Wyllm̃ Raven, jun^r in full payment of y^e lytill Boate xxviij^th daye of Jan. . . .	—	viij	—
Itm rec. y^e xxix^th daye of Januarye of Rychard Alman of Frynge	—	x	—

	£.	s.	d.
Iẽm rec. of my Mr the xth daye of Februarye of yt money yt he receyved of Mr Legge	iiij	—	—
Iẽm rec. of John Brown of Hunstanton for v wethers	—	x	—
Iẽm receyved of John Laurance ye xiij daye of Februarye for rente & ferm of Frynge	viij	—	—
Iẽm rec. of my Mr ye same daye of yt money yt he receyved of Mr Pson of Anñ	—	xxij	—
Iẽm rec. of Robt. Rede ye xvijth daye of Februarye for rent & ferm of ye mañ of Hunstanton	x	—	—
Iẽm rec. of John Vyntcent, Glover, of Lynn, for xxviij Shepe Skynnys ye last daye of Februarye	—	vij	—
Iẽm rec. of the Vycar of Holme ye xth daye of March for CC & di. of Whyte heryng	—	iij	iiij
Iẽm rec. of Robt. Rede ye xxth daye of Mc̃h for ye rent & fermys of his lands in Hunstanton	ix	—	—
Iẽm rec. of my Master ye xxvijth daye of Marche that he receyved for his Fee of the Abbott of Ramsey	—	xx	—

Sm̃ Rec. Cvjl. ixs. vijd.

THIS booke make mencyon of all payments for the hows & receyts from the xxvth day of September in the xjth yere of ye reigne of Kyng Henry the VIIIth on to ye next Accompts.

The Fyrst Weke.

	£.	s.	d.
Fyrst pd to John Brown for ix stone beffe	—	iiij	j ob.
Iẽ to a wiff of Yngaldesthorpe for vj Gees	—	—	xx
Iẽm to Blackwood wiff for Buttr	—	—	ij
Iẽ for a quartr Veile	—	—	vj
Iẽm for vj Checons	—	—	vj
Iẽm for vj lb. Candell	—	—	vij ob.
Iẽm for heryng	—	—	ij
Iẽm to Blackwood wiff for Buttr	—	—	ij

The ijd Weke.

Iẽm to Thoms Orwell for xx Combs malt to be dd at Hunstanton bytwyx this & Christmas next	—	xxx	viij

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The vth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for a gallon and di. of Rynnyshe Wyne . .	—	—	xviij
The xth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} Rob^{t} Grome for v barrels & di. of Bere . .	—	xj	—
The xiijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for a pecke of Otemele	—	—	iij
The xviijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John Browne of Lynne for ij barrells of whyte heryngs	—	xxij	—
Itm to Richard Bessye of Lynn for ij cads of Red Heryngs	—	xvj	—
Itm p^{d} to ij porters for caryeng of y^{e} same ij cads to y^{e} Comon Stathe [a]	—	—	ij
Itm p^{d} for half a hundreth Lyngs	—	xl	—
Itm p^{d} for caryeng of y^{e} same Lyngs from y^{e} Bulle to y^{e} Comon Stath	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} for vij dussen Candylls	—	viij	vj
The xxth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for a Butspragge to Thoms Cawston . .	—	—	xij
The xxvth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John Brown of Lynne for a hoggyshed of Claryett Wyne	—	xxiij	iiij
Itm p^{d} to y^{e} same John for C weytt of grete Reasons .	—	v	—
Itm p^{d} to hym for a teppenett of Fyggs . . .	—	ij	—
Itm p^{d} to hym for vj lb. Almans	—	—	xviij
The xxvjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to —— Fewterer of Thornham for xiiij chalder of Colys & di.	—	liiij	—
The xxjst Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Thoms Chawnte for iiij Wethers for y^{e} Kechyn	—	vij	vij
The xxvth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Waltyr Dockyng of Byrchm for xij Wethers .	—	xxvj	—
The xxvijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John Palm of Ryngsted for xx Wethers for the Kechyn	—	xl	—

[a] Stathe, *Sax.* ȝeaþ, ripa, a word in common use in Norfolk for a wharf.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The xijth Weke.			
Iẽm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Grome for ij barrells of Sengill Bere y^{t} was droncke whan he ware at Anm̃	—	ij	viij
The xiijth Weke.			
Iẽm p^{d} for a payer of Showẽ for boye of y^{e} Kechyn .	—	—	vij
The xiiijth Weke.			
Iẽm p^{d} for a payer of Showẽ for James y^{e} Fawken .	—	—	ix
FOR HANDE PAYMENTS.			
Fyrst p^{d} to old John of y^{e} Stable for his costs rydyng to the Abbot of Welback in Notynghm̃ Shire y^{e} xvth daye of Octobre, A^{o}. xj^{mo}.	—	vij	—
Iẽm p^{d} to Edward Owseley for money that he leyd oute for my master at Kenyngale y^{e} same daye	—	iiij	iij
Iẽm p^{d} to old John of y^{e} Stable for his costs rydyng to Lynn to feche hom Candill, Sope, & Vinegr y^{e} viijth daye of Novẽbre .	—	—	ij
Iẽm p^{d} to Fryer Shyrwyn y^{e} same daye at my M^{rs} comaundement	—	—	iiij
Iẽm pd. for my master costs at Lynne whan he bought wyne for S^{r} Wyllm̃ Aparre [a] for fyer & horsemete . . .	—	—	iiij
Iẽm pd. for a payer of Gloves for my M^{r} . . .	—	—	j
The xvth Weke.			
Iẽm pd. for my M^{r} costs at Walsynghm̃ when he rode to S^{r} Thom̃s Wymondm̃ agayñ twelth tyde	—	viij	—
Iẽm p^{d} for horsemete y^{e} same tyme . . .	—	ij	viij
Iẽm pd. to y^{e} Sadeler	—	—	ij
Iẽm p^{d} y^{e} sam tyme at Felbrigge for horsemete . .	—	iiij	—
Iẽm pd. for my Soper, Edward, Pety John, James, & John of y^{e} Stable at Walsynghm̃ homward	—	—	xij
Iẽm p^{d} for o^{r} den^{r}s y^{e} next daye	—	—	x
Iẽm p^{d} for o^{r} Sops y^{e} sam̃ nyghte	—	—	viij
Iẽm p^{d} for my M^{r} Brekefast on y^{e} Mundaye mornyng when he went forth on hawkyng	—	—	v
Iẽm p^{d} for Sethyng of a Pykerell y^{t} my M^{r} had to y^{e} Abbeye	—	—	ij
Iẽm p^{d} for fyer for y^{e} hawkys	—	—	viij

[a] Sir William A Parre here mentioned was brother to Queen Catherine Parr, and afterwards created Marquis of Northampton. He was nephew to Lady Lestrange, being son of Sir Thomas Parr by Elizabeth daughter of Lord Fitzhugh, who was her half brother; her mother Elizabeth daughter of Lord Fitzhugh having first married Sir William Parr, Knt.. and secondly her father Nicholas Lord Vaux. See Dugd. Bar. ii. 304, 380.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm p^{d} for horsemete	—	—	xxij
Itm dd to my M^{r} by y^{e} hands of James Fawkener when he rode to Wymondhm y^{e} xxiiijth daye of Octob . . .	—	iij	iiij
Itm dd to my M^{r} y^{e} xvjth daye of Decemb when he rode to Walsynghm to y^{e} Sessions to mete wt S^{r} Thos Wymondhm .	—	vj	viij
Itm p^{d} for my M^{r} costs at Walsynghm in y^{e} weke afor Cstmas whan y^{e} laye y^{r} on hawkyng	—	xv	iiij
Itm dd to my M^{r} y^{e} vjth daye of Mche whan he went to Thetford to y^{e} Syse	—	xx	—
Itm pd. y^{e} pdon^{r} [b] of Seynt John Friary y^{e} fyrst Sondaye of Lent	—	—	iij
Itm p^{d} y^{e} pdon^{r} of Seynt Cornelys y^{e} iij^{d} Sondaye of Lent .	—	—	j
M^{d} dd to y^{e} Vicar of Hunstanton y^{e} xxxth daye of Novembre wt y^{e} lands y^{t} ye have late hym in Hunstanton aforeseyd, as it aperyth by yo^{r} Indent^{r}	—	xl	—

SHOYNG OF HORSE.

Itm p^{d} to y^{e} Smyth of Snetyshm for Shoynge of y^{e} hakeney horse from y^{e} Natyvyte of o^{r} Lady unto y^{e} xixth daye of Novembre .	—	—	xx

The xjth Weke.

Itm p^{d} for Shoyng of Thoms Lawes Stawkyng horse whan y^{e} rode to my Lord of Surrey	—	—	iij

CATELL BOUGHT, A^{o} xj^{mo}.

First p^{d} the xvth daye of Octobre for xxx^{ty} Wethers to Dame John	—	lv	—
Itm for vj Rammes y^{t} were putt to y^{e} Flocke of Frynge .	—	viij	—
Itm p^{d} to Thoms Chawnts for x Wethers y^{e} same daye .	—	xvj	ij

The xvth Weke.

Itm p^{d} to John Brown of Lynn for S^{r} Wyllm Aparre, wyne	iij	x	—
Itm dd to pety John y^{e} xvjth daye of Octobre for his Hawkesmete	—	iij	iiij
Itm p^{d} to John Pott of Anmer the xvjth daye of Octobre for xx^{ti} comb barly, to be delyvd at Hunstanton betwyn this and Candylmas next comyng	—	xxvj	viij
Itm p^{d} to John Brown of Hunstanton for xx^{ti} Combz Whete y^{e} xviijth daye of Octobre, to be delyvd at Hunstanton aforseid .	iij	vj	viij

[b] Pardoner, a seller of pardons or indulgences. See Chaucer.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The xiijth Weke.			
Īt p^{d} to George Marlowe for y^{e} caryeng of y^{e} lyverys & my M^{r} gere from London to Welles	—	—	xx
Īt̄m p^{d} to M^{r} Bynhm̃ Sv̄nt for caryeng of the same gere from Welles to Hunstanton	—	—	viij
Īt̄m p^{d} to John Maston for mewyng & kepyng of y^{e} Goshawks from Chrostyde [c] unto y^{e} xvth daye of Novembre . .	—	x	—
Īt̄m p^{d} for pety John & James costs of y^{e} xvth of Novēbre when ye went to Lychehm̃ on hawkyng	—	—	xij
The fyrst Weke.			
In p̃^{is} dd̄ to my M^{rs} for to paye for makyng M^{r} Kenelm̃ Coate, M^{r} John & M^{rs} Alice Coats	—	iij	iiij
The ij^{d} Weke.			
Īt̄m p^{d} to Edmūd Thackey for iiij weks for M^{r} John and M^{s} Alice y^{e} xxixth daye of Septembre	—	iij	iiij
Īt̄m dd̄ to my M^{s} the xvjth daye of Octobre of y^{t} money yt cam from Tylney in M̄stlond for her self & y^{e} Chyldren	iiij	—	—
Īt̄m p^{d} to Nicholas Bedon for ij dayes worke, fyllyng of the mucke carts at Hunstanton	—	—	iiij
Īt̄m p^{d} to John Dowe for makyng of a cowle for the Hennys at Anm̃	—	—	ij
REWARDES FOR BRYNGYNG OF P'SENTS.			
The fyrst Weke.			
In p^{is} to y^{e} Vicar of Holm̃e servt in rewarde for bryngyng of ij Curlews	—	—	ij
Īt̄m to M^{r} Asheley [d] sv̄nt for bryngyng of a Fesaunt Cocke & iiij Woodcocks y^{e} xviijth daye of Octobre, in rew^{d} . .	—	—	iiij
The iiijth Weke.			
Īt̄m to S^{r} Henrye Sharnburn [e] sv̄nt for bryngyng of a Bottell of Rynnyshe Wyne	—	—	iiij
The vth Weke.			
Īt̄m to M^{r} Flyete sv̄nt in reward for bryngyng of iij Bottells of Rynnyshe Wyne	—	—	ij

[c] Chrostyde. The feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

[d] Probably Thomas Ashley, Esq. of Melton Constable.

[e] Sir Henry Sharnburn was Vice-Admiral of England, and one of the Norfolk Knights appointed to attend Henry VIII. at the Champ de Drap d'Or. He was killed in a sea-fight with the French. The family of the Shernborns, seated at Shernborn in Norfolk, flourished there for many centuries.

	£.	s.	d.
The viijth Weke.			
Itm to Mr. Bedyngfeld sv̄nt in rewarde for bryngyng of ix Plov̄s	—	—	iiij
The xijth Weke.			
Itm to Mr P'or of Castelacre sv̄nt for bryngyng ij fatt Swannes	—	—	viij
It to ye Vicar of Thornhm̄ sv̄nt for brynging viij Plov̄s .	—	—	ij
The xiiijth Weke.			
Itm to Halydaye sv̄nt, of Snetishm̄ for brynging of iij Capons	—	—	ij
Itm to Mr Ꝑson of Brancastre sv̄nt for bryngyng of ij Capons	—	—	j
The xvth Weke.			
Itm to ye Vycar of Thornhm̄ sv̄nt for bryngyng of iij Plov̄s, iij Spowes, & iij Stynts	—	—	ij
Itm to ye Lorde of Crystmasse[f] at Ryngstede . .	—	—	iiij
The xvijth Weke.			
Itm to Palm sv̄nt for bryngyng of iij Redeshancks, iiij Knotts, & vj grete Byrds	—	—	ij
Sm̄ iij^{s}. j^{d}.			
The fyrst Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for packethrede for ye haye . . .	—	—	j
Itm p^{d} for a Mawnd[g]	—	—	ij ob.
Itm p^{d} to Blackwood wiff for wayshyng of ye Buttry Gere & Shets for a monthe endyd on Seynt Edwards Evyn . . .	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} for vj lb. Sope	—	—	vij ob.
Itm p^{d} for iij cruses for ye Chyldyr to dryncke on . .	—	—	ij ob.
The iiijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for ij lb. Reysyngs vj^{d}, of Corance, iij vnces of Gynger iiij^{d}, & for Saffron ij^{d}. Sm̄	—	—	xij
The vth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to ye Fuller af Wulv̄ton for fullyng of xxvij yerds of Blanckett	—	—	xviij
Itm p^{d} to ye Neteherd wiff for v weks helpyng ye Cooke in ye Kechyn	—	—	viij

[f] The *Lord of Misrule*, as he was most commonly called, was anciently a chief performer in the Christmas festivities of every great household. See Brand's Pop. Antiq. vol. i. p. 387, and the different works there cited.

[g] A basket, or pannier. *Sax.* manð.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The vjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to M^{r} Walpole for ij lb. Sugar . . .	—	—	xiij
. . . . .			
The viijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for iiij bere potts v^{d}, ij bere glasses ij^{d}. Sm̃ .	—	—	vij
Itm p^{d} for a payer of Belhowse	—	—	iij ob.
Itm p^{d} Richard Bretteyn for weveyng of a pece of Cloth .	—	—	xx
The ixth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Stephyn Percye for a haye[h] of l fadam long .	—	x	—
The xth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to y^{e} Neteherd wiffe for vj wekes helpyng the Buttry gere, endyd on Seynt Andrew Evyn	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} to y^{e} Neteherd for fellyng of ij lode of Whynnes .	—	—	ij
The xjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to the Porters for caryeng of ij hoggishedds of Wyne to the Boate	—	—	ij
Itm p^{d} to John Cawstone for bryngyng hom̃ of ij hoggisheds of Wyne from Lynne	—	—	iiij
The xxth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John y^{e} Scott of Ryngstede, for swepyng of y^{e} Kechyn Chymnye	—	—	ij
. . . . .			
The xxij^{d} Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John Nevell for an Axe & ij Knyffis for y^{e} Kechyn .	—	—	xj
Itm p^{d} to James Porter for xxvj ellis of grey Canvas per y^{e} elle v^{d}. Sm̃	—	x	x
Item p^{d} to y^{e} same James for xxvij ellis of grey Canvass per y^{e} elle iiij^{d} ob. Sm̃	—	x	j ob.
The xxjst Weke.			
Item to my Lord of Oxforth[i] Bereward[j] in reward .	—	—	xx

[h] A net.

[i] John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, married Anne daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and died 18th Hen. VIII. (1527.)

[j] Bear-ward.

WAGES. Anno xj^mo.	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm p^d to y^e Shepherd of Fryng for his quarꝑ Wagꝫ endyd at Mighillmas, A^o xj^mo	—	xvj	viij
Itm p^d to Edmũd Sothus for his q̃rt. endyd at Myghillmas .	—	vj	viiij
It p^d to Morres Floide for his q̃rt. Wages endyd at Myghillmas	—	vj	viij
It to Edward Owseley for his q̃rt. Wages endyd at Myghillmas	—	x	—
It to John Nevell for his half q̃rt. Wages endyd at Myghillmas	—	iiij	ij
It to Alyce Lawes for her half yer Wages endyd at Myghillmas	—	v	—
It p^d to Thom̃s Baker for his q̃rt. Wages endyd at Myghillmas	—	vj	viij
Itm p^d to Kaꝑyn Salꝑ y^e v^th daye of Novembre in ꝑt of payment of her Wages	—	—	xx
Itm p^d to M^s M'garet Ferefreye^k for her q̃rt. Wages endyd at Myghillmas	—	vj	viij
Itm p^d to John Rychardson y^e last daye of Novembre for iij q̃rt. Wages endyd at Hallowmass	—	xx	—
LEVERYES delyv^d agayn Cristmas, A^o xj^mo.			
Itm M^rs M'garet Fewfreye iij brode yerds per y^e yerd iiij^s viij^d. Sm̃ .	—	xiiij	—
Itm to David John iij brode yerds per y^e yerd iiij^s. Sm̃ .	—	xij	—
Itm to Edward Owseley iij brode yerds y^e same p̃ce .	—	xij	—
Itm to Morris Floud iij brode yerds per y^e yerd iij^s iiij^d .	—	x	—
Itm to Edward Sothurs iij brode yerds per y^e yerd ij^s viij^d .	—	viij	—
Itm to Thom̃s Pedder iij brode yerds y^e same p̃ce . .	—	viij	—
Itm to Petye John iij brode yerds y^e same p̃ce . .	—	viij	—
Itm to Wyllm̃ Balye iij brode yerds y^e same p̃ce . .	—	viij	—
Itm to old John of y^e Stable iij brode y^ds y^e sam̃ p̃ce .	—	viij	—
Itm to young John of y^e Stable iij brode y^ds y^e sam̃ p̃ce .	—	viij	—
Itm to Thom̃s y^e Baker iij brode yerds y^e same p̃ce .	—	viij	—
Itm to John Nevell iij brode yerds y^e same p̃ce . .	—	viij	—
Itm to John Lawrence iij ƀrode yerds y^e same p̃ce . .	—	viij	—
. . . . .			
Itm p^d to Rob^t Cooke for v weeks from Crosse Sondaye unto o^r Ladye daye the Annuñcyacon	—	iij	ij
Itm p^d to y^e Kechyn Boye for his q̃rt. Wages endyd at o^r Ladye daye y^e Anuñcyacon	—	iij	—
The vij^th Weke.			
Itm p^d to a woman of Hyllyngton for heye . .	—	vj	x
Itm p^d to John Pott^r for caryeng of y^e same heye from Hyllyngton to Anmr	—	—	xvj

[k] Mrs. Margaret Ferefreye was the housekeeper at Hunstanton.

The xxjst Weke.	£.	s.	d.
Itm p^{d} for half a horse hyde to mend y^{e} cart harness w^{t} .	—	—	ix
Itm p^{d} for a payer of hedgyng Gloves for y^{e} Cart^{r} .	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} for Whypcorde	—	—	j

25th Sept^{r} 1519. No. 2.

(*Tabled,*) S^{r} THOMAS LE STRANGES BOOK (11 Hen. 8.)

The ij^{d} Weke.

Itm iij q̃r^{t}s of a Lyng iiij^{d} ob., j Codde & di. vj^{d} . .	—	—	x ob.
Itm vij Stone Beffe & di.	—	iij	v
Itm for a q̃rt. Veile	—	—	vj
Itm for ij pyggs bought at Snetishm̃ . . .	—	—	viij
Itm for a botell Vyneg^{r}	—	—	iij
Itm for ij Motons bought of David John . .	—	iij	viij
Itm iij b^{s} Whete	—	ij	vj
Itm iiij b^{s} mixtelyn of Store[l]	—	—	—
Itm iiij barells Bere	—	viij	iiij
Itm vj lb. Candell	—	—	vij ob.

Straungers in y^{e} same week

Imp^{is} M^{r} Roger Woodows[m] & his wyff, & his iiij s̃vnts, from Sondaye till Wedynsdaye
Itm S^{r} Richard Jernynghm̃[n] j daye.

The iiijth Weke.

. . . . . .

Straungs in y^{e} same weke.

M^{r} Woodowes & his wiffe ij dayes
M^{r} Edmũd Bedyngfeld iiij dayes[o]
S^{r} John Cresseñ j daye.[p]

[l] *Mixtelyn of store.* Mixtelyn means rye and wheat ground together, of which the inferior brown bread was made. See Holinshed's Descr. of England. Various articles of consumption, in these Accounts, are mentioned as "of Store." Thus in this case mixtelyn of store, a pigge of store, a malard of store, &c. &c. This signifies mixtelyn not bought, but taken from the store-house, and the pig or malard from the larder or store-room: the produce of the demesne.

[m] Mr. Roger Wodehouse, afterwards knighted. Sir Roger Wodehouse of Kimberley married Elizabeth Ratcliffe, aunt to Sir Thomas Lestrange.

[n] Sir Richard Jernyngham was second son of John Jernyngham of Somerley in Suffolk.

[o] Edmund Bedyngfield, probably second son of Sir Edmund Bedyngfield of Oxborough, by Margaret Marshal his second wife.

[p] John Cressener occurs frequently in these Accounts. He appears to have been a ward of Sir Thomas Lestrange, and married his daughter Elizabeth. He was of Marley in Norfolk.

	£.	s.	d.
The v^th^ Weke.			
Itm p^d^ for a Crane & vj Plovs xx^d^ & ij Conyes iiij^d^ .	—	ij	—
. . . . . .			
Stungs in y^e^ same weke			
S^r^ Henry Sharnburn j daye			
M^r^ Prior of Cockeforth [q] j daye			
M^r^ Cobbys & his wyff, & M^r^ Brampton j daye.[r]			
The vj^th^ Wek.			
. . . . . .			
Stungs in y^e^ same weke			
M^r^ Prior of Cockeforth j daye			
The vij^th^ Weke.			
. . . . . .			
Stungs in y^e^ same weke			
M^r^ Edmũd Bedyngfeld iiij dayes.			
The viij^th^ Weke.			
. . . . . .			
Stungs in y^e^ same weke			
M^r^. Edmũd Bedyngfeld j daye			
M^r^ Thomas Flyete j daye			
Itm M^r^ Prior of Cockeforth j daye.			
The ix^th^ Weke.			
Sondaye. Itm p^d^ for a Goos v^d^, & a pygge iij^d^ . .	—	—	viij
Itm p^d^ for iij Conyes	—	—	vj
Itm vj Plovs & iij Conyes of Gist, & ij malards, & a dussen Byrds of Store	—	—	—
Mondaye. Itm paid for a Goos	—	—	iiij
Itm a Goos, a Pygge, a Crane, iiij Conyes, & a loyn of Veile of Gyst	—	—	—
Itm p^d^ for a pygge	—	—	iij
Itm p^d^ for a Curlew	—	—	iiij
Itm iij Spowes of Gist	—	—	—
Itm iij malards of Store	—	—	—
Itm p^d^ for iij Conyes.	—	—	vj
Tuesdaye. Itm a Goos, iij Malards, ij Telys, & iij Conyes of Store	—	—	—

[q] John Mathews, who was the last Prior of Coxforth Priory in East Rudham.

[r] Edmund Cobb, Esq. of Sandringham, Norfolk, and Robert Brampton, Esq. who married his sister.

	£.	s.	d.
Wednysdaye. Itm a Pygge, a Woodcocke, & ij conyes of Gist & ij malards of Store	—	—	—
Thursdaye. Itm a Goos & a conye of Gist, ij malards & ij conyes of Store	—	—	—
Frydaye. Itm a codlyng of Gist	—	—	—
Itm p^{d} for x playes	—	—	iij
Satdaye. Itm a codlyng of Gist	—	—	—
Itm p^{d} for a codlyng & x playce	—	—	vij
Itm p^{d} for a Samontroute	—	—	x
Itm spent in y^{e} same weke a Codde iiij^{d}, & di. a Lyng iij^{d}	—	—	vij
Itm p^{d} for Butt^{r} & Eggs	—	—	xiiij
Itm p^{d} for vij stone Beffe	—	iij	ij ob.
Itm p^{d} for ij Motons & di.	—	iiij	vij
Itm a comb of Myxtelyn of Store	—	—	—
Itm iij ƀ$_{3}$ of Wete of Store	—	—	—
Itm p^{d} for iij barrels of Bere & di. . . .	—	vij	—
Itm p^{d} for ale for M^{rs} Lestrange	—	—	ij
Itm p^{d} for vij lb. Candell	—	—	viij ob. q.

Stungs in y^{e} same Weke.

S^{r} Henrye Sharnbure j daye
M^{rs} M'garet Lestaunge[a] ij dayes
M^{r} Woodowes y^{e} hole weke.

Sm̃ istius Septim. xxj^{s} viij^{d} j. Sm̃ of Gist & Store.

The xth Weke. Stang in y^{e} same weke.

M^{r} Rog. Woodowes iiij dayes.

The xjth Weke.

Itm a Fesant kylled w^{t} y^{e} Goshawke . . . — — —

Stungs in y^{e} same Week.

M^{r} Edmũd Wymondm̃[b] a daye
M^{r}. Woodowes ij dayes.

[a] Probably Margaret daughter of Thomas Lestrange of Walton, and wife of John Lestrange, Esq. of Massingham, uncle of Sir Thomas.

[b] He was second son of Sir John Wymondham of Felbrigg by Margaret daughter of John Duke of Norfolk.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The xijth Weke.			
Itm ij ꝑtryches of Gist	—	—	—
Itm p^{d} for a Cunggr	—	—	xij
Stungs in ye same Weke.			
Mr Edmũd Bedynfeld ij dayes			
Mr Rog Woodowes ij dayes.			
The xiiijth Weke.			
Sondaye. Itm p^{d} for a Goos v^{d}, a Pygge iiij^{d}, ij Curlewes xij^{d}, vj Plovs xiiij^{d}, ij Capons v^{d}, & iiij Checons iiij^{d}. Sm̃ .	—	iij	viij
Wedynsdaye. Itm a Fesant kylled with ye Goshawke .	—	—	—
The xvijth Weke.			
Wedynsdaye. Itm a wyld Goos kylled wt ye crosbowe .	—	—	—
. . . . .			
Stungs in ye same Week.			
Mr P'or of Walsynghm̃ [c] ij dayes			
My Ladye Romsart [d] ij dayes			
Mr P'or of Cockeforth iij dayes.			
The xixth Weke. Stungs in ye same Weke.			
Mrs Woodhows ye hole weke			
Mr Woodhows iiij dayes.			
The xxth Weke. Stungs in ye same Weke.			
Mr Woodowes & his wiffe j daye			
Mr Pyor of Walsynghm̃ ij dayes.			
The xxjst Weke.			
Sondaye. Itm a Pecocke, a malard, & iiij conyes of Store			
. . . . .			
Stungs in ye same Weke.			
Mr Woodowes & his wiffe ye hole weke			
Mr Banyard & his wiffe iij dayes			
Thoms Lawes wiffe & ye mydwyffe iij dayes.			

[c] Robert Vowell, last Prior of Walsingham.

[d] Lady Robsart. Elizabeth daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Kerdeston, Knt. of Norfolk, married Sir Theodorick or Terry Robsart, Knt. by whom she had John Robsart, mentioned in p. 430, who was father of Amy Robsart, wife of the celebrated Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, whom her husband was said to have poisoned.

The xxij[d] Weke. Sᵗungᵍs in y[e] same Weke.

M[r] Woodowes ij dayes, & his wiffe y[e] hole weke
M[rs] Banyard y[e] hole weke
Mother Mydwyffe y[e] hole weke.

The xxiij[d] Weke. Sᵗungᵍs in y[e] same Weke.

M[r] Edmũd Bedynfeld iij dayes
M[r] Brown of Lynn, & Walter Payn of Swaffham j daye
M[rs] Woodowes & M[rs] Banyard y[e] hole Weke
M[rs] Lawes, M[rs] Haveryng, & y[e] Mydwyffe y[e] hole weke.

		£.	s.	d.
	The xxiiij[th] Weke.			
Saᵗdaye.	Item in Flathe & Thornbacke . . .	—	—	xij
	. . . . .			
	Sᵗungᵍs in y[e] same Weke.			
	M[rs] Woodowes ij dayes, & M[rs] Banyard y[e] hole weke			
	M[rs] Lawes iij dayes, & M[rs] Haveryng ij dayes			
	Mother Mydwyffe iij dayes.			
	The xxv[j]th Weke.			
Saᵗdaye.	Itm spent a Tench of Store . . .	—	—	—
	Itm spent in y[e] same weke ij freyshe Codds . .	—	—	xiiij
	Itm spent ij Flathes	—	ij	j
	Itm a freyshe Turbutt ij[s] iiij[d]. Itm spent in Wylks j[d]. Sm̃	—	ij	v
	Itm spent in Playce x[d] & in Butt' vj[d] . . .	—	j	iiij
	Itm spent vij Codds ij[s] iiij[d], a Lyng & a q̃rt. of a Lyng vij[d] ob. Sm̃	—	ij	xj ob.
	Itm spent iij salt Elis	—	—	xij
	Itm spent vj ƀ3 Myxtelyn	—	ij	iij
	Itm spent iij ƀ3 Whete of Store	—	—	—
	Itm iiij barells & di. of Bere	—	v	vj ob.
	Itm in Candell iiij lb.	—	—	v
	Sᵗungᵍs in y[e] same Weke.			
	S[r] Thom̃s Bedyngfeld [e] & M[r] Stafforth &			
	M[r] Edmũd Bedynfeld ij dayes			
	M[r] Henry Morgon iij dayes.			
	The xxix[th] Weke.			
Sondaye.	Item spent a Rent Capon . . .	—	—	—

[e] Sir Thomas Bedingfield of Oxburgh married Grace daughter of Lord Marney, living 1530.

	£.	s.	d.
Item a Hernesew of Store	—	—	—
Item iij Rabetts of Store	—	—	—

. . . . . .

Stungs ye same Weke.

Master P'or of Cockeforth j daye
Master Flete j daye
Master Cristofer Jeny ij dayes
Alree Gryggs ij dayes
John Man & his wiff j daye
A M'chand & his wiffe yt cam wt John Man
Mr Cristofer Pearn iij dayes.

The xxxth Weke. Stungs ye same Weke.

Mrs Anne Shelton [f] iij dayes
Mr Edmũd Wymondhm̃ iij dayes
Mr Robsarte iij dayes.

The xxxjst Weke. Stungs in ye same Weke.

Mrs Anne Shelton iiij dayes
Mr Edmũd Wymondhm̃ vj dayes
Mr John Robsarte vj dayes.
Mr Henry Morgan ij dayes.

No. 3. 1520. (*Tabled,*) Sr THOMAS LE STRANGE. 12 Hen. 8.

Itm pd the first daye of waye to Londonward at Oxborughe for hors showyng	—	—	xij
Itm pd at Newm̃kette at denr to Londonward . .	—	ij	vij
Itm pd ther the sam tyme for horsemete . . .	—	—	xj
Itm pd at Barkwaye towarde London for Sop . .	—	ij	vj
Itm pd for Brekefaste on the morowe . . .	—	—	xiiij
Itm pd for Fyer ther the sam tyme . . .	—	—	iiij
Itm pd for Horsmete ther for that nyght . . .	—	ij	vj
Itm pd at Ware to Londonwarde for denr . . .	—	—	xxij
Itm pd for horsmete ther	—	—	viij
Itm pd at London for Sop	—	—	xxiij

[f] Qu. whether Ann daughter of John Shelton, Sheriff of Norfolk in 1505 and 1523, by Ann Boleyn his wife? Afterwards married to Sir Edmund Knevet.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p[d] for botte hyre from the Tempyll to Westmynstre on Thursdaye	—	—	ij
Itm p[d] for botte hyre the v[th] daye of Maye to Westmynster	—	v	—
Itm p[d] to the wiffe of the Harpe for yo[r] Brekefasts and dryncke in yo[r] Chamb̃ from y[e] Wedynsdaye y[t] ye cam unto y[e] Mundaye next after	—	—	xj
Itm p[d] for yo[r] Brekefaste when M[r] Fyldyng was w[t] you .	—	—	vj
Itm p[d] for dryncke y[t] M[r] Wyndhm̃ lay w[t] you & in y[e] mornyng	—	—	ij
Itm p[d] for gresse for yo[r] horses, Robert Coke & John of y[e] Stable borde at Islyngton a weeke	—	x	iiij
Itm p[d] for my Master Brekefaste when S[r] Thom̃s Woodhows brake his fast w[t] him at his lodgyng in Fletestrete . . .	—	—	viij
Itm p[d] for my costs & John of the Stable when I cam hom from London for my M[r] w[t] iiij horsys	—	v	iiij
Itm for my costs at London y[e] space of a fortnyghte .	—	vj	viij
Itm for my costs y[e] ij[d] tyme & Sothurs & John of y[e] Stable when I cam home w[t] yo[r] hawks & iij horse	—	viij	iiij
Itm p[d] the xiiij[th] daye of Maye for my M[rs] costs beytyng at Castel-acre into Northampton Shire warde	—	—	viij
Itm p[d] ther for horsmete	—	—	ix
Itm p[d] the sam daye for den[r] at Brandon Fery . .	—	iij	ij
Itm for horsmete ther	—	—	xvj
Itm p[d] for her costs o̅nyght & in the mornyng at Newm̃kett	—	—	xiiij
Itm p[d] for Fyer ther	—	—	iiij
Itm p[d] for horsmete ther	—	ij	viij
Itm p[d] to a Smyth ther for Nayles . . .	—	—	ij
Itm p[d] for my Mastres costs at Cambryge y[e] xv[th] daye of Maye	—	—	vij
Itm p[d] for horsemete ther	—	—	ix
Itm p[d] for her den[r] at Huntyngton y[e] same daye . .	—	ij	ij
Itm for horsmete ther	—	—	ix
Itm p[d] the xviij[th] daye of Maye at Seynt Talbans from Northamp-tonshire to Londonward for my M[r] den[r] . . .	—	—	xiiij
Itm p[d] for horsmete ther	—	—	x
Itm p[d] for M[r] Brekefasts & dryncke in his Cham̃ at London for a forthnyghte	—	vj	viij
Itm p[d] for yo[r] Cham̃ in London for iij wekes . .	—	viij	—
Itm p[d] for Fagotts	—	iij	vj
Itm p[d] for horsmete at y[e] Harpe a nyght when ye went into North-amptonshire	—	—	x

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p[d] for horsemete & showyng at Islyngton, Edmũd Southouse, Rob[t] Coke & John of y[e] Stable borde from y[e] tyme y[t] youe were in Northamptonshire tyll y[e] tym y[t] ye went o[v] see . .	—	x	vj
Itm p[d] for hawkesmete	—	—	iiij
Itm p[d] to y[e] hosteler for kyllyng of doggs . . .	—	—	iiij
REWARDS TO LONDONWARD.			
Itm to M[r] Benyfeld Horskep y[e] firste daye of Maye at Oxborughe	—	—	iiij
Itm to a Mynstrell at Newm̃kett at my M[r] comaundment .	—	—	iiij
Itm to a Harmyte betwyx Barkwaye & Ware . .	—	—	j
Itm to a Freer at Ware	—	—	ij
Itm p[d] to y[e] Keper of y[e] Wardrope w[t] my lorde in rewarde att y[e] delyv[y] of my M[r] cote cloth	—	ij	—
Itm to iij pore men at Powlis be my M[r] comaundment .	—	—	j
Itm p[d] to on for rydyng of a Horse afore youe in Smythfelde	—	—	ij
Itm p[d] for makyng of an obligac̃on betwyx Master Wyndhm̃ & youe	—	—	iiij
Itm to Hopp wiffe & to y[r] hostess at my M[r] comaundment	—	—	j
Itm pd. for vj payer of Gloves for my master . .	—	ij	viij
Itm pd. for a Millen blacke bonett for my master . .	—	v	iiij
Itm pd. for a dussen poynts for my master . .	—	—	viij
Itm p[d] for a yerd & a q̃rt[r] of Cloth of gold . . .	—	lviij	viij
Itm p[d] for a blacke Millen bonett	—	v	—
Itm p[d] for a yerd & di. of crymsyn velvett for horse harness	—	xvij	iiij
Itm p[d] to Raffe Waren for iij yerds of blacke Satten .	—	xxj	—
Itm p[d] to y[e] same Raffe for a yerde & di. of yellow Satten	—	xj	iiij
Itm p[d] for a Trussyng Cofer	—	xiiij	—
Itm p[d] for a payer of Showes for my M[r] . . .	—	—	ix
Itm p[d] the xix[th] daye of Maye for a yerde & a q̃rt[r] of crymsyn Satten	—	xviij	viij
Itm p[d] to the good man of the Bell for makyng of a Scabard of Velvett & trymyng of it	—	ij	—
Itm p[d] far ij ellis of Rybbard for a Gyrdell for my M[r] .	—	—	xx
Itm p[d] for ij yerds of Rybband for Garters for my M[r] y[e] same daye	—	—	viij
Itm p[d] to Thom̃s my M[r] hosyer for a payer of blacke Hose	—	iiij	viij
Itm p[d] y[e] same tyme for a payer of whyte Hose . .	—	iiij	iiij
Itm p[d] to y[e] Shomaker for ij payer of whyte Showes .	—	—	xx
Itm p[d] for a payer of blacke Showes y[e] sam tyme . .	—	—	ix
Itm p[d] for my M[r] shavyng y[e] xx[th] daye of Maye . .	—	—	ij

	£.	s.	d.
Itm pd ye sam daye for a Cappe for master Nicholas .	—	v	iiij
Itm pd for a payer of Showes for Mr Nicholas . .	—	—	viij
Itm pd for a payer of Showes for Ms Besse . .	—	—	iiij
Itm pd for a payer of Styroppis for my Mr . .	—	—	xxj
Itm pd for a yerde of Popynjaye grene Satten of brydys for Ms Besse	—	ij	ij
Itm pd for ye makyng of Ms Besse glovis . . .	—	—	vj
Itm pd for ij dussen poynts	—	—	xvj
Itm pd for a Rybband for his Cappe . . .	—	—	j
Itm pd to ye Shomaker for a payer of Bots for my Mr .	—	ij	—
Itm pd for ye makyng of a payer of velvett Showys .	—	—	xij
Itm pd for ye makyng clene of my Mr Skeyn a new Scabard & byndyng of it in the hand	—	—	xij
Itm dd to Edward for gyldyng of my Mr bosses . .	—	ij	viij
Itm for settyng on of ye bosses & scoryng of ye bytte .	—	—	viij
Itm pd for viij vnnces of crymsyn Sylke per ye vnnce xiiijd	—	viij	viij
Itm pd for a buffe Sadyll	—	x	—
Itm pd for x Bokells gylte per ye Bokell xd. Sm̃ . .	—	viij	iiij
Itm pd for ye makyng of the Harness of velvett . .	—	vj	viij
Itm pd for a payer of dobill styroppe lethers . .	—	—	x
Itm pd to Hopper of olde arerage for a doblett of black Satten	—	—	vj
Itm pd for a doblett of crane colerd fustyan . .	—	v	—
Itm for caryage of a Fardell g to Belyngsgate . .	—	—	v
Itm pd for cuttyng shorte of a velvett Gowne . .	—	—	viij
Itm pd for makyng a Doblett of yellow satten . .	—	iij	—
Itm pd for makyng of a lynyng of a Doblett of black satten weltyd wt cloth of gold	—	iij	iiij
Itm pd for makyng & lynyng of a coate of crymsyn velvett	—	vij	viij
Itm pd for makyng of a klokyd coate of velvett & damaske	—	vj	—
Itm pd for makyng & lynyng of a jerkyn of blacke satten .	—	—	xvj
Itm pd for makyng of a gown of tawny velvett gardyd wt black satten	—	iij	iiij
Itm pd for vij yerds of blacke satten & a half . .	—	xxxvij	vj
Itm pd for vij yerds & di. of blacke cotton for the lynyng of a tawny velvett gown	—	iij	ix
Itm pd for Edward cote cloth	—	xiij	iiij
Itm pd for iij yerds of redd cloth for Robt Cooke . . .	—	xj	—
Itm dd̃ ye first daye of Maye to Jamys Fawkener at my Mr comaundment	—	v	viij

g A burthen.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm dd to my Mr ye iijd daye of Maye at ye Rose Tavern .	—	iij	iiij
Itm dd to my Mr ye iiijth daye of Maye at ye Harpe in Fletestrete	—	iij	iiij
Itm pd ye sam daye to Mr Wyngfeld for ye Duke of Suff. in Sedgforde	—	xl	—
Itm dd ye xijth daye of Maye to my Mr by the hands of Cristofer Pearne ye which he pd for a geldyng	v	vj	viij
Itm dd to my Mr at ij tymes by ye hands of ye seid Cristofer	—	xiij	iiij
Itm dd to my mastress the xiiijth daye of Maye to giffe Henry Asheton	—	iij	iiij
Itm dd to my Mr ye xviijth daye of Maye to offre at Seynt Talbans	—	—	iiij
Itm dd ye xxth daye of Maye to Edward Owseley at my Mr comaundment	—	xj	j
Itm dd to my Mr in his Chamb at London when he went to Calyceward	xiij	vj	viij
Itm pd to Cristofer Jenny for his half yers fee the xxj daye of Maye	—	x	—

This boke make mencon of all mañ Rydyng Costs paid by me, David John, from the xxvth daye of Auguste, in the xijth year of the reign of Kyng Henry the VIIIth unto the next accounts.

COSTS WHAN I RODE FOR MY M'RS INTO NORTHAMTON SHIRE AT LYNNE.

Itm pd ye xxvth daye of August at Lynne for my denr, Robt Rede, Thoms Pedder, & John of the Stabill . . .	—	—	vij
Itm pd for or horsmete ther	—	—	v
Itm pd for or ferying & ye horse ov Lynne Haven .	—	—	vj
At Wysbyche.			
Itm pd the sam daye for or sops ther . . .	—	—	xiij
Itm pd the xxvjth daye of August for or brekefast ther .	—	—	iiij
Itm pd for horsmete ther ye sam daye . . .	—	—	xvj
Itm pd the same daye for or feryeng at Gyehern . .	—	—	iij
At Yaxley.			
Itm pd the sam daye for or denrs ther . . .	—	—	vij
Itm pd ye sam daye for horsmete	—	—	v
At Artilborughe.			
Itm pd yr the sam daye for or sopr	—	—	xij
Itm pd ye xxvijth daye of August for horsmete ther .	—	—	xj

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p^{d} y^{r} the same daye for shoyng of yo^{r} bay Geldyng & mason	—	—	vij
Itm p^{d} y^{r} the sam daye to my lady's s̃vnt y^{e} Smyth for dressyng y^{r} bay geldyng of y^{e} Farsey	—	—	viij
Itm dd̃ the same day to my mastres ther . . .	—	xx	—
At Huntyngton.			
Itm p^{d} y^{e} sam daye for my M^{rs} den^{r} & o^{rs} ther . .	—	—	xv
Itm p^{d} y^{e} sam daye ther for horsmete . . .	—	—	viij
At Elye.			
Itm p^{d} ther y^{e} sam daye for my M^{s} sop^{r} & o^{rs} . .	—	ij	vj
Itm p^{d} ther y^{e} xxixth daye of Auguste for my M^{s} brekfaste & o^{rs}	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} y^{r} y^{e} sam daye for horsmete . . .	—	—	xvij
At Lytleporte.			
Itm p^{d} the sam daye for o^{r} feryeng ther . . .	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the sam daye for feryeng from Prysthowse unto Sotherey	—	—	xvj
Itm p^{d} y^{e} xvth daye of Septembre to S^{r} Ric. Base for his costs in fechyng hom of y^{e} children from Breckylls . . .	—	ij	iiij
Itm p^{d} y^{e} xxjst daye of Septembre for my mast^{rs} costs at Lynn in his Cham̃ whan he was at y^{e} Sessions ther . . .	—	—	ix
Itm p^{d} y^{r} the sam tyme for iiij of o^{r} den^{rs} . . .	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} y^{r} for horsmete y^{e} same tyme . . .	—	—	x
Itm p^{d} for my costs from y^{e} iiijth daye of Octobre unto y^{e} xviijth daye of Octobre whan I rode unto Bedfordshire to sell my masters wood	—	xiiij	—
Itm p^{d} y^{e} xxjst daye of Septembre to Wyłłm Halle of Lynne for a yerd of black to stock my master's hose . . .	—	ij	ij
Itm p^{d} to Richard Sadeler of Norwiche y^{e} xxth daye of Novēbre for ij Sadylls & ij Harnessis of blacklethyr, ij payer of Styroppes w^{t} y^{e} lethyrs, & ij dobill garthes	—	xv	—
Itm p^{d} for a gyrdell for my M^{r} bought at Frynge Feyer .	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} for a payer of gloves bought at y^{e} same feyer .	—	—	j
Itm p^{d} to Vawyn the horsleche y^{e} last daye of Decēbre for letting y^{e} horse blode & dressyng y^{e} bay geldyng . . .	—	—	xij
Itm dd̃ to my M^{r} ye second daye of Decembre whan he rode to the Frenche Queene[d]	—	xx	—

[d] Mary dau. of Hen. VII. married to Lewis XII. of France in October 1514. After a three months' widowhood she remarried to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. She died in 1533, and was interred in St. Mary's Church at Bury. She and her husband visited Lynn, according to Mackarell, in 1527. By this Account it seems they were there in 1521, and that Mackarell's date is erroneous.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm dd to my Mr by the hands of Morris ye xiijth daye of Decẽbre at Lynne	—	vj	viij
Itm dd to my Mr ye xxvth daye of Februarye whan he rode to mete wt ye Quene	—	xl	—
Itm dd to my Mr ye xiijth daye of Itm whan he rode to Tylney to kepe a Corte ther	—	xx	—
Itm pd ye ixth daye of Decembre to old John of ye Stable for Shoyng of my Mrs Geldyngs at Snetishm̃ whan he rode to ye Frenche Quene	—	—	xj
Itm dd ye xiiijth daye of Februarye to old John at my Mrs comaundement when he rode into Warwyckeshire for grehounds	—	v	—
Itm pd ye xxth daye of M'che at Thetforde at ye Syse for Ms Woodhowse, Mr Banyard, & my Mrs his wiffe deners, & for yor owen folks	—	ix	—
Itm pd at ye Cristofer ye next daye for yor brekefast .	—	—	xiiij
Itm pd for yor lodgeyngs at masters Dobyns . .	—	iij	iiij
Itm pd for yor horsmete ye sam tyme . . .	—	ij	vj
Itm pd ye xvijth daye of Februarye to Barnaby Bryse for his costs when he rode to ye French Quene wt plovs . . .	—	ij	—
It pd the xith daye of June at London for xv yds of chamlett to make my master a gown	—	xxxv	viij
It pd ye same daye to Richard Hopp for makyng of ye same gown	—	iij	—
Itm pd ye same daye to Aleyn Skynn for leying in of the furre of blacke cony	—	ij	—
Itm pd ye sam daye to hys hosyer for ij payer of black hose for hym	—	viij	viij
Itm pd ye sam daye for ij payer of Showes for hym .	—	—	xviij
Itm pd ye sam daye for di. a dussen forkyd hedds . .	—	—	xx
Itm ye sam daye for iiij payer of hawkes bells . .	—	—	xij
Itm pd ye sam daye for di. a dussen coupylls for Spanyells	—	—	viij
Itm pd ye sam daye for ij bowes for my mast[illegible] . .	—	vj	viij
Itm pd ye iiijth daye of June for ... yerds of Kendall [e] for a coate for master Nicholas	—	v	iiij
Itm pd ye sam daye for v yerds & iij qr̃ters of lynyng to lyne the sam coate	—	ij	iiij

The xth Weke.

Itm pd to M'garet Burges for iij yonge swyne . .	—	iij	viij
Itm rec. ye xxixth daye of Octobre of Henry Copper of Sharnborne for ij of ye Nette yt came from Gleyman . . .	—	xxv	--

[e] A sort of forester's green cloth, for which *Kendal* in Westmoreland was famous.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm rec. ye xviijth daye of Decembre for xxiiij combꝫ chaffe at Sharnboñe	—	ij	—
It rec. ye xxiiijth daye of Decẽbre of ye Vicar of Snetishm̃ for xvj combs chaffe	—	—	xx
It rec. ye ij daye of Jañye of Robt Rede for xx combꝫ of chaffe	—	—	xx
Itm rec. ye xixth daye of Januarye for strawe & chaffe .	—	iij	—
Itm rec. ye xxjst daye of Januarye of Edward Carre for C. qr̃trs barly at Sharnborne	xxix	—	—
Itm rec. ye xiijth daye of Februarye of Thom̃s Crispe for ij of the bullocks yt cam from Gleyman	—	xvj	—
Itm rec. ye xvijth daye of M'che of Mr Vicar of Snetishm for iiij combꝫ ots	—	vj	viij
Itm rec. ye xxiijd of M'ch of John Brown of Lynne for C. combꝫ barly	xvj	—	—
Itm rec. ye sam daye for xx combꝫ chaffe . . .	—	ij	—
Itm pd to ye Parson of Hyllyngton ye xxvjth daye of Septembre in pty payment of his bargayn that he sold my master[f] . .	iiij	xij	—
Itm pd ye xxijd daye of Aprill to ye pson of Hyllyngton in full payment for ye corn & catell yt my Mr bought of hym .	—	xxx	—

This boke, made the first daye of Maye in the xijth yere of the reign of Kyng Henry the VIIIth, makyth menc̃on of all mañ cattel bought to the flock of Frynge & sold out of the seid flocke of Frynge.

In ps pd to Mr Henry Morgon for a hundreth & v coupills of ewes & lambes that I delyv̄d to ye shepherd of Frynge . .	xiij	xvj	viij
Itm pd to ye seid Mr Henry ye sam tyme for xxxvj geld ewes yt were dd̄ to ye seid shepherd	—	lv	—
Itm pd to a felawe yt help to dryve ye sam shepe to Frynge	—	—	iiij
Itm pd to Thom̃s Graunt of Snetyshm̃ ye xvjth daye of June for a barell of tarre	—	iiij	iiij
Itm pd ye sam daye to ye said Thom̃s for v dussen hardylls	—	vj	viij
Itm pd ye xxixth daye of June for yor costs yt helyd lambs at Frynge	—	—	viij
Itm pd ye sam daye to Thom̃s Cawston, Wyllm̃ Makemayde, John Grave, John Young, Wyllm̃ Dalymunt, Robt Smyth, John Syff, & Nicholas Hedd for wayshyng of the flocke at Frynge .	—	iij	iiij
Itm pd to Barnaby Bryse & Wyllm̃ Crispe sv̄nt, & Alman sv̄nt, for castyng inne ye shepe to ye wayshers	—	—	viij

[f] The Clergy always taking their tithe in kind, at this period, were of course under the necessity of selling the produce of it, which appears to have been the transaction here mentioned.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p[d] for dryncke for them at Wyllm̃ Crispes whan they had wayshed	—	—	viij
Itm p[d] y[e] iij[d] daye of Julye for xxj clippers for clippynge of my M[s] shepe	—	ix	iiij
Itm p[d] y[e] sam daye to vij wynders & sm[r]s of y[m] . .	—	—	xiiij
Itm p[d] y[e] vij[th] daye of August to Raffe Deynes for a barre of iren to setle y[e] fold w[t]	—	—	xij
Itm p[d] to hym y[e] sam daye for y[e] talye of my M[r] shepe & M[r] Rychard delyv̄d y[e] same daye	—	—	ij
Itm p[d] y[e] seconde daye of Septembre to y[e] shepherd for a m[l] redynge[g]	—	—	xiiij
Itm p[d] y[e] last daye of Septembre to y[e] shepherd for iiij dussen hardylls	—	iij	viij
Itm p[d] y[e] xxiij[d] daye of Novẽbre to John Brown of Lynn for a barell of tarre dd̄ to y[e] shepherd of Frynge	—	iij	x

WAGES.

Itm p[d] y[e] vj[th] daye of Julye to Raffe Deynes, shepherd of y[e] flocke of Frynge flocke for his qrt[rs] wages endyd at Mydsom̃ last past	—	xx	—
Itm p[d] ye last daye of Septembre for his qr̄ wags endyd at Mychelmas last past	—	xx	—
Itm p[d] y[e] xx[th] daye of Octobre to y[e] shepherd of Frynge for his levery for y[e] yere endyd at Mydsom̃ last past . .	—	vj	—
Itm p[d] to Raffe Deynes y[e] xxix[th] daye of Decẽbre for his q̃rt[r] wages endyd at Cristmas	—	xx	—
Itm p[d] y[e] xxvj[th] daye of M'che to Raffe Deynes for his qr̄ wages endyd at o. Lady daye the Anuñciacon last past . .	—	xx	—
Sm̃a iiij[l] vj[s] viij[d].			

The xxxiij[d] Weke.

Itm p[d] to y[e] seid Rattoner for leyeng of y[e] cham's for ratts	—	—	xx

RECEYTS.

In p.[s] rec. y[e] xiiij[th] daye of July of Thom̃s Hewer for lxj of poke lambis	—	xxxv	vij
Itm rec. y[e] xxiiij[th] daye of Julye of my lady Cheny by y[e] hands of Morris Floude for C. lambes	vj	—	—
Item rec. on Seynt Laurance daye of Thomas Hewer for v[xx] xv lambes & v cronyes	v	--	—
Itm rec. y[e] xxiij[d] daye of Novembre of .... Yorke y[e] woolman of Tudnhm̃ for iiij[xx] xviij stone of woolle of my Mastr & M[r] Richards	xiiij	xix	—

g "Redynge," for marking sheep with a red mark. Probably some mixture of ochre.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Īt rec. y^e^ ij daye of Januarye of Wyllm̃ Leman for 1 morte skyanes at Frynge	—	viij	iiij
Īt rec. y^e^ last daye of Maye for xxxvij morte skynnes at Frynge	—	vij	—
Sm̃a rec. xxviij^l^ ix^s^ xj^d^.			

The xv^th^ Weke.

Ītm p^d^ to the neteherd for kepyng of the nete from Myhilmas to Christmas	—	—	xij
Ītm p^d^ to Petur Ratonar for leying of y^e^ cham's for ratts .	—	—	xx

COSTS IN RYDYNG TO LONDON.

In p^d^ upon Frydaye at Brandon Fery for shoyng my horse .	—	—	vij
Ītm p^d^ for my deñ ther	—	—	ij
Ītm p^d^ for my horsmete ȳ	—	—	iij
Ītm p^d^ for my horsmete y^e^ sam nyght at Newm̃kett .	—	—	x
Ītm p^d^ at Babram upon Sa?day for horsmete . .	—	—	ij
Ītm at Barkway for my den^r^ y^e^ same daye . . .	—	—	ij
Ītm for horsmete ther	—	—	ij
Ītm at Ware y^e^ sam nyght for my sop . . .	—	—	ij
Ītm for my horsmete	—	—	vj
Ītm p^d^ for my deñ upon Sondaye ȳ . . .	—	—	ij
Ītm p^d^ for my horsmete Sondaye nyghte, Munday, & Tuesday till noon at London	—	—	xij
Ītm p^d^ for my sylf att y^e^ sam tyme . . .	—	—	xj
Ītm p^d^ for my horsmete on Tuesdaye nyght at Ware .	—	—	viij
Ītm p^d^ for my sop y^e^ sam nyght	—	—	ij
Ītm p^d^ on Wedynsdaye for horsmete at Barkwey . .	—	—	iij
Ītm p^d^ for my deñ at Babram y^e^ sam daye . .	—	—	ij
Ītm p^d^ for my horsmete y^r^	—	—	iij
Ītm p^d^ for my horsmete y^e^ sam nyght at Newm̃kett .	—	—	x
Ītm p^d^ for my sop y^r^ y^e^ sam tyme	—	—	ij
Ītm p^d^ for my deñ on Thursdaye	—	—	ij
Ītm p^d^ for beytyng of my horse at Brandon Fery y^e^ sam daye	—	—	iij
Ītm p^d^ for my dryncke ȳ	—	—	j
Ītm p^d^ at Lynne for shoying of my M^rs^ mare whan my lord Cardynall was ȳ	—	—	iiij
Ītm p^d^ for shoyng of M^r^ P'son of Anm̃ horse at Oxburghe whan my M^rs^ cam oute of Northampton shire	—	—	iij

	£.	s.	d.
Itm pd at Oxboroughe for shoyng of my Mrs geldyng iij dayes afor Hallowms	—	—	vij
Itm pd to John Harydanes for j daye worke caryeng of barly to the ship	—	—	viij
Itm pd to Wyllm Dalymond for maltyng of xxti combz barly yt cam from ye pson of Ryngstede	—	iiij	ij
Inp.s rec. of John Browne of Lynne for iiijxx x combz barly	ix	xv	—
Itm rec. of Thoms Pecocke of Whytbye for x combz rye .	—	xxvj	viij
Itm rec. ye sam daye for lx combz malt . . .	vij	—	—

RECEYTS.

In ps recyved of Jon Palm of Ryngstede ye vth daye of Aprylle at my Mrs comaundement	—	viiij	iiij
. . . . .			
Itm rec. of Robt Forest of Dokkyng ye xth daye of Aprylle in ptye of payment of his half yer ferm endyd at or lady daye ye Anuñciacon for my master lands in Dokkyng	iiij	—	—
. . . . .			
Itm rec. ye vijth daye of July of Edward Grome by the hands of Robt Smyth for ye pastur of vxx xij shepe at Frynge . .	—	xxviij	—
Itm pd the xxth daye of August to Petur the Ratton taker for leying for ratts	—	—	xx
Itm pd to John Awdeley of Snetishm ye viijth daye of June for kyllyng of rattons	—	—	xx
Itm pd for Barnaby Bryse costs whan he rode to my lady Chenys into Northamptonshire in Estr Weke . . .	—	iiij	—

The ijd Weke.

Itm pd to Thoms Bakon of Snetyshm for a tapr for my Mr for ye sepulcreh of iiij lb. waxe	—	iij	xj
Itm paied the xiiijten daye of Aprille to Cristofer Pearn for di. a dussen cusshyns, & for botis & showes, & for other rekenyngs bytwen my master & hym	—	xxxj	vij

h A particular account of the ceremonies used in this and other countries from Good Friday to Easter Day, commemorative of Our Saviour's Resurrection, will be found in the Vetusta Monumenta, vol. iii. pl. xxxi, xxxii. Tapers and lamps were provided by individuals to burn before a representation of the Holy Sepulchre at that time, in almost all our Churches; and where these were not bestowed, gatherings, as appears from Parish Accounts, were frequently made for lights.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm dd the same daye to my master whan he rode to Brekkyls to master Roger Woodhowse	—	xx	—
Itm pd ye xiiijth daye of July to thē yt helped to take ye cygnett at Brodwat	—	—	xvj
Item dd to Edward Owseley ye xxiijd daye of August at Mr Lovells place in Harlyngi for my Mr	—	xx	—
Itm pd to Morris Floude at my masters comaundement the xxjst daye of Aprylle for money that he dd him at Thetford iiijs, whan he cam from or Lady of grace, & at Stanhowe whan he satt upon ye Comyssion xvjd. Sm̃	—	v	iiij
Itm dd ye seid Edward (Owseley) ye sam daye for money yt my master comaunded hym to gyffe Mr Fermers sv̄nt k whan he delyv̄d hym ye hawke whan he cam from Walsynghm̃ . . .	—	—	xviij
Itm pd to Edmũd Sothurs ye xiijth daye of Maye for money that he leyde oute for his costs in sekyng of ye haggard fawkon callyd Cheny at Christmas tyme	—	—	xx
Itm pd to Thomas Pedder ye xiiijten daye of Maye for his costs rydyng to Lynn wt a letter to Mr Flete at Cristm̃s tyme .	—	—	ij
Itm pd to hym ye sam daye for a tame malard yt ye comaunded hym to bye for youe to lewer yor hawkes in Hunstanton M'she .	—	—	ij
The fyrst Weke.			
Itm pd to ..... Bagge of Hechm̃ for a whele barowe	—	—	xj
Itm pd ye xvjth daye of June to ..... Shortyng ye smyth of Lynne for a keye for my Mr chamr dore	—	—	ij
Itm pd to Edmũd Maryson for mowyng of the Northmedowe ye xxijd daye of June in ye xijth yere of ye reign of Kyng Henry the VIIIth	—	—	xix

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No. 4. 1520. (*Tabled,*) Sr THOMAS LE STRANGE. 12 Hen. 8.

This boke make mencon of all receyts and payments for the howse from the xxvjth daye of August in the xijth yer & reign of Kyng Henry the VIIIth unto the next accounts.

Itm rec. ye sam daye of a bocher of Burnhm̃ for a cowe that was bought of John Syffe	—	xiiij	viij

i Sir Francis Lovel of Harling, Knt.

k Thomas Fermer, Esq. of East Barnsham, who was afterwards killed in Kett's rebellion, at Castle Rising, where the rebels had a camp.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm rec. ye xvjth daye of Octobre of Sr John Mordond for my masters wood in Oiley in Bedfordshire[1]	xiij	vj	viij
Itm rec. ye sam daye of Wyllm̃ Stokes for ye halfe yeere ferm of my Mr lond in Oiley endyd at Mychilmas last past . .	vj	xiij	iiij
Itm rec. ye ijd daye of Januarye of Robt Rede for xl comb3 malt that I solde hym at Mydsom̃ last past . . .	—	cx	—
Itm rec. ye ixth daye of Februarye of Vyncent glov̄ of Lynne for xxxiij shepe skynnes	—	ix	ij
Itm rec. of my Mr ye sam daye of that money that he toke of Thoms Pedder for the Balywycke of Hunston . . .	xxij	—	—
The xiijth Weke.			
. . . . .			
Itm pd to Robt Grome for a porpes . . .	—	vj	viij
The xvjth Weke.			
. . . . .			
Itm pd to John Brown for di. a brawne . . .	—	iiij	—
The xviijth Weke.			
. . . . .			
Itm pd at Snetishm̃ M'kett for iij curlewes . . .	—	ij	—
Itm pd ther for iij woodcocks	—	—	vj
The xxiijd Weke.			
. . . . .			
Itm pd to a Flemyng in the haven for a comb of whyte Salt .	—	—	xxij
The xxvth Weke.			
Itm pd to Brown of Lynne for ij barells of heryngs . .	—	xxij	—
Itm pd to hym for a cade of heryngs . . .	—	vj	viij
Itm pd to hym for a tunne of wyne . . .	iiij	xiij	iiij
The xxviij Weke.			
Itm pd to Ashebye of Lynne for v gallons of mete oyle .	—	vj	viij
Itm pd at Lynne for a salt samon	—	—	xiiij
The xxixth Weke.			
. . . . .			
Itm pd for shrympes jd, & smelts jd. Sm̃ . . .	—	—	ij

[1] Qu. Oakley? where a branch of the Mordaunts were settled.

	£.	s.	d.
The xxxvij Weke.			
. . . . .			
Itm p^{d} to Wal^{r} Dockyng for iij dotterells . . .	—	—	iij
The xxvijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John Harydance & Wyllm̃ Makemaide for caryeng of lx comb^{s} barley from Frynge to Hunston of Ferm Barly, to be maltyd for the howse	—	v	—
The xxixth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John Harydance for caryeng of a lode of whete from Brankastre y^{t} was exchaunged w^{t} y^{e} pson of Ryngsted .	—	—	viij
The xxxviijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Edward Spencer for maltyng lj qrt^{rs} malte that was delyv^{d} to Rob^{t} Grome	—	xxj	v
Itm p^{d} to Wyllm̃ Dalymond for xxx combs malt that was dd̃ to Rob^{t} Grome	—	vj	v
The xxxjst Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for makyng & y^{e} waxe for M^{rs} taper for y^{e} sepulcre	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} the xxixth daye of Decẽbre to Cristofer Pearn th^{t} he paid to M^{r} Humfrey Wyngfeld for my lord of Suff: ferm in Ryngstede & Sedgeforde	—	xl	—
It p^{d} y^{e} sam daye to M^{r} Cristofer Jenny for his half yers fee endyd at Cristmas	—	x	—
It p^{d} to Cristofer Pearn the xxixth daye of Decẽbre for ij payer of hose for my M'	—	viij	viij
It p^{d} to hym y^{e} sam daye for iiij payer of shoyes . .	—	iij	iiij
Itm p^{d} to hym y^{e} sam daye for ij cappis, the oon doble turfyd the other sengle	—	viij	iiij
Itm p^{d} viijth daye of Februarye for ij yerds & di. of blacke fustyan for a doblett of my master	—	—	xx
Itm p^{d} y^{e} sam daye for yerd & di. of lynen clothe for lynyng for y^{e} sam doblett	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} y^{e} xxvth daye of Febr̃uarye to George Taillo^{r} for makyng of my M^{r} coate of blacke velvett & blacke clothe . .	—	iij	—

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Taillo^{r} & his man for helpyng to sowe the sam coate by the space of iij dayes	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} to James Porter y^{e} xvijth daye M'che for iij qrt^{rs} of blacke velvett to make hym a cappe	—	viij	—
Itm p^{d} to hym for Hollond cloth to make shyrts for my mast^{r}	—	xxj	—
Itm p^{d} y^{e} xiijth daye of Ap'll to Cristofer Pearn for iij yerds of grene cotton for my M^{r}	—	xij	—
Itm p^{d} to hym y^{e} sam daye for iiij yerds of black satten .	—	xxx	—

The xviijth Weke.

Itm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Grome for brewyng & in recompensyng hym for his barells for y^{e} yer endyd at Cristm̃s	—	vj	viij

The xxixth Weke.

Itm p^{d} to Andrew Byrchm̃ for gryndyng of whete & myxtelyn from Myhilm̃s was twelmonth upon a rekenyng . . .	—	xiij	iiij

The xviijth Weke.

Itm p^{d} at John Bockers for M^{r} Banyard, X^{p}ofer Pearn, Wyllm̃ Shawe, & John Pearn horsmete whan they ware w^{t} youe .	—	xviij	—

SPIC'S BOUGHT AT STURBICH FEYER.

The iiijth Weke.

In p^{s} p^{d} by y^{e} hands of y^{e} lytle pson of Ryngstede for di. a pownde of cloves & mace	—	iij	iiij
Itm p^{d} for a qr^{t} of cynamm̃	—	—	xvj
Itm p^{d} for a pownde of gynger	—	—	xvj
Itm p^{d} for a pownde of pepp	—	—	xviij
Itm p^{d} for xij pownde of reysyngs of corance . .	—	ij	—
Itm xij pownides of pruynes	—	—	xviij
Itm p^{d} for a pownde of dates	—	—	iij
Itm p^{d} for ij potts of tryacle	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} for ij sugar loffis	—	vj	iij
Itm p^{d} for ij spvers of dernex	—	xxiij	iiij
Itm p^{d} for a fethyrbedde tyke	—	vj	iiij
Itm p^{d} for vj redde skynnes of lethyr for to lyne coshyns .	—	ij	—
Itm p^{d} for a grette grate for y^{e} kechyn . . .	—	—	iij

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p^{d} for a poke of canvass to putt in all the seid stuffe .	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} for y^{e} caryage of y^{e} same stuff from y^{e} feyer to Lynne	—	—	iiij
The xviijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Cristofer Pearn for ij sugar loffs weyeng xiiij lb. & di.	—	vij	iij
The xxiij^{d} Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for a lb. of pep	—	—	xx
Itm p^{d} for iij lb. of pruynes	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} for di. a lb. of almans	—	—	j ob.
Itm p^{d} for di. a lb. of ryse	—	—	j ob.
The xxiiijth Weke.			
. . . . .			
Itm p^{d} for a topenett of fygge dort . . .	—	ij	viij
The xxvijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for oryges	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} at Lynne for xvj lb. of reysyngs . . .	—	—	xij
The xxviijth Weke.			
It p^{d} to M^{r} Vicar for ij lb. of sokotts & j lb. of grove ginger	—	ij	xj
The xxixth Weke.			
It p^{d} to the Vicar of Holme for a sugar loffe . .	—	iij	ij
The xxxjst Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Thom̃s Gilder for y^{e} tythe peese & fethyrs .	—	vj	viij
It p^{d} to Harydance for caryeng of y^{e} same . .	—	—	xvj
Itm dd̄ to my M^{r} y^{e} xiiijth daye of Aprill of y^{t} money y^{t} he sent to Cristofer Pearn to paye M^{r} Humfrey Wyngfeld for the half yer ferm of y^{e} Duke of Suff. land in Ryngsted & Sedgeford . .	—	xl	—
The xxixth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for iij ellis of cloth for to make Rob^{t} Grene ij sherts	—	—	xviij
The xxxiiijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Cooke for a payer of hose for the boye of y^{e} kechyn	—	—	viij
The xxxixth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for a payer of showys for y^{e} boye of y^{e} kechyn .	—	—	vj

	£.	s.	d.
The iiijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to y^{e} shomaker of Holme for a payer of dobill solyd showys for Rob^{t} Grene	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} for a yerde of whyte for a payer of hose for hym bought at Lynne	—	—	xvj
Itm p^{d} for lynyng for them	—	—	iij
Itm p^{d} for clowte lether for y^{e} boye of y^{e} kechyn . .	—	—	v
The vjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for a jerkyn of lethyr at Walsynghm̃ for Rob^{t} Grene	—	—	xxij
The xiiijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for iiij yerds of tryse for a coate for y^{e} boye of y^{e} kechyn	—	ij	—
Itm p^{d} for ij yerds of canvas for to make hym a shirt .	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} for ij yerds of clothe for to make Rob^{t} Grene a sherte	—	—	xiij
Itm p^{d} for clowtelether for to clowte y^{e} showys . .	—	—	vj
The xvijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Taill^{r} for makyng of a coate & a doblett for y^{e} boye of y^{e} kechyn	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} to hym for makyng of a payer of hose for Rob^{t} Grene	—	—	iij
The xxvjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for an elne of blanckett to make y^{e} boye of y^{e} kechyn a payer of hose	—	—	xj
Itm p^{d} for a payer of shois for Rob^{t} Grene . .	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Taillo^{r} for makyng of y^{e} same hose & mendyng Robyn hose	—	—	iiij
The vth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to M^{rs} Walpole for viij pownde of whyte sope .	—	—	xx
Itm p^{d} to M^{rs} Leyton for xij pownde of blacke sope & a boxe to put in	—	—	xiiij

REWARDS.

The second Weke.

Itm to the cooke the p'or of Cockeforth sv̄nt in reward at my masters comaundment	—	—	viij

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The iiijth Weke.			
Itm to y^{e} Vicar of Thornhm̃ sv̄nt in rewarde for bryngyng of a pehenne & iij young pehennys & vj plov̄s	—	—	ij
Itm to Wyllm̃ Aleyn my lorde Wyllebye sv̄nt at the delyv̄y of y^{e} Hawke y^{t} M^{r} Custon gaffe my M^{rs}	—	—	xij
The xiiijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for a dussen plov̄s y^{t} my M^{r} sent to y^{e} Frenche Quene	—	—	xxj
The xvijth Weke.			
Itm to the p'or of Castleacre sv̄nt in reward for bringyng of a cygnett	—	—	iiij
The xviijth Weke.			
Itm to y^{e} cooke y^{t} M^{r} Bedyngfeld sent hyther in reward at my M^{rs} comaundment	—	—	xx
Itm to M^{r} Vicar of Thornhm̃ sv̄nt in rewarde for bryngyng of iij plov̄s, iij spowes & a red shancke	—	—	ij
Itm p^{d} to John Harydance for a sturgyn that my M^{r} gaffe to y^{e} Frenche Quene & my lorde of Norwyche . . .	—	ij	viij
Itm p^{d} to Wyllm̃ Dalymond for a cong̃ y^{t} my M^{r} gaffe pt̄e of to my lord of Norwiche & pt̄ spent in y^{e} howse . . .	—	—	xx
Item p^{d} to Wyllm̃ Inglond for a porpes y^{t} my M^{r} gaffe S^{r} Thom̃s Bedyngfeld y^{e} p'or of Walsynghm̃, S^{r} John Shelton, & S^{r} Rog̃r Townshend	—	v	—
Itm p^{d} the viijth daye of M'che to my lord of Norwiche by the hands of M^{r} Flyete	xxxiij	vj	viij
Itm p^{d} the xijth daye of Februarye to y^{e} p'or of Walsyngham at my masters comaundment	xij	—	—
The xvjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to a Ducheman for xj yerds & iij qrt^{rs} of dyaper clothe	—	viij	iiij
The xxiiijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for iiij ellis of lynen clothe pyllowbers . .	—	iij	iiij
The seconde Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to the coup̄ of Thornhm̃ for ij dayes worke & di. in makyng howpis & howpyng tubbis for the kechyn & tubbis to wayshe in	—	—	x

	£.	s.	d.
The iiijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John Shortyng smyth of Lynne for a payer of tongs for y^{e} plo^{r}	—	—	x
The xjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for a lantarn to hang at y^{e} dresser . . .	—	—	vj
The xxixth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to James Porter for a bowkyng shete . .	—	—	xiiij
Itm p^{d} to Xp̃ofer pearn y^{e} xxixth daye of Decẽbre for ix yerds of Reddyng tawny iiij^{s} y^{e} yerd	—	xxxvj	—
Itm p^{d} to hym the same daye for xxj yerds of tawny Kentyshe clothe at iij^{s} iiij^{d} y^{e} yerd	iij	viij	iij

No. 5. 1522.

This booke make menc̃on of all receyts and payments for the howse from the xvth daye of June in the xiiijth yere of the reign of Kyng Henry the VIIIth unto the next accounts.

Iste liber computat^{r} coram Ric. Banyard audit. et iđm compũs de .... vij^{mo} die Februarij A^{o} xiiij H. viij. p̱ me Ric̃m Banyard Audit^{r}.

RECEYTS. A^{o} xiiij^{mo}.

Itm rec. y^{e} xvijth day of July of the Abbott of Welback .	xv	—	—
Itm rec. y^{e} xvijth daye of August of Richard Alman for y^{e} joystment of xvj shepe at Fryng for y^{e} yer endyd at Mydsom̃ last past	—	iiij	—
. . . . .			
The iiijth Weke.			
. . . . .			
Itm p^{d} at Lynne for a bottell of Mawmsey . . .	—	—	viij
The vjth Weke.			
. . . . .			
Itm p^{d} for ij saltstonys for y^{e} dowffhowse . . .	—	—	ij ob.
The viijth Weke.			
. . . . .			
Itm p^{d} for a porpes pygge	—	iij	—

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The xjth Weke.			
. . . . .			
Ītm p^{d} to John Syff for a brettcocke . . .	—	—	viij
The xxxiiijth Weke.			
. . . . .			
Ītm p^{d} to Thom̃s Franushm̃ Warn̄ of Sneteshm̃ for xl couple of conyes y^{t} ware spent in the howse betwen Hallowmas & Candlemas	—	viij	xj
Ītm delyv̄d to Richard Banyard the xxvth daye of October, the xiiijth yere, to be p^{d} to my lord of Suff. receyv' for the half yer ferme of y^{e} man̄ of Segeforde	—	xl	—
The xvjth Weke.			
Ītm p^{d} to Thom̃s Bakon of Snetishm̃ for makyng of iiij torches for my M^{rs} ageyn that she was brought to bedde for to bere to chyrche at y^{e} chrysteynyng of M^{s} Anne	—	v	iij
Ītm dd̄ y^{e} ij^{d} daye of Novembre to my master for that money that he lende to the kyng	xx	—	—

MONEY D'D TO MY MASTER.

Ītm dd̄ the viijth daye of August to Edward that he toke you at Norwiche	—	—	xij
Ītm dd̄ the ixth daye of August to my M^{r} at John Mannes at Norwiche	—	xl	—
Ītm dd̄ the xxvjth day of October to my mast^{r} to giff a p̄don̄ of an hospitall—Warwyck	—	—	j
Ītm dd̄ the ij^{d} daye of Novembre to my M^{r} whan he rode to o^{r} lady of Grace	—	xx	—
Ītm dd̄ y^{e} xxiiijth daye of Novembre to my M^{r} y^{t} he p^{d} Cockden when he rode to S^{r} Thom̃s Bedyngfeld to mete w^{t} S^{r} Richard Jernynghm̃	—	xx	—
Ītm dd̄ to my M^{r} on Cristmas daye for to offer . .	—	—	iiij
Ītm dd̄ to my M^{r} on Seynt Stephyns daye . .	—	iij	iiij
Ītm dd̄ the last day of december to my mast^{r} . .	—	vj	viij

GERE BOUGHT FOR MY MASTER.

The viijth Weke.			
Īt p^{d} for a payer of glovys for my master . . .	—	—	iiij

	£.	s.	d.
The xxvth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} at Fryng Feyer for a payer of spers for my M^{r} .	—	—	v
Itm p^{d} to Xp'ofer Pearn ij payer of showes & for chaunging of ij sylv̄ spones & for dressyng of y^{r} sworde ij tymes & yo^{r} woodknyffe	—	ix	viij
The xxvjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to James Porter for iij shyrte clothes for my M^{r} .	—	xvj	iiij
Itm p^{d} y^{e} sam weke at Lynne for settyng on of a horne & trymmyng of yo^{r} long bowe	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} y^{e} xxviijth daye of June to Thom̃s Goode for xx comb$_{3}$ whete to be dd̄ Hunstanton at Candilmas next comyng . .	—	xlvj	viij
The xxvjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to y^{e} Ratonar of Norwiche for leying for ratts .	—	iij	iiij
Itm p^{d} for a bottell of Mawmsey	—	—	xij
The vijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to the Vicar of Holme kynsman for vij chalder of colys	—	xxxv	—
The viijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Grome & Rob^{t} Banyard for iij chalder of colys	—	xvj	—
The xxxiij^{d} Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John Palm for di. a chalder of colis . .	—	iij	—
Itm p^{d} y^{e} xxvijth daye of June to y^{e} armerer of Walsynghm̃ for dressyng of the y^{t} cam from M^{r} Wyndh^{a}ms & of y^{t} harness y^{t} cam from M^{r} Banyard	—	x	viij
Item p^{d} y^{e} xxij daye of July for iiij sheffe of arrowes .	—	viij	—
REWARDS.			
The iiijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} at my M^{r} comaundment in reward to M^{r} Cobbys svnt of Sandrynghm̃ for bryngyng of xx wethers . . .	—	—	xij
Itm dd̄ to my M^{r} the sam weke that he gaffe Spence dowter at her maryage	—	iij	iiij
The vth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Henry Deynes & James Fuller in rewarde for bryngyng of vj warpe of stockfyshe & vj warpe of lytill codde callyd habburdyn y^{t} Thom̃s Drury of Lynne sent my M^{r} . . .	—	—	iiij

	£.	s.	d.
The vjth Weke.			
Itm dd to S^{r} Thoms Pety at my masters comaundment to giffe y^{e} p'or of y^{e} Augusteyn Fryers to y^{e} Chapt^{r} . . .	—	lxvj	viij
The viijth Weke.			
Itm dd to my M^{r} to gyffe Thoms Solman for y^{e} dere that y^{e} sent to Master Jenny	—	iij	iiij
RYDYNG COSTS.			
The vth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for my M^{rs} costs whan she rode to Walsynghm to mete wt the Abbot of Welback	—	ij	iiij
Itm p^{d} ther y^{e} sam tym for horsmete . . .	—	ij	ij
Itm p^{d} for my costs & Rob^{t} Rede whan I rode to Ruddhm, whan the Sessions sholde have ben kept ther	—	—	xiiij
The viijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} at Walsynghm to y^{e} Cyses ward at Norwiche .	—	—	ix
Itm p^{d} ther for horsmete	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} ther for a croup for y^{e} bay geldyng . .	—	—	ij
Itm p^{d} for my M^{r} horsmete whan he bayted at Wyndhm .	—	—	j
Itm p^{d} at Norwiche at Cyses for my borde, Edward Southouse & Rob^{t} of y^{e} stabyll, iij dayes	—	iiij	—
Itm p^{d} for wyne that ye had to John Mannes . .	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} at Cranckes for horsmete	—	ij	xj
Itm to a sadeler for mendyng of y^{e} whyte sadelle for the rooned nagge	—	—	iij
Itm p^{d} at Norwiche for yo^{r} shavyng . . .	—	—	ij
Itm p^{d} to y^{e} feryman in y^{e} Abbey of Norwiche for feryeng my m to Seynt Lenards[a]	—	—	j
The xvijth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for my M^{r} costs at Castelacre whan he cam rydyng backe ageyn to M^{r} Townshends for to mete wt y^{e} Kyng . .	—	—	iij
Itm p^{d} y^{r} y^{e} sam tyme for horsemete . . .	—	—	vij
The xxvth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} at Cockeforth for showyng yo^{r} horse wt frost nayle whan y^{e} went to mete wt my lord of Surry	—	—	iiij

[a] St. Leonard's Priory at Thorpe, founded by Herbert de Losinga, celebrated for an image of King Henry VI. which was reputed to have worked miracles.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The xixth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Edward Owseley at my M^{rs} comaundement for money that he leyd oute for hym whan he mette w^{t} the Kyng as appere by a byll	—	xiiij	vj
The xxvjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} for yo^{r} costs at Lynne Sessions in yo^{r} cham^{r} ovnyght, & in the mornyng for bredde, dryncke, Mawmsey, sugr, & fyer .	—	—	xvj
Itm p^{d} for iiij of o^{r} den^{rs} on y^{e} Wedynsdaye whan y^{e} cam to Lynne y^{e} sam tyme	—	—	x
Itm p^{d} y^{r} y^{e} sam tym for horsmete . . .	—	ij	—
Itm p^{d} showyng y^{r} y^{e} sam tyme	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} y^{r} the sam tyme to a sadeler for a payer of styroppes w^{t} doble lethers	—	—	xvj
The xxvjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} at Lynne whan ye went on hawkyng to Woolferton Wood, for fyer & dryncke	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} y^{r} y^{e} sam tym for horsmete . . .	—	—	xiij
The xviijth Wek.			
Itm p^{d} to Petyffer of Castelacre for xxx yerds of Frenche tawny for clothe for levery	—	c	—
The xxvth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to M^{rs} Kat'yn for her levery . . .	—	xv	—
Itm p^{d} to Margett Burges for her levery . . .	—	viij	—
Itm p^{d} to Amye Barker for her levery . . .	—	viij	—

Sm lxxx^{l}. xix^{s}. ij^{d}.

Sm totis Solucionis hujs libri . lxxxxvij^{l}. vij^{s}. x^{d}. ob.
Sm totis Recept' . . . cxij^{l}. vj^{s}. ix^{d}. di. j^{d}.
Et sic debt in isto libro . . xiiij^{l}. xviij^{s}. x^{d}. ob.q^{d}.

q solv ad man. Dni in psencia audit. & quiet. est
Ric'us Banyard, Audit.

(No. 6.) 1522. HUNSTANTON.

This boke make mencon of all mañ recyts and payments for the howse from the viijth daye of Februarye in the xiiijth yere of the reign of Kyng Henry the VIIIth unto the next accounte.

Rec & soluc p David John Sen^{l} hospicii Thomæ le Straunge Armigi ibm.

Iste liber comp coram Ric. Banyard, Audit. quinto die Marcij anno r. r. Henr viij. xv^{o}.

RECEITTS.	£.	*s.*	*d.*
In p^{s} receyved of my M^{r} the viijth day of February, the xiiijth yere of the reign of Kyng Henry the viijth, of the arrerage of my last accompt endyd the vijth day of this p̄sent month . .	xvij	vj	vj.ob.di.q^{r}
. . . . .			
Īt̄m rec^{d} the iiij daye of Aprill of Thomas Pedder for that money he toke for whyte heryngs that he solde	—	—	xx
Īt̄m rec. y^{e} iij^{d} daye of Aprill of John Crispe of Dockyng, of that money that he receyved of Thom̄s Myller for forest p̄te .	iiij	ij	vj
. . . . .			
Īt̄ rec. y^{e} sam daye of the Executors of my lord Vaus[b] .	lxvj	xiij	iiij
Īt̄ rec. y^{e} xviijth daye of August of S^{r} Ric. Base for oyle that left in Lent last past	—	ij	ix
. . . . .			
Īt̄ rec. y^{e} xxix day of October of S^{r} Thōs Houghton, p̄son of Anm' in p̄te of payment for y^{e} ferm of Swanton[c] . . .	iiij	—	--
Īt̄ rec. y^{e} xvjth daye of Novembre of Xp'o er Alyngton oon of the executo^{r}s of my lorde Vaus	C	—	—
Īt̄ rec. y^{e} iiijth day of Decembre of John Crispe of Dockyng for the p̄fyts of y^{e} toll of Frynge feyer[d]	—	xiiij	—ob.
Īt̄ rec. y^{e} xxvjth day of Decembre of Thomas Dawney of Lynne, by the hands of John Gibson his sv̄nt, in p̄tye of payment for his howse y^{t} he bought of my M^{r} in Lynne	iiij	vj	iiij
. . . . .			
Īt̄ rec. y^{e} xxviijth day of January of John Brown for a cowe & a bole	—	xxx	—
Īt̄ rec. y^{e} sam day of hym for an old cowe . . .	—	viij	—
Īt̄ rec. y^{e} viijth day of February of Xp'ofer Addyngton one of the Executo^{r}s of my lorde Vaus	xl	—	—

Sm̄ totis rec^{t} cccxxxj^{l}. xvj^{s}. xj^{d}. ob. di. q' q'. s'uant^{r} in compo David John Sen^{l} Hospicii Thomæ le Str. Armigi ibm de^{l} quinto die Marcij A^{o} xv H. viij coram Ric Banyard, Audit.

[b] Nicholas Lord Vaux of Harrowden, father of Lady Lestrange. He died in the 15th Hen. VIII. his will was proved 3^{d} July that year.

[c] Sir Thomas Houghton parson of Anmer, paying rent for the farm at Swanton. One of the great causes of complaint against the Catholic Clergy of this period was their hiring farms, and thereby neglecting their parochial duties.

[d] So before, p. 468. Country Fairs were of great importance and utility at a period when the

Sm̄ oĩm allocac̃nũ & soluc̃nũ istius libri ccclxxix^{l}. iij^{s}. ix^{d}. q. allo^{r} in compo David Sen^{l} Hospicii p̄dco ibm detminat' quinto die Marcij anno r. r. Henr. viij. xv^{o} coram Ric. Banyard, Audit.

The iij^{d} Weke.

	£.	s.	d.
Ite p^{d} at Lynne for vj gallons & dĩ of mete Oyle	—	vj	vj
Ite p^{d} for ij gallons & dĩ of Mawmsey	—	v	—

The xxxiiijth Weke.

Ite p^{d} to Wyllm Osborne for a Bretcocke	—	—	viij

The xxxvj Weke.

Ite p^{d} to John Banyard for a litell Brette	—	—	viij

The xxxixth Weke.

Ite p^{d} to John Long of Ingaldesthorpe for vj woodcocks	—	—	x
Ite p^{d} to Stephyn Percy for ij woodcocks & iiij blackbyrds	—	—	iiij

The xliij^{d} Weke.

Ite p^{d} to hym for dĩ a Neatts Sowse	—	—	iij
Item p^{d} y^{e} xvth daye of Octobre to John Crispe of Dockyng for xv combs of Ots	—	x	—
Allo^{r}. Ite p^{d} to John Palm' of Ryngsted for xij combȝ of Ots to be dd at Hunstanton hall y^{e} xxvj daye of Novẽbre	—	viij	iiij
Ite p^{d} the xvjth daye of December to Thom̃s Orwell for viij combȝ of Ots	—	v	iiij
Allo^{r}. Ite p^{d} y^{e} xxixth daye of Novẽbre to Aleyn Emmyth myller, for grynding of wheatte & myxtelyn for the howse from y^{e} vjth daye of Novbre in y^{e} xiiijth yere of Kyng Henr̃ ye viijth unto y^{e} day above seid	—	x	viij
Ite p^{d} the xixth day of Septembre to Henry Godrycke of Leyscoste for C of Lyngs	iiij	ij	iiij
Ite p^{d} the same day to hym for C codds	—	xl	vj
Ite p^{d} y^{e} xxiij^{d} day of Septembre to Henry Deynes & John Syffe wyffe for waysshing of y^{e} same fyshe	—	—	viij
Ite p^{d} y^{e} xvjth daye of October to Barnaby Bryse, for dryeng of the same fyshe	—	vj	—

conveyance of goods was difficult; as they afforded an opportunity for the purchase of various things not commonly to be procured. In consequence, the resort to them was considerable. The tolls, upon the booths erected, generally belonged to the lord of the manor.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
It̄ p^{d} the xxiij^{d} day of Aprill to Thom̄s Russell in p̄te of payment for his howse & land that he solde my mast^{r} in Hechām .	—	xl	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xth day of June to Thom̄s Russell in p̄ty of payment of a more sum for the lande aforseid	—	cvj	viij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} last day of July to Thom̄s Russell in p̄ty of payment of a more sum as is above seid	—	xx	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} viijth day of August to Thom̄s Russell in p̄te of payment of a more sum as is bove wretyn	vj	ij	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xth day of August to Thom̄s Russell of Westruddhm̄ in p̄te of payment of a more sum as is aforeseid . . .	xxxij	—	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xiijth day of August to y^{e} seid Thom̄s Russell in p̄te of payment of a more sum as is aforeseid	viij	vj	viij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xiiijth day of August to Thom̄s Russell in p̄te of payment of a more sum as is above wretyn	—	lxiiij	viij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xiijth day of January to M^{r} Xp'ofer Jenny for that money that he p^{d} to M^{r} Brekett for Thom̄s Russell, for y^{e} lande y^{t} my Mr bought of y^{e} seid Thom̄s Russell in Hechm̄ . . .	xxvj	xiij	iiij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xxviijth day of January to Thom̄s Russell for lande that my M^{r} bought of hym in Hecham̄	iiij	—	—
It̄ p^{d} the xjth daye of February to M^{r} Edward Brokett for Thom̄s Russell for londe y^{t} my M^{r} bought of hym in Hecham̄ .	xiij	vj	viij
It̄ p^{d} the xijth daye of February to Thom̄s Russell for y^{e} seid londe y^{t} my M^{r} bought of hym in Hechm̄	—	xl	—
Allo^{r}. It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xxth day of Octobre to my lord of Norwiche for money y^{t} my M^{r} borrowyd of hym	lxvj	xiij	iiij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xjth day of February to Edward Brokett for a release of hym & of hys wyffe for y^{e} manor called Howemgaretts in Sturston .	vj	xiij	iiij
Allo^{r}. It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xth daye of Maye to y^{e} Vicar of Holm in p̄tye of payment for the tythe of the parsonage of Holm . .	vij	—	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} vjth daye of January to y^{e} seid Vicar of Holm in p̄te of payment for y^{e} seid tythe	—	lx	—
Allo^{r}. It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xijth day of October to Thom̄s Russell for a grey geldyng for the carte	—	xx	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xiijth day of January to M^{r} Jenny for a grey ambelyng nagge that my M^{r} bought of hym	—	xxvj	viij

	£.	s.	d.
The xxiij^{d} Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John Palmer of Ryngsted for a chalder of colis	—	v	—
It p^{d} to Nicholas Peerson for iiij chalder of colis . .	—	xxj	iiij
It p^{d} to John Cornell for caryeng of a chalder & dī of y^{e} sam coles	—	—	vj
The xxixth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John Palm̃ of Ryngsted for viij chalder of coles .	—	xl	—
The xjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Xp'ofer Pearn for a lb. of gyng̃ . .	—	iij	iiij
Itm p^{d} for a quar̃ of clowe;	—	ij	—
Itm p^{d} for a quar̃ of cynamon	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} for a lb. of pep	—	ij	—
The xxth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} at London for spices as apere by a byll . .	—	xiiij	ij
The xxxiij^{d} Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John Browne of Lynne for ij loffs of sugar y^{t} was boughte in Lente	—	viij	viij
The xxxvth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to Thom̃s Goode for dī a lb. pep . . .	—	—	xij
The xlth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} at London for spic̃s as appere by a byll . .	—	xv	vj
The xlvth Weke.			
Allo^{r}. Itm p^{d} for a loffe of sugar	—	ij	xj
The xlvjth Weke.			
Itm p^{d} to John Manne for vj lb. of pruynes . .	—	—	xij
The lij^{d} Weke.			
Itm p^{d} at London for spic̃s as appere by a byll . .	—	ix	vj
Itm p^{d} for xij lb. of Grete Reysyngs . . .	—	—	xviij
Allo^{r}. Itm p^{d} y^{e} xvjth day of December for iiij sheffe arrowe cases & iiij girdells	—	ij	vj

NECESSAR'S FOR THE HOWSE.	£.	s.	d.
In p^{s} p^{d} y^{e} first day of Aprill to the pewterer of Walsynghm̃ for ij chargers	—	v	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xviijth day of Aprill to Xpofer Pearn for a tabill & the trostells that stande in the plo^{r}	—	xiij	iiij
It̄m p^{d} y^{e} sam day for the standyng of the same tabill in a howse at Burnhm̃ Stathe	—	—	ij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xiiijth day of August to John Joyner of Holme, for makyng of a frame for a trussyng bedde [e]	—	iij	viij
It̄m p^{d} y^{e} xijth day of October for a cov̄lett of Pulhm̃ worke [f]	—	vj	—
Allo^{r}. It̄ p^{d} y^{e} sam daye to John Manne of Norwiche for xxxj ells of canvas, per y^{e} elle vij^{d}. Sm̃	—	xviij	j
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} first day of December for a yerd & iij qrt^{rs} of boultell for ij streyners for y^{e} kechyn	—	—	iij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xvth day of December for a carpette for the tabill in y^{e} plor	—	xxviij	iiij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xxviijth day of December to y^{e} coup of Thornhm̃ for ij payles for y^{e} stabill	—	—	vj
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} vijth day of February for ij cov̄letts . .	—	liij	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} sam day to a braser of Lynne for exchaunging of a possnette [g] & a litill kettyll for y^{e} kechyn	—	—	xx

REWARDS.

The iiijth Weke.

It̄ p^{d} to George Ov̄man son for bryngyng of a cagge of salmon that John Huntley & he sent my M^{r}, in rewarde . . .	—	—	iiij

The vijth Weke.

It̄ p^{d} to M^{r} Cobbes sv̄nt in reward for bryngyng of a pece of porpes	—	—	ij

The viijth Weke.

It̄ p^{d} to M^{r} Bedyngfeld sv̄nt for bryngyng of a pece of porpes, in reward	—	—	ij

The xijth Weke.

It̄ p^{d} to Raffe Cauntrell, my lorde of Norwiche scribe, at my masters comaundement	—	—	xij

e Trussing beds, were beds used in travelling, when it was the custom for persons of consequence to carry their beds with them. See the Northumberland Household Book.

f Pulham in Norfolk was at this time celebrated for its manufacture of hats, dornecks, and coverlits, which were made there in great quantities; and by an Act passed in 1551 for the advantage of the citizens of Norwich, forbidding any one out of the City, except in some corporate or market town, to make any of these commodities, these manufactures at Pulham were excepted.

g A porringer.

	£.	s.	d.
The xvijth Weke.			
Ĩt p^{d} to Wyte the Under Sheriff that toke y^{e} stresse at Ryngsted, at my masters comaundement	—	—	xij
The xixth Weke.			
Ĩt p^{d} at London to Rich^{d} Mylles at my M^{rs} comaundement in rewarde	—	—	xx
The xxij^{d} Weke.			
Allo^{r}. Ĩt p^{d} at Brandon to Thom̃s Palm̃ ladde of Lynne, at my mast^{r} comaundement	—	—	iiij
The xlvijth Weke.			
Ĩt p^{d} to iiij pleyers y^{t} sholde a pleyed y^{e} same day y^{t} M^{rs} Owen cam hyther, in rewarde, at my M^{rs} comaundement . .	—	—	viij
Ĩt p^{d} the xviijth day of February to y^{e} Threshers for threshyng of xv comb^{s} of wheatt of y^{e} tythe at Holm berne . . .	—	iij	j.ob.
Ĩt p^{d} y^{e} same day for threshyng of x combs of Mestelyn .	—	ij	j
Ĩt p^{d} to them y^{e} same day for threshyng xj comb^{s} & ii b^{s} of pese & fetchys, ẽvy comb j^{d} ob. Sm̃.	—	—	xvij
Ĩt p^{d} to them y^{e} sam day for threshyng of x bushells of ots .	—	—	iij.ob.
Ĩt p^{d} y^{e} sam day to y^{e} same threshers, for threshyng of iiij^{xx} iiij comb^{s} of barly ẽvy q̃rt^{r} ij^{d} ob.	—	viij	ix
Allo^{r}. Ĩt p^{d} y^{e} sam day for dytyng^{h} of the said corne ẽvy score iiij^{d}. Sm̃	—	ij	—
The vth Weke.			
Allo^{r}. Ĩt p^{d} to John More of Holm for maltyng of xxiiij comb^{s} malt that was dd̃ to Rob^{t} Grome for to brewe for the howse -	—	iiij	vj
The xlvijth Weke.			
Allo^{r}. Ĩtm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Grome for brewyng for the howse, & repac̃on of his vessell, for j yere endyd at Cristmas last past . .	—	vj	viij
Allo^{r}. Ĩt p^{d} the iij^{d} of Aprill to Thom̃s Bakon of Suetishm̃ for a lb. of waxe for to renewe my M^{r} tapyer & y^{e} makyng . .	—	—	xij
Ĩt p^{d} y^{e} xxvij daye of Aprill to y^{e} Vicar of Hunstanton for his tythe of Ester last past	—	xx	—
MONEY D'D TO MY MASTER.			
Allo^{r}. Ĩt p^{d} the Sat̃day in the Clensyngweke to a Barbo^{ur} at Lynne for yõ shaveyng whan ye ware y^{e} atte p̄don . . .	—	—	ij
Ĩt p^{d} y^{e} first Sonday of lent to y^{e} p̄doñ of Seynt John Frary for youe	—	—	iij
Ĩtm dd̃ to my M^{r} on Good fryday to offer to the Crosse .	—	—	j

[h] To dyte, or dight; to dress.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
It dd to my Mr on Est Tuesday at Snetishm whan he satt there to receyve the Kyngs money for to pay for his den . .	—	—	viij
It dd to my Mr the xvjth day of Aprill by the hands of Thoms Pedder whan he rode forth with Mr Wyllm Drury & Mr Robt Drury to Thetforde	—	xx	—
It dd to my Mr the iiijth day of May whan he rode to London warde	xiij	xij	iiij
It dd ye sam day to my Mr to giffe ye pdon of Seynt Elyn of Colchestr	—	—	j
It dd to my Mr at London upon Mydsomr day by the hands of Thoms Cockden whan he went towards Grenwiche . .	—	xx	—
It pd the vijth daye of July to Xpofer Pearn for money that my Mr borowed of hym in the Ester time	iiij	—	—
It dd ye xiiijth daye of July to my Mr in Xp'ofer Pearne's howse	iiij	—	—
It dd ye xvijth day of Septembre at my Mr comaundement to a Grey Fryer yt pchyd her'	—	—	iiij
It dd ye last day of Septembre to my Mr by the hands of Edward Owseley at Kymbley whan he rode to Sr Robt Drury[i] .	—	ij	iiij
It dd ye xxth day of Octobre to my Mr for to gyffe Mr Banyard's clerke for wrytyng	—	—	xij
It dd ye ijd daye of Novebre to my Mr whan he soped wt Mr Robt Curson	—	iij	iiij
It dd ye xjth day of Novebre to my Mr . . .	—	vj	viij
It dd to my Mr ye xijth day of Novebre to pay Xp'ofer Pearn for money due to hym of olde for yor repasts at Lyncoln's ynne .	—	v	iiij
It dd to my Mr ye xiiijth day of Novebre whan he rode homward from London	—	xx	—
Itm pd ye xvth daye of Novebre to Thoms Neve for money that my Mr borowyd of hym	—	v	iiij
It dd ye viijth daye of January to my Mr for to gyffe a Fryer at Walsynghm	—	—	j
It dd ye xvijth day of January at Hunstanton to my Mr .	—	vj	viij

GERE BOUGHT FOR MY MASTER.

In ps pd ye xviijth daye of Aprill to Xp'ofer Pearn for iiij peyer of hose for my masp	—	xvj	—

[i] The Drurys were a distinguished family in Norfolk and Suffolk for many generations. They were settled at Riddlesworth and Besthorpe in the former county. Sir Thomas Lestrange's mother was of this family.

	£.	s.	d.
It p^{d} y^{e} sam day to hym for ij peyer of shoyes for my M^{r} .	—	—	xx
It p^{d} to hym y^{e} sam daye for a dussen of lute stryngs .	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} y^{e} sam daye to John Manne for ij yerds & iij qr^{ts} of satten at vij^{s} iiij^{d} y^{e} yerd. Sm̃	--	xx	ij
Itm p^{d} to hym the same daye for iij yerds of whyte fustyan at viij^{d} y^{e} yerd	—	ij	—
It p^{d} y^{e} iiijth day of May to Edward Owseley for a male[k] that he bought for my master	—	v	iiij
It p^{d} y^{e} xviijth day of June at London for a cappe for my M^{r}, to Wyllm̃ the capper at Ludgate	—	vij	—
Allo^{r}. It p^{d} the same day for a payer of black hosen for hym	—	v	—
It p^{d} y^{e} xxvth day of June to the shomaker ther for bots, showys, & busskynnys	—	xv	—
It p^{d} y^{e} vijth day of July to Thom̃s Manne for a bonett that he bought for my M^{r}	—	iiij	iiij
Itm p^{d} y^{e} sam daye to James Danyell for makyng of my M^{r} coote & clooke	—	v	viij
It p^{d} y^{e} sam daye to Cansewell for a payer of hose of the Almayn facon of whyte	—	vj	viij
It p^{d} for a caskett to bryng home wrytyngs from London .	—	ij	—
It p^{d} y^{e} sam day to y^{e} myllener for a black bonett w^{t} a dobill turffe y^{t} was dressyd w^{t} velvett	—	vj	viij
It p^{d} y^{e} iij^{d} day of Novẽbre at London, for iiij yerds & a qr^{r} of blacke clothe for a gown for my M^{r}	—	xxviij	iiij
It p^{d} y^{e} sam day for iiij yerds & di. of blacke cotton for a coate for my M^{r}	—	x	vj
It p^{d} for ij yerds of blacke rybbond & j dussen rybbond poynts	—	—	xviij
It p^{d} y^{e} sam day for rybbond for my M^{r} cappe . .	—	—	ij
It p^{d} for a payer of gloves for hym . . .	—	—	iij
It p^{d} y^{e} sam day for a yerde & di. of blacke rybbond for a gyrdill for my M^{r}	—	—	xxj
It p^{d} y^{e} sam day to Atkynson y^{e} kutler at Fleetebrydge for a sword for hym	—	vj	viij
It p^{d} for ij blacke Spanyshe skynnes for a jerkyn for hym .	—	xj	—
It p^{d} for a cronycle booke for my M^{r} . . .	—	vj	viij
It p^{d} for a bonett for my M^{r} to Richard w^{t}in Ludgate .	—	iiij	—

[k] A trunk.

	£.	s.	d.
It̄ p^{d} for a peyer of spores for hym . . .	—	—	viij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} sam daye to Aleyn the skynn^{9} for money owyng hym of olde & for furryng of my M^{r} gown	—	vj	viij
It̄ p^{d} for a brushe for hym	—	—	v
Allo^{r}. It̄ p^{d} y^{e} vijth day of Novẽbre to Cawston for ij payer of blacke hossen & a payer of whyte	—	xv	x
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} sam daye for iiij payer of showys & makyng of a payer of velvett showes	—	iiij	ij
It̄ p^{d} for a payer of boots for hym	—	iij	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} sam day for sowyng of yo^{r} lethyr jerkyn . .	—	—	vj
It̄ p^{d} to y^{e} taillo^{re} for makyng of y^{e} sam jerkyn . .	—	—	vj
It̄ p^{d} for satten to lyne the sam jerkyn in the coller .	—	—	iiij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xjth day of November for a payer of bokeran hosen for my M^{r}	—	—	viij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} same day for iiij dussen of poynts for my M^{r} .	—	ij	—
It̄ p^{d} for makyng clene of my M^{r} armyng sworde . .	—	—	ij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} sam daye for iij quart^{rs} & a nayle of blacke clothe to ꝑform my M^{r} doblett	—	iiij	vj
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xijth day of November to Jamys Danyell tailo^{r} for makyng of my M^{r} a blacke gowne	—	vj	—
It̄ p^{d} for makyng of a cote of black cotton . . .	—	v	—
It̄ p^{d} for viij yerds of lynyng for y^{e} same cote . .	—	iiij	—
It̄ p^{d} to hym for makyng of a doblett of black cotton for my M^{r}	—	iij	iiij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} sam day for iij dogs collers . . .	—	—	ix
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} iij^{d} daye of Dec'bre to John Manne for ij yerds & di. of blacke saye[l] for a doblett for my M^{r}	—	ij	vj
It̄ p^{d} for ij yerds & di. of whyte fustyan for to lyne it w^{t} .	—	—	xij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} same daye for iij ells of Hollond clothe for a sherte for hym	—	vj	—
It̄ p^{d} for vj ells of Hollond clothe for my M^{r} . .	—	x	—
It̄ p^{d} to John Manne for a caskett for my M^{r} . .	—	—	xviij
It̄ p^{d} to hym for a bagge for my M^{r} . . .	—	—	xj
Allo^{r}. It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xxviij daye of January to Laurance Cheny for whyte harness^{m} for my M^{r}	—	lxvj	viij

[l] Saye, silk. See Fairy Queen, b. i. c. iv. "All in a kirtel of discolour'd say." Shaksp. Hen. VI. "Thou *say*, thou serge, nay thou buckram lord."

[m] Armour; military accoutrements.

	£.	s.	d.
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} viijth day of February for xj yerds of tawny satten for a gowne for my M^{rs} at my M^{r} comaundm̄t . . .	iiij	xj	viij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} sam day for ij yerds & di. of tawny velvett for the same gowne	—	xxxiij	iiij
It̄ p^{d} for a rolle of buckram for y^{e} sam . . .	—	ij	viij
It̄ p^{d} for stuffyng clothe for the plyts . . .	—	—	xj
It̄ p^{d} for makyng of the same gown . . .	—	v	—
Allo^{r}. It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xth day of February to Thom̄s Robyns for the subsydye in my lorde Cardynalls howse, payabell at Candelm̄s last past^{n}	x	—	—

GERE BOUGHT FOR MAST' NICHOLAS.

Allo^{r}. Itm p^{d} y^{e} xvjth day of August to Petyfer of Castel acre for a cote clothe & a yerd of raweblacke for M^{r} Nicholas to make hym a payer of hose	—	x	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} sam daye for ij yerds of black fustyan for a doblett for hym	—	—	xx
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xxth day of October for a payer of shoyes . .	—	—	vj
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xxviijth day of Novembre to S^{r} Richard for iij ells of lynen cloth for ij shertes for M^{r} Nicolas, price y^{e} ell xiij^{d}. Sm̄ .	—	iij	ix
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} iij day of Decembre for ij yerds of blacke fustyan for M^{r} Nicholas for a doblett	—	xx	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xvjth day of December for a payer of showes for M^{r} Nicholas	—	—	viij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xth day of January to M^{r} Nicholas at my M^{r} comandment for to bye hym books	—	ij	jx

GERE BOUGHT FOR THE BOYE.

Allo^{r}. It̄ p^{d} y^{e} ij^{d} daye of January to John Manne for ij sherts for the boye of y^{e} cham'	—	ij	vj
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} vjth daye of February for a peyer of shoes for hym	—	—	viij

RYDYNG COSTS.

In p^{is} p^{d} the xxvth daye of Marche for my costs at Thetforde at y^{e} Cises	—	ij	—
Itm p^{d} y^{e} xxviijth day of Aprill to Thom̄s Cockden that he p^{d} for my masters costs at Hallstede and at Wyndhm̄ . . .	—	xliij	—
It̄ p^{d} the same day to a sadeler at Lynne by the hands of Olde John for mendyng of my mast̄s whyte sadell . . .	—	ij	iiij

[n] In this year, 1522, Henry the Eighth made war, in conjunction with the Emperor Charles the Fifth, against Francis the First of France. Hence the subsidy here mentioned.

	£.	s.	d.
Attilburgh.			
Allo^{r}. Īt p^{d} the xxviijth day of Aprill for my masṭs costs whan he rode to Hoxon to my lorde of Norw'	—	—	xij
Īt p^{d} y^{r} y^{e} sam day for horsmete	—	—	iiij
Ītm p^{d} y^{e} .... day of June at Sherford whan ye rode to S^{r} Roger Townshends for horsmete	—	—	ij

COSTS TO LONDON WARD IN TRINITE T'ME A^{o}. XV^{mo}.

Thetforde.			
Allo^{r}. Inp^{is} p^{d} at dyn^{r}	—	—	viij
Īt to the Fryers	—	—	ij
Ītm p^{d} for horsmete	—	—	vj
Newmarkett.			
Īt p^{d} at soup^{r}	—	—	xviij
Īt p^{d} for horsmete	—	—	v
Īt p^{d} to the smyth ther	—	—	j
Baburhm̃.			
Īt p^{d} for dryncke at nyghte & in the mornyng . .	—	—	iiij
Īt p^{d} for fyer	—	—	ij
Īt p^{d} for horsmete	—	—	xv
Barkewey.			
Īt p^{d} for brede & dryncke	—	—	iiij
Īt p^{d} for horsmete	—	—	v
Ware.			
Īt p^{d} at dyn'	—	ij	—
Īt p^{d} for horsemete	—	—	v
Walthm̃.			
Īt p^{d} for dryncke	—	—	j
London.			
Īt p^{d} for botehire to Grenewiche on Sonday . .	—	—	iiij
Īt p^{d} for botehire to Grenewiche & hom on Munday .	—	—	viij
Īt p^{d} for botehire to Grenewiche the Sonday afore Mydsom' daye	—	—	xiiij
Īt p^{d} for my costs & Rob^{t} of y^{e} stabyll w^{t} iij horse, whan ye sent me from London at Mydsom̃ for to Clyppe . . .	—	iiij	—

	£.	s.	d.
TO LONDONWARD THE FRYDAY AFTER SEYNT PETUR.			
Allo^{r}. Inp^{is} at Castleacre for dryncke . . .	—	—	j
Īt p^{d} y^{r} for horsmete	—	—	v
Īt p^{d} at Bradon for dryncke at nyght & in the mornyng .	—	—	xvj
Īt p^{d} ther for fyer	—	—	ij
Īt p^{d} for horsmete ther	—	—	xxj
Īt p^{d} at Newm'kett at den^{r}	—	ij	—
Īt p^{d} for horsmete ther	—	—	vij
Īt p^{d} at Babram for dryncke	—	—	j ob.
Īt p^{d} for horsmete ther	—	—	ij
Īt p^{d} at Barkway at nyght the Sa^{d}day for soup & dryncke in the mornyng	—	ij	ij
Īt p^{d} for horsmete ther	—	—	xx
Īt p^{d} at Ware at dyn^{r}	—	ij	—
Īt p^{d} ther for horsmete	—	—	v
Īt p^{d} ther for horsmete & Rob^{t} Boorde the Tuesdaye after Relyke Sonday	—	xix	ij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} same day to Edward Owseley for his boorde wages for xxxi dayes aft' v^{d} a day	—	xij	xj
Īt p^{d} to Edward Owseley upon a byll . . .	—	ij	ij
Īt p^{d} for mendyng of a syde sadle . . .	—	—	viij
Īt p^{d} to Thom̃s Cockden the Tuesday aft' Relyke Sonday at my M^{r} comandment for money that he leyd oute for hym . .	—	xij	vij
Īt p^{d} to hym y^{e} sam daye for his borde wages for xxiiij dayes aft' v^{d} a day	—	x	—
Īt p^{d} y^{e} same daye for a male pileon & ij male gyrthes .	—	—	viij
Īt p^{d} for a bagge to carye wrytyngs that was left at Xp'ofer Pearn	—	—	iij
Ītm p^{d} for myn owen costs at London the same tyme for xx dayes	—	viij	ix
Īt p^{d} for Thom̃s Cockden costs & myn homward whan ye sent us hom whan Mydsom' t̄me was don	—	iiij	—
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xvjth day of August to Thom̃s Goode for showyng of the hakeney horse from y^{e} ij^{d} day of February unto y^{e} day aforeseid	—	v	iiij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xxth day of October at Hoxon for horsmete whan ye rode to my lorde of Norwiche to pay hym his money that y^{e} borowyd of hym	—	—	xvj
Īt p^{d} y^{r} y^{e} sam tyme for showyng	—	—	ij ob.
Īt p^{d} Rob^{t} of y^{e} stabyll costs y^{r} y^{e} same tyme . .	—	—	j ob.
London.			
Īt p^{d} for vij peyer of gyrthes	—	ij	iij
Īt p^{d} for showyng at Islyngton	—	—	xv

	£.	s.	d.
Īt p^{d} to Gylhm̃ at Temple barre for a bridle bytte .	—	ij	x
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xth daye of Novẽbre for boatt hire whan ye went to West'	—	—	ij
Īt p^{d} to Mathew Danby for a new sadill of buff lethyr for my M^{r}	—	xij	—
Īt p^{d} to hym for vernyshing of my M^{r} styroppes & newe lethers	—	—	x
Īt p^{d} for a new horsecombe	—	—	vj
Īt p^{d} for xij yerds of gyrthe webbe . . .	—	—	xiiij
Īt p^{d} for hey at Islyngton by y^{e} space of xiiij dayes & a nyght, for v horses ev̄y day, vij^{d} ob. Sm̃	—	ix	—
Īt p^{d} for horsbredde	—	iij	—
Īt p^{d} for bordyng of y^{e} horskep	—	ij	viij
Īt p^{d} for horsmete iiij dayes whan ye left me to receyve moneye of my lorde Vaus Executors	—	—	xj
Īt p^{d} to Johan at M^{rs} Abrahm̃s for waysshyng of ij of yo^{r} sherts	—	—	ij
Īt p^{d} for for my M^{r} pte of dyñs sop's at M^{rs} Abrahm̃s whan M^{r} Wyll'm Drury & ye lay there	—	v	ij
Īt p^{d} to M^{rs} Abrahm̃ for the chamber for my M^{r} . .	—	iiij	—
Īt p^{d} to her for brekefasts & dryncke in the cham' xiiij dayes	—	iiij	ij
Īt p^{d} for fyer at the seid tyme in y^{e} cham'	—	iij	viij
Īt p^{d} for waysshyng of my mas^{r} clook, & for drynk & for fyre the first nyght that my M^{r} cam to London . . .	—	—	v
Īt p^{d} to John Hollond for his bord wages . . .	—	ij	iiij
Īt p^{d} to Edward Owseley for his borde wages by y^{e} space of xij dayes	—	v	—
Īt p^{d} for my borde wages by y^{e} space of xvj dayes . .	—	vj	viij
Īt p^{d} for my costs hom̃warde from London whan ye left me behynde to receyve money of my lorde Vaus Executo^{r}s . .	—	iij	—
Īt p^{d} y^{e} last daye of Novembre for horsmete at Reynhm̃ whan ye rode to Reynhm̃ to receyve y^{e} King's money . .	—	—	xv
Īt y^{r} y^{e} sam tym for y^{e} horskep sop & brekefast y^{e} next daye in the mornyng	—	—	iiij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} sam daye for horsmete at Thornage . .	—	—	iiij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} iij^{d} daye at Norwiche at Crancks for horsmete .	—	iij	ij
Īt p^{d} ther to y^{e} sadeler	—	—	viij
Īm p^{d} y^{e} same day to the smyth	—	—	viij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} same day at Crancks for the horskep borde vj melis	—	—	x
Īt p^{d} y^{e} same day to y^{e} maydes at John Mamus at my mas^{r} comaundement	—	—	iiij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} same tyme for my costs & Hollonds, iij dayes .	—	ij	—

	£.	s.	d.
Īt p^{d} for a lyncke of a torche to lyghte youe hom a nyghts .	—	—	iij
Īt p^{d} to Cleydon, M^{r} Townshend's sv̄nt for a qyer of pap̄ .	—	—	ij ob.
Īt p^{d} y^{e} vijth & viijth day of December for my cost & Hollands at Lynne, whan ye sent me thyder to receyve y^{e} Kyng's money .	—	—	viij
Īt p^{d} y^{r} y^{e} sam tyme for horsmete	—	—	x
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xvth day of December for my costs, John Hollond's & Rob^{t} of y^{e} stabyll costs, whan ye sent me to London w^{t} y^{e} Kyng's money & iiij horses	—	xxiij	iiij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} viijth day of January for costs at Walsyngh̄m̄ Sessions, for bredde, dryncke, & fyer in yo^{r} cham̄	—	—	ix
Īt p^{d} y^{r} y^{e} same tyme for horsmete . . .	—	—	xxij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} same tyme to y^{e} sadeler	—	—	xj
Īt p^{d} ye same day for my den^{r} & Rob^{t} of y^{e} stable . .	—	—	vij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xth daye of January for mendyng of a blacke sadle at Lynne	—	—	viij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xiijth day of January for costs at Norwiche Sessions aft̄ twelthe for horsmete	—	iiij	iiij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} last day of January at Ware to London ward, for a newe male saddle [o]	—	iiij	ij
Allo^{r}. Īt p^{d} y^{e} xth daye of February to Mathew Danby for a blacke harness for a nagge for my M^{r}	—	ij	—
Īt p^{d} for my costs at whan ye sent me to London at Candelm̄s terme w^{t} Robyn y^{e} boye & ij horsse, by the space of xvij dayes	—	xxvj	viij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xijth daye of February to John Manne for bordyng of M^{r} Nicholas half a yer endyd at Candilm̄s last past . .	—	xx	—
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xviijth day of Aprill to John Manne for bordyng of M^{r} Nicholas ix weeks	—	vj	viij
Allo^{r}. Īt̄m p^{d} y^{e} same daye to hym that he p^{d} to y^{e} skoole mast̄ for his skool hyer	—	—	xij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xxixth day of Septembre to y^{e} Vicar of North Elmhm̄ by the hands of S^{r} Rich^{d} Basse for M^{r} Nicholas borde viij wekes	—	viij	—
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xxiij^{d} day of November to the seid Vicar of Northelmhm̄ by the hands of Edward Owseley for M^{r} Nicholas borde xij weks endyng the xxij^{d} daye of December next comyng . . .	—	xij	—

[o] A saddle with a malle or trunk attached to it.

	£.	s.	d.
FEES.			
It p[d] to Richard Banyard Styward of my M[r] lands [p] in full payment of his Fee for the yere endyd at Mighelmas last past, o[v]̃ & besids xiij[s] j[d] p[d] by Rob[t] Reede for p̃fits of the feyer at Fryng and x[s] payde by the seide Richard in the ferme of a cloose & medowe at Swanton .	—	xvj	xj
It dd̃ the xviij[th] day of Aprill to Richard Banyard for to pay M[r] Wyngfeld for my M[r] ferm of my lorde of Suff. in Sedgeford .	—	xl	—
It p[d] y[e] ix[th] day of Novembre to M[r] Humfrey Wyngfeld for the ferm of my lorde of Suff. londs in Sedgeford payable at Mychilmas last past	—	xl	—
It p[d] to M[r] Xp'ofer Jenny [q] y[e] x[th] day of Novembre for his Fee of y[e] hole yere endyd at Michaelm̃s last past . . .	—	xx	—
Itm p[d] y[e] xxv[th] day of March to M[r] Knyghtley [r] for his Fee & for that money y[t] he leyde oute for suyng of Symon Holden .	—	viij	xj
It p[d] to hym the sam daye for money y[t] he leyde oute for sup[s] for manucap̃ agayn Say	—	iiij	xj
It p[d] to hym the same daye for puttyng inne of the Nisiprise [s] at Thetford agayn Symon Holden	—	xxij	iiij
It p[d] y[e] ix[th] day of June to Whyte the Undersheryffe for brekyng of the wrytts & makyng oute of the mandam̃ to arest Symon Holden	—	—	xij
It p[d] y[e] sam daye to Thom̃s Manne for to pay to y[e] und[r] Sheryff for retor̃nyng of y[e] Panell agayn Holden . . .	—	—	xx
Allo[r]. It p[d] for swaryng of y[e] Latytat agaynst Holden y[e] x[th] day of July	—	—	viij
It p[d] y[e] same day to the Secondarye of y[e] Counter .	—	—	xx
It p[d] to on of M[r] Conyngesby [t] clerke for y[e] mendyng of y[e] wrytte	—	—	viij
It p[d] y[e] same day to M[r] Spelman S'jeant [u] for his Counsell in makyng of my M[r] answer in y[e] Duchy Cham̃	—	vj	viij

p Evidently a lawyer and auditor of the Accounts. He married Anne Ratcliffe, uterine sister of Robert Lestrange, Sir Robert Lestrange's father. Lady Lestrange calls him uncle, in consequence, in a later page of these Accounts.

q Afterwards Sir Christopher Jenny of Cressingham, Norfolk. He was made a Judge of the Common Pleas in 1539.

r Probably William Knightley, Esq. whose daughter Winifred married Robert Coke, Esq. of Mileham, & was mother of Lord Chief Justice Coke.

s Nisi prius.

t Mr. Conyngesby, of Wallington, afterwards a Judge.

u Sir John Spelman of Narburgh, afterwards one of the Judges of the King's Bench.

	£.	s.	d.
Īt p^{d} to M^{r} Spelman for his counsell in puttyng in of the answer	—	iij	iiij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} sam daye for y^{e} fyne of y^{e} writt of entre agayn Russell	—	xvj	viij
Īt p^{d} to M^{r} Jermy clarke for wrytyng of the answer in the Dutchy Cham̃	—	—	viij
Īt p^{d} for the wrytt	—	ij	vj
Īt p^{d} for retornyng of the wrytte	—	ij	—
Īt p^{d} for y^{e} recov̄y ageynst Thōs Russell as appere by a bill	—	xxviij	j
Īt p^{d} for serchyng of the quo warranto . . .	—	—	xij
Īt p^{d} to Heydon of y^{e} Duchye for y^{e} copies of M^{r} Bedyngfeld's bylls	—	ij	—
Īt p^{d} to M^{r} Honychurche clerke for wrytyng of y^{e} indentures	—	v	—
Īt p^{d} to Knyghtley, M^{r} Frog̃ton sv̄nt, for wrytyng at my M^{r} comandement	—	—	xij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xvth day of Novembre to M^{r} Knyghtley for his fee & costs of sute for iij termes as appere by a byll . . .	—	xiiij	iij
Īt p^{d} for y^{e} oon half of the costs of the recov̄ye w^{t} y^{e} makyng of the deds & releasses for the man̄s of Thorp, Felhm̃ & Okeley .	iij	ix	ij
Īt p^{d} for a boxe for the wrytyngs	—	—	ij

WAG'S.

. . . . .			
Īt p^{d} to S^{r} Richard Base[x] y^{e} xxvth day of Marche for his quart̄ wag̃s endyd at o^{r} lady daye the Anuñciac̃on aforeseid .	—	xxx	iiij
. . . . .			
Īt̄m p^{d} y^{e} iij^{d} day of Novēbre for ix yerds of tawny cloth for iij lev̄yes p^{r}ce y^{e} yerde for iiij^{s} iiij^{d}	—	xxxix	—
Īt p^{d} for xxiiij yerds of tawny cloth for lev̄yes . .	—	lxxij	—
Īt p^{d} y^{e} same day to y^{e} embrouderer for xij badges .	—	iiij	viij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xjth daye of Novēbre for vj elnes of canvas to trusseyn[y] the stuff homwarde	—	—	xviij
Īt p^{d} for lyne to mayll[y] it w^{t}	—	—	iij
Īt p^{d} for caryeng of y^{e} sam ij fardells to Bishoppegate .	—	—	iiij
Īt̄m p^{d} for caryage therof to Wyndhm̃ . . .	—	iiij	ij

[x] This person was employed in various services for the Lestrange family. He was doubtless a priest, by the appellation Sir, which was commonly bestowed upon the parochial ecclesiastics of that day. The fact of his receiving regular wages is worthy of notice. In p. 435, he is paid "for his costs in fechyng hom of the children from Breckylls." He was probably their tutor.

[y] To pack.

	£.	s.	d.
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xxviijth day of Novẽbre to Wyllm̃ Leman for caryage of the same ij fardells from Wyndhm̃ to Hunstanton . .	—	—	xij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xvth day of Decembre for my wyffs levery of y^{e} yere endyd at Cristmas next comyng	—	xv	—
Īt p^{d} y^{e} iiijth day of January to John Coke for his half yers levery	—	iij	iiij

17 Hen. 8. 1525. RECEYTS.

Inp^{is} rec. the xth daye of Aprill of my master of that money that he receyved of me for the arrearage of myn accounts . .	iiij.^{xx}ij	v	j ob.
Īt rec. the xjth daye of Aprill, of Rob^{t} Reede in ꝑty of payment of his bailywycke of Hunstanton, Holme, Ryngsted, & Hechm̃ .	xxxvj	—	di. q^{r}. —
. . . . .			
Īt rec. of y^{e} seid John Crispe y^{e} same daye for y^{e} ꝑfytts of the toll of Fryng Feyer on Seynt Andrewes daye . . .	—	xiiij	j ob.
. . . . .			
Īt rec. y^{e} xxiiijth day of Decẽbre of y^{e} glover of Walsynghm̃ in ꝑte payment for slawte skynnes [z]	—	xx	vj

The xijth Weke.

. . . . .			
Īt p^{d} to John Patrycke for litill playce . . .	—	—	ij

The xiijth Weke.

Īt p^{d} to Alberd wyffe of Holme for C. eggs . .	—	—	vj
. . . . .			

The xvth Weke.

. . . . .			
Īt p^{d} to the Scotte wyffe of Ryngsted for di. C eggs .	—	—	vj

The xxiiijth Weke.

. . . . .			
Īt p^{d} to deffe John of Thornhm̃ for iiij dussen candell .	—	v	—

The xxviijth Weke.

Īt p^{d} to y^{e} fowler at Corbetts for iij dus^{s} & di. of stynts, v spowes, iij whyte plov̄s, & ij redshanks, & ij sedotterells . .	—	—	xvj

[z] Slawte skynnes ; skins of animals slaughtered. Slawte, the past participle of the old English to sle, or slay.

	£.	s.	d.
It p^d to Hollye wyffe of Holm̃ for a pygge . .	—	—	iiij
It p^d to y^e grete ꝑson of Ryngsted for di. a pork . .	—	—	xx
The xxxviij^th Weke.			
It p^d to Nicholas Grey for a sepye,[a] a redshancke, & a stynte	—	—	ij
It p^d for whyte bredde for to make lech[b] w^t . .	—	—	j
. . . . .			
The xlij^d Weke.			
It p^d at Lynne for a lambe	—	—	xviij
. . . . .			
The xxiij^d Weke.			
Itm p^d at Sturbych Feyer for spices, as appere by a byll .	—	xxiiij	ix
Mutton. It p^d y^e ij^d daye of Maye to Paule Chaunte for xx wethers for y^e kechyn	—	xxxiij	iiij
It p^d y^e sam day to Thom̃s Constable, by the hands of Thom̃s Chaunte, for ix wethers for y^e kechyn . . .	—	xv	—
It p^d y^e xxvj^th day of October to Rob^t Rede for xxiij wethers for y^e kechyn	—	xxxiiij	vj
Wyn. Itm p^d to Thom̃s Myller for oon hoggyshede of rede wyn	—	xxvj	viij
It p^d y^e xxiij daye of January to Thom̃s Myller for an hoggeshed of claryett wyn y^t my M^r hadde of hym agayn Cristmas .	—	xxv	—
It p^d y^e day of M'ch to Thom̃s Curtes for xix gallons of Rynnyshe wyne y^t my M^r hadde agayn Cristmas . .	—	xix	—
Fysshe. It p^d y^e xxiiij^th day of October to Watson for di. C codde	—	xx	—
It p^d y^e sam daye to hym for di. C lynges . . .	—	xlvj	viij
It p^d y^e sam daye to Will'm Cawston for caryage of the same fyshe from Lynne to Hunstanton	—	—	xx
It p^d y^e xxiiij^th day of January to Edward Watson for C codde	—	xliiij	iiij
It p^d to hym for a cade of redde heryngs . . .	—	v	iiij
It p^d to hym for a cade of sparlyng . . .	—	—	xij
It p^d to hym for ij barells of whyte heryngs . .	—	xxv	—

[a] A sea pie.

[b] The Editor of the Forme of Cury interprets "Leches," cakes or pieces. Randal Holme makes Leche to be a kind of jelly made of cream, isinglass, sugar, almonds, &c.

	£.	s.	d.
CARYAGE OF WYN.			
Īt p^{d} y^{e} sam daye to Will'm Cawston for caryeng of y^{e} same from Lynne w^{t} ij hoggeshede of wyn	—	iij	ij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} iiijth day of February to Wyll'm Cawstone for caryeng of a hoggeshed of redd wyn from Lynne, & caryeng of y^{e} said ij hoggishedds to Lynne agayn	—	—	x
COLES.			
Īt̄m p^{d} y^{e} xxviijth day of June to M^{r} Baxters s̄v̄nt of Newcastell for xx chalder of coles	—	cvj	viij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} sam day to Rob^{t} Banyard, Will'm Osborne, & John Cawstone for ij dayes caryeng of y^{e} same coles w^{t} y^{r} bottes from y^{e} shippe to y^{e} shore	—	iij	viij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} sam day to Edward Spens^{r} for ij dayes caryeng p̄te of the same coles from the botes upon the Clyffe . . .	—	ij	—
CATTELL FOR STOORE.			
Īt p^{d} y^{e} sam day of October to S^{r} Raffe Langley p̄son of Ryngsted for a cowe & a calfe	—	viij	—
Īt p^{d} to hym y^{e} sam day for a sowe w^{t} pygge . .	—	iij	iiij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xxiiijth day of October, to y^{e} seid p̄son for a Bole .	—	vij	viij
WAGES FOR THE CARTER.			
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xvth daye of Aprill to Wyll'm the Carter for his q^{r}t̄ wag̃ endyd at Mydsom̄ next comyng	—	v	—
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xviijth day of July to Wyll'm Carter for his wag's from Mydsom̄ unto the seid day	—	—	xx
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xiijth day of Septembre to Symon Thomson y^{e} car̃ for his wag's for harvest from y^{e} xxth day of July unto y^{e} seid day .	—	ix	—
GERE BOUGHT FOR MY MASTER.			
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xxvth day of Aprill to John Man for ij yerds of rybbond for garters for my marster	—	ij	vj
Īt p^{d} to hym for a yerd of lase for hym . . .	—	—	viij
Īt p^{d} to hym for a yerd & di. of sylke chamlett y^{t} ye gaffe M^{rs} Jernynghm̄	—	vj	—
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xiijth day of June by the hands of John Chone for ij payer of hose for my mas̃	—	x	—

	£.	s.	d.
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} same day for ij payer of white shoes . .	—	—	xx
It̄ p^{d} for ij payer of blacke shoes	—	—	xviij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} sam day for ij dussen sylke poynts for hym	—	—	xiiij
It̄ p^{d} for a quar^{t} & y^{e} nayle of blacke velvett for to hemme his gowne	—	iij	iiij
It̄ p^{d} for makyng of my M^{r} gowne	—	ij	ij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} same tyme for ij yerds of bokeram for y^{e} same gowne	—	—	viij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xvijth day of June to Edmund Grome for xij ells of Hollond clothe for sherts for my mas^{t}	—	xxij	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xxvijth day of June to John Sowerman for xij yerds & di. of Kendall for to make my M^{r} a coatte & jerkyn . .	—	xv	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xxviijth day of June to X$\tilde{p}$ofer Pearns, for a horne for my M^{r}	—	viij	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xiiijth day of Sept$\tilde{e}$bre for ... yerds of russett carsey for hosyng for my mas^{t}	—	xvj	viij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} same day for a blacke button'd cappe . .	—	ij	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} vjth day of October to Tho$\tilde{m}$s Neve, for a bonnett of blacke velvett for my master	—	xiij	iiij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xvijth daye of October for xij yerds of russett cotton, for coatte for my M^{r}	—	viij	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} same day for vij yerds & di. of blacke lynyng for the same coatte	—	v	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} same daye for iij yerds of whyte fustyan for a doblett for my M^{r}	—	iij	—
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} same day for iij yerds of whyte fustyan for lynyng for the same doblett	—	—	xviij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} xvjth day of Nov$\tilde{e}$bre to Rob^{t} Taillo^{r}, for makyng of my M^{r} coatte of russett cotton	—	iij	—
. . . . .			
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} vijth day of January to John Manne, for j lb. of gonepowder for my M^{r}	—	—	xij
It̄ p^{d} to hym for di. a quar^{t} of camerycke . . .	—	—	iiij
. . . . .			
It̄ p^{d} for dressyng of my M^{r} Styveles coatte of velvett & clothe a golde	—	—	viij
It̄ p^{d} to hym for makyng of a payer of fovstockes & placard	—	—	iiij
It̄ p^{d} to Tho$\tilde{m}$s Neve for trymmyng of my M^{rs} armyng sword	—	iiij	iiij
It̄ p^{d} for a cappe y^{t} my M^{r} gaffe to S^{r} John Cressen$\tilde{e}$, knyght	—	iiij	iiij
It̄ p^{d} for a payer of voyded^{c} y^{t} my M^{r} gaffe y^{e} seid S^{r} John	—	—	x

c. *Sic.*

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
MONEY D'D TO MY M'.			
It dd ye xxvijth day of Aprill to my masr, for to pay Robt Coote for his blacke geldyng that he bought of mastr Jernynghm .	iiij	—	—
. . . . .			
It dd to John Rosse ye vth day of June at my Mers comandement for a horsse yt dyed at Burye	—	ij	ix
It dd ye xviijth day of June to my Mr by the hands of my mastress whan he went to Bakonsthorp to Sr John Heydon[d] . .	—	xx	—
It dd ye vth day of July to my Mr, by the hands of my mastres, whan he rode of our Ladye of Grace warde . . .	vj	xiij	iiij
It dd ye xxvth day of August to my masr whan he rode to mete wt my lorde of Norff'	iiij	—	—
It dd ye last daye of Septembre to my Mr to giffe a pdon of Seynt Thoms in	—	—	j
It dd to hym ys vjth day of October, to send to my lady Chenyes,[e] to giffe his nevy Ric	—	—	iiij
It dd to hym ye xvjth day of October to giffe Randolphys boye, for bryngyng of a grehounde byche from Wyllm a Grene of Snetishm	—	—	ij
It dd ye xixth day of October to my Mr whan ye rode to receyve Mrs Elizabeth money	—	xx	—
It dd ye xvijth day of Novembre to my Mrs, at my Mrs comandement, whan he rode to Felbrigge	—	xl	—
It dd ye viijth day of Decembre to my Mr for to giffe ye pdon of ye Trinite of Walsoken	—	—	j
It dd on Seynt Thoms Evyn ye Apostle, to my Mr for to pley at cards wt Mr Robt Townshende	—	iij	iiij
It dd on Seynt Thoms day at nyght to my Mr to pley at cards wt Mr Robt Townshende	—	iij	iiij
It dd to my Mr ye iiijth day of January, for to pay Sr John Cressen for money yt my Mr borowyd of hym . . .	—	xx	—
It dd ye vijth day of January to my Mr yt he gaffe to ye minstrells	—	—	xij

[d] The Heydons of Baconsthorpe were amongst the most distinguished of the knightly families of Norfolk. This Sir John Heydon died in 1551, aged 82. Sir Roger Lestrange, uncle of Sir Thomas, married Ann Heydon his sister.

[e] The mention of Lady Cheney and her family here and elsewhere, seems to indicate a relationship to the Lestranges at this period; though it is not discoverable by what connexion.

	£.	s.	d.
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} viijth day of Septẽbre to Wyllm̃ Shawe, for a baye horsse y^{t} my M^{r} bought of hym	—	liij	iiij
It̄ p^{d} y^{e} ij^{d} day of Octobre at Tittilshale for a grey ambelyng geldyng for my M^{r}	—	liij	iiij
It̄ dd̄ y^{e} xjth day of January to my M^{r} in S^{r} John Cressen̄ howse at Norwiche	—	xl	—
It̄ dd̄ y^{e} xvjth day of m̄che to my M^{r} y^{t} he gaffe to y^{e} Fryers at Thetford at y^{e} Cises	—	—	iiij
It̄ dd̄ on Es^{t} Evyn to my M^{r} for to offer . . .	—	—	vj
It̄ dd̄ on Es^{t} Tuesday to my M^{r} for to giffe Willm Crispe for fyndyng of an hare	—	—	ij
It̄ dd̄ y^{e} vijth day of April to my M^{r} whan he rode to Reynhm̃ to M^{r} Jenny to mète w^{t} M^{r} Wooton	—	xx	—
The iij^{d} Weke.			
It̄ p^{d} to John Manne for v yerds of rẽdde sarcenett for a curten of a bedde	—	xviij	iiij
It̄ p^{d} to hym for vj yerds of satten of Bryges for a bedde .	—	xiij	—
The xxiij^{d} Weke.			
(Allo^{r} in comp'o p̄x. A^{o}. xvij H. viij.) It̄ p^{d} at Styrbyche feyer for a fetherbedde & a bolster & a cov̄yng of tap̄strey worke, ij materasses, ij bolsters & ij cov̄lyts for them	—	xvij	viij
It̄ p^{d} for a carpette for y^{e} borde in y^{e} p̄lour . .	—	v	—
The xxvjth Weke.			
It̄ p^{d} to Thom̃s Neve for a carpette for y^{e} p̄lo^{ur} that he payed to mastres Wootton	—	x	—
The xxxix Weke.			
It̄ p^{d} to John Manne for viij yerds of sarcenett for p̄te of a curten for a bedde at iij^{s}. viij^{d} y^{e} yerd	—	xxix	iiij
The xl Weke.			
(Allo^{r} in Comp'o Hospicij A^{o} xvij H. viij.) It̄ p^{d} to Gilhm̃ de Vewe for ij dussen napkyngs of co^{r}se dyaper . . .	—	viij	—
It̄ p^{d} to James Porter for xvj elles of canvas for borde clothes for y^{e} hall	—	vj	—
The xliiijth Weke.			
It̄ p^{d} for chaungyng of di. a dussen sylv̄ spones . .	—	iij	vj
It̄ p^{d} for a hamp & a locke for y^{e} same . . .	—	—	x

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The l. Weke.			
(Allor in Comp'o fac' Ao xvij Hen. viij.) It̃ pd to ye Peynter of Elmhm̃ for gildyng & peyntyng of my Mrs armes upon the fanes of the bedde in the grete cham̃	—	vj	—
It̃ pd ye same weke to Thom̃s Goode for makyng of ye curteyn irons of the same bedde	—	—	xvj
The xxiijd Weke.			
It̃ pd to a kele for caryage hom of ye beddyng & ye leveryes from Styrbych feyer to Hunstanton	—	ij	vj
. . . . .			
It̃ pd ye xvth day of Aprill to the Vycar for ye boye of ye stabill & the boye of the kechyn iiij offeryngs dayes . . .	—	—	iiij
PURCHASE OF LOND.			
It̃ pd ye xijth day of Aprill to Thom̃s Russell in full payment for all the howse & londs that my mas̃ bought of hym in Hech'm .	xviij	—	—
It̃ pd ye vijth daye of Maye to John Ballard of Snetishm̃ in p̃te of payment for a Closse called a Pightell in Snetishm̃ aforeseid	—	vj	viij
It̃ pd ye vth day of July to John Ballard of Snetishm̃ in full payment for ye seid Close yt my mas̃ bought of hym . . .	—	vj	viij
It̃ pd to Wyll'm Sutton for makyng of the dede of ye seid Close	—	—	viij
It̃ pd ye xxvijth day of October to Thom̃s Smyth of Cocklecley for that londe that was Burgess in Tychewell yt my Mr bought of hym wt the costs of the sute for the recov̄y of it . . .	xxix —	— xij	— xj
CORNE BOUGHT FOR THE HOWSE.			
(Allor in comp̃o fac. Ao xvij H. viij.) It̃ pd ye xijth day of Aprill to Robt Pep̃ for x combz of wheate to bedd̃ on Hunstanton by Candelm̃s next comyng	—	xxiij	iiij
It̃ pd ye xviijth day of June to Nicholas Smyth for x combz mexstelyn to be dd̃ betwen Hallowm̃s & Christmas next comyng .	—	xv	—
It̃ pd ye xvth day of July to Clement Sporne of Ryngsted, in p̃te of payment of xxij acres of corne upon ye grounde af̃ iijs viijd ye acr. & he to felle it & make it redy & to inne it hymself. . .	—	xxxiij	iiij
. . . . .			

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} ixth day of August to Clement Sporne, in p̄te of payment of his corne aforeseid	—	vj	viij
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} xiijth day of August to y^{e} Vicar of Holme for the tythe of Holme folde	xv	—	—
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} vijth day of Septẽbre to Clement Sporne in full payment of his corne aforseid	—	xl	—

COSTS OF HEY.

Iẗm p^{d} y^{e} xxviijth day of June to Edmũd Mareson & John Cornell for mowyng of y^{e} northmedow, y^{e} clowt-howse, y^{e} chace, & y^{e} litill medowe	—	iiij	vj
Iẗm p^{d} y^{e} xxviijth day of June to Thomas Goode for heye y^{t} cam from litill Ryngsted	—	iij	iiij
Iẗm p^{d} y^{e} sam day to John Cornell for caryeng of y^{e} same heye & for ij lode of hey oute of y^{e} northmedowe . . .	—	—	viij
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} iiijth day of July to Wyllm Raven for iij lode of hey	—	ix	—
Iẗm p^{d} y^{e} same day to —— Noke of Hechm̃ for a lode of hey	—	ij	vj
Iẗm p^{d} y^{e} vjth day of July to Wyllm̃ Raven for ij lodes of hey	—	v	viij
Iẗm p^{d} y^{e} same day to Thom̃s Goode for a lode of hey .	—	iij	viij
Iẗm p^{d} y^{e} xvth day of July to —— Manser of Hechm̃ for iiij lodes & di. of hey	—	xiij	iiij

The viijth Weke.

Iẗm p^{d} to Wyllm̃ Yong for maltyng of lviij combe of malt that was dd̃ to Rob^{t} Grome for to brewe for y^{e} howse . . .	—	xij	—

The xxth Weke.

Iẗm dd̃ to Rob^{t} Grome for to brewe for y^{e} howse for this yere of my M^{r} owen malte . . . . . xvj combe malte.

The xxvjth Weke.

Iẗm dd̃ to Rob^{t} Grome of myn owen malte for to brewe xl combe for y^{e} howse p'ce eṽy combe xviij^{d}. Sm̃. . . .	—	lx	—
Iẗm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Grome for a hayer y^{t} he made my M^{rs} malt w^{t}	—	x	vj

M^{d}. that y^{e} xxiij day of February in y^{e} xvijth yere of the reign of Kyng Henry the viijth Rob^{t} Grome owyth for y^{e} malte y^{t} he have receyved afor that day . . . . . lxj barells of bere.

COSTS OF MAKYNG OF THE NEWE BERNE AT FRYNGE.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm p^{d} y^{e} xxvjth day of Aprill to ——— in pty of payment for dyggyng of c lode of stone for a newe barne at Fryng . .	—	iiij	iiij
Itm p^{d} y^{e} vijth day of May to Herry Russell at my M^{rs} comandement for strawe for thakke for y^{e} same berne . . .	—	xx	—
Itm p^{d} y^{e} last day of Maye to Thom̃s Coteman of Houghton in pty of payment for lyme for the berne at Fryng . . .	—	xxvj	ij
Itm p^{d} y^{e} first day of June to John Matles of Hychehm̃ in pte of payment of a newe roffe for the berne at Fryng . .	iiij	—	—
Itm p^{d} y^{e} ij^{d} day of June to John Ferrour & Edmund Page, for dyggyng of xxxij lode of stone at y^{e} olde Douffehouse in Fryng & caryeng of y^{e} same stone from thens to y^{e} newe Berne .	—	iij	v
Itm p^{d} to them y^{e} sam day for caryeng of vj lodes of sonde	—	—	v
Itm p^{d} to John Ferrour for caryeng of xxv lods of stone fro' y^{e} Calkpytte to the berne	—	—	xvj
Itm p^{d} y^{e} iij^{d} day of June to Wyllm̃ Gedney in pty of payment for makyng of the berne walle at Fryng	—	vj	viij
Itm p^{d} the xvth day of June to Wyllm̃ Gedney mason in pty of payment for makyng of the barne walles at Frynge . .	—	xx	—
Itm p^{d} y^{e} xxviijth day of June to John Ferro^{r} for dyggyng & caryeng of xij lode of stone from y^{e} Northall to y^{e} newe berne . .	—	—	xviij
Itm p^{d} y^{e} same day to hym for caryeng of vij lodes of stone from the Calkpytte to the berne	—	—	v
Itm p^{d} y^{e} same day to hym for dyggyng & caryeng of ij lode of sonde	—	—	iij
Itm p^{d} y^{e} same day to hym for caryeng of viij lode of sonde y^{t} Wyllm̃ Mason dygged & ij lode y^{t}	—	—	ix
Itm p^{d} y^{e} fyrst day of July to Wyllm̃ Mason in pte of payment for makyng of the seid berne walle	—	xx	—
Itm p^{d} y^{e} same day to hym for dyggyng of viij lode of sonde	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} to hym y^{e} same day for a towe for stagyng lynes .	—	—	ix
Itm p^{d} y^{e} iiijth day of July to Thom̃s Co'teman by the hands of Wyllm̃ Robards in pte of payment for lyme for Fryng berne	—	xx	—
Itm p^{d} y^{e} vjth day of July to Nicholas Constable & —— Cadyman in pte of payment for dyggyng of stone for Fryng berne walle .	—	iij	iiij
It p^{d} y^{e} same day to Cowle Chaunte for cc reede for y^{e} same berne	—	vj	ij
It p^{d} y^{e} xvth day of July to Wyllm̃ Mason for makyng of the berne walle at Frynge	—	xiij	iiij

	£.	s.	d.
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} same day to Thom̃s Corteman of Houghton by the hands of Powle Chaunte in p̄te of payment for lyme for Frynge berne .	—	vj	viij
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} xxth day of July to Thõs Corteman by the hands of Wyllm̃ Robards in p̄te of payment for Frynge berne . .	—	xx	—
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} sam day to John Ferro^{r} for caryeng of xliiij lode of stone from y^{e} Calpytte to y^{e} berne y^{t} Ryngsted men dyggyd . .	—	ij	viij
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} same day to hym for caryeng xx lode of sonde .	—	—	xx
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} same day to Nicholas Constable & —— Cadyman in full paymẽt for dyggyng of xliiij lode of stone & for makyng of the stone pytte	—	ij	x
Iẗ p^{d} to John Crispe of Dokkyng for costs of the fetchyng hom of the berne roffe from Hychehm̃ to Frynge . . .	—	iij	—
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} vth day of August to John Ferro^{r} for caryeng & dyggyng of x lodes of clay for rabettyng of y^{e} berne wall at Frynge .	—	ij	—
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} ixth day of August to Thom̃s Corteman of Houghton in full payment for xxv chalder of lyme at iij^{s}. vj^{d}. y^{e} chalder .	—	xx	x
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} same day to Wyllm̃ Mason in p̄te of payment for his wage for makyng of the berne walle at Frynge . . .	—	vj	viij
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} same day to hym for dyggyng of xx lode of sonde .	—	ij	vj
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} xxvijth day of August to Wyllm̃ Rose of Sedgford in p̄te of payment for thackyng the Frynge berne . . .	—	xiij	iiij
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} vijth day of Septẽbre to Wyllm̃ Rose in p̄te of payment for thackyng of the newe berne at Frynge . . .	—	xiij	iiij
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} same day to Thom̃s Goode for hengells, verdolls, & hoks, hespes & staples, for y^{e} same berne	—	vj	vij
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} vjth day of October to John Matlas of Lychehm̃ in full payment for the roffe of the new berne at Frynge . .	—	xl	—
Iẗ p^{d} to hym y^{e} same day for xl bunche of pricke wands & harchyngs	—	vj	viiij
Iẗ p^{d} to hym for caryeng a lode of tymber from Lychehm̃ to Frynge	—	—	xx
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} vij day of October to Symon Lynne of Sedgford for a m^{l} rye strawe for Frynge berne	—	iij	iiij
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} xxvij day of October to Rob^{t} Shyrwyn for a m^{l} rye strawe	—	iij	iiij
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} xth day of Novẽbre to Thom̃s Co^{r}teman, for vj chalder of lyme w^{t} the caryage from Houghton to Fryng bern . .	—	xix	—
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} same day to Wyllm̃ Rose in full payment for thakkyng the newe berne at Frynge	—	xxvj	viij
Iẗ p^{d} y^{e} xvth day of Novẽbre to Henry Russell for ij lode of strawe	—	—	xviij

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xxvjth day of Novẽbre to Richard Alman for strewing of strawe at Fryng berne	—	iiij	—
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xxvth day of M'che to Stede y^{e} wryght, by the hands of Paule Chaunte, in ꝑte of payment for y^{e} setting up of y^{e} berne at Frynge agayne	—	xiij	iiij

RYDYNG COSTS.

Īt p^{d} for yo^{r} horsmete at Stanhowe whan ye satte ther upon the Commission the iiijth day of Maye	—	—	v
. . . . .			
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xiijth day of Septẽbre for my cost in rydyng to Styrbyche feyer for to bye stuffe for y^{e} house, & hom agayn . .	—	viij	—
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xijth day of Novembre to John Chone for his costs in rydyng to Swaffham to S^{r} John Awdeley for money iij tymes .	—	—	viij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} vth daye of Novẽbre that Mr. Willm̃ gaffe to menne y^{t} stode bye for to dryncke, to bere witness whan ye toke possession of the chapell at Dasynghm̃	—	—	iiij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} xxij^{d} day of Decẽbre for Thom̃s Pedder costs whan y^{e} sent hym to Walsynghm̃ for to bye plovs, and for Rynnyshe wyn	—	—	x
Īt p^{d} y^{e} same day for Rob^{t} Redes horsmete y^{t} caryed M^{rs} Elizabeth money to Norwiche	—	—	xij

FEES OF COUNSELL AND REWARDS, W^{t} COSTS OF SUTE.

Īt p^{d} y^{e} last day of December to Xp̃ofer Jenny esquyer, for his fee of y^{e} half yere endyd at Michaelm̃s last past . . .	—	xxvj	viij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} vjth day of February to M^{r} Spylman, for his counsell for Howem garetts in Sturston	—	iij	iiij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} same day to M^{r} Knyghtley for his fees, & for having oute of a recordare for Sturston, & for his fees y^{t} wer owyng hym y^{e} yere afor, as appere by a bill	—	xj	x
Īt p^{d} y^{e} vijth day of M'che to my lorde of Brynckenell for y^{e} knowlege of the releasse of M^{s} Woodhous & M^{rs} Banyard at Thetford at y^{e} Cises for Rustens in Snetishm̃	—	vj	viij
Īt p^{d} y^{e} same day to his clerke for his fees . . .	—	ij	—
Īt p^{d} y^{e} same daye to M^{r} Whyte for his counsell in y^{t} mat	—	iij	iiij

	£.	s.	d.
PAYE TO THE KYNG.			
It dd ye vjth day of Februar' to Thoms Neve for to pay the Kyng his money	x	—	—
GERE BOUGHT FOR MR. NICHOLAS.			
It pd ye vjth day of Novembre to Thoms Neve at my masts comandement for gere yt he bought for Mr Nicholas at London & for his comons	iij	vj	viij
It pd ye xvth day of October for viij yerds of russett cotton for a coate for Mr. Nicholas	—	v	iiij
It pd ye same day for viij yerds of the same for Mr Cresseñ	—	v	iiij
It pd ye xvij day of October to ye shomaker of Holme for a payer of pynson showes for Mr Cresseñ	—	—	v
It pd ye xvjth day of Novẽbre to Robt Taillor for makyng of a coatte of russett cotton for Mr Nicholas	—	ij	vj
It pd ye same daye to hym for makyng of a coatte of russett cotton for Mast Cresseñ	—	ij	vj
It pd ye same daye to hym for makyng of a peyer of hose for Mr Cresseñ of carnacon coler & lynyng for them . .	—	—	viij
It pd ye same daye to hym for makyng mete of my Mr coatte of blacke cotton for master Cresseñ	—	—	iiij
It pd ye vijth day of January to John Manne for a payer of shoes for my Mr	—	—	ix
It pd ye same day to John Manne for di. an elle of russet satten for Mr Cresseñ	—	ij	vj
It pd ye xxiiijth day of January to Robt Taillor for makyng of ij peyer of hose for Mr Nicholas	—	—	vij
It pd to hym for makyng of a jerkyn for hym . .	—	—	iiij
It pd to hym for makyng of a coatte of damaske for Mr Nic'.	—	—	xij
It pd to hym ye same day for makyng of a peyer of hose for Mr Cressener	—	—	iiij
It pd to hym for dressyng of a coatte for Mr Cresseñ .	—	—	iiij
It pd to hym for dressyng of ij peyer of hose for Mr Cresseñ	—	—	iij
It pd ye xviijth day of M'che for a yerde of whyte cloth to stocke Mr Cresseñ payer of hose	—	—	xx
A SERVANT'S BILL.			
It pd for botthyer fro' Santhe maryou'as [f] to the Tempol .	—	—	ij
It to the barber	—	—	ij

[f] St. Mary Overy's.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itē for botthyer to my lord Cardinall frō the Tempoll .	—	—	iiij
Itē for botthyer frō Grenweche agayn . . .	—	—	xij
Itē for the cambor att Grenweche	—	—	xviij
Itē for bothehyer whan ye senthe frō Grenweche to London	—	—	viij
Itē for bothehyher whan ye cham from Grenweche to ye Tempoll	—	—	viij
Itē for bothe hyere to my lord Cardinall & to the Tempol agayne	—	—	iiij
Itē for botthyer to Grenweche on Senthe Thoms hefne .	—	—	xij
Itē for bothe heyher to my lorde frō the Tempol . .	—	—	ij
Itē for bothe hyheyr on Syn Thoms day to Grenwech .	—	—	viij
Itē for your botth the nexthe day to London frō Greynwech	—	—	iiij
Itē for the chambor that tyme att Grenweche . .	—	—	xij
Itē to the sadaler for mendyng of yor sadyl . .	—	ij	—
Itē for you' fethers	—	—	x
Itē pd for brede and botter & dryncke for you' brekfast .	—	—	iiij
Itē for dythyng of the horsse att Newmarket . .	—	—	j
Itē for charrys & beskethys the day aft Saynthe Thoms .	—	—	viij
Itē for a cappe for you	—	—	ij

. . . . . .

This booke make mencon of all mañ of expence spent in the howse from the xxiiijth day of March in the xviijth yere of the reign of Henry the VIIIth, by the Grace of God, Kyng of England and of Fraunce, Defender of the Feyth, and Lorde of Ireland, unto the next accounts.

The first Weke.

Sonday. Itm a samon trouthe	—	—	ij
Munday. Itē a samon trouthe	—	—	ij
Itē a pyke of gist	—	—	—

Tuesday, Wedynsday, Thursday, Fryday, Saday.

Itē spent in the same weke xij coddes iiijs vjd, ij lyngs & di. xxijd ob. Sm̃.	—	vj	iiij ob.
Itē in flathe	—	ij	xj
Itē ij freshe coddes	—	ij	—
Itē in playce	—	—	xvij
Itē a salt samon & di.	—	ij	—
Itē iij salt eeles xijd. Itm a brett xvjd. Sm̃. . .	—	ij	iiij
Itē in butt vij caks of store	—	—	—
Itē in myxtelyn a quart	—	iij	iiij

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Īt in wheatt a quarꝰ	—	iiij	viij
Īt in bere v barrells	—	v	x
Īt in candell viij lb.	—	—	x

Sꝑungꝭ in yᵉ same weke.

Masꝰ Mordond & his wyff [g] iij dayes
Masꝰ Banyard & Mʳ Pearne iiij dayes
Masꝰ Thoms Manne v dayes
Īt my Masꝰ Audyte the same weke

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist and store . xxxijˢ ob.

The ijᵈ Wek. Sꝑungꝭ in the same weke.

Masꝰ Thoms Tylney j daye

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist and store . xixˢ ijᵈ ob.

The iijᵈ Weke. Sꝑungꝭ in the same weke.

My lorde prioʳ of Norwiche [h] j daye
Mʳ Thoms Tylney iij dayes

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xxjˢ ob.

The iiijᵗʰ Weke. Sꝑungꝭ in the same weke.

Masꝰ Prioʳ of yᵉ Awsten Fryers of Lynne
Masꝰ Medowe & the Vicar ij dayes.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . lijˢ vᵈ

The vᵗʰ Weke.

Īt a buttonr [i] kylled wᵗ yᵉ crosbowe . . . — — —

Sꝑungꝭ in the same weke.

Masꝰ Prioʳ of Cockeford & Mʳ Flete ij dayes
Masꝰ Medowe & Mʳ Vicar iiij dayes
Masꝰ Pearne ij dayes

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist and store . xixˢ ijᵈ ob.

The vjᵗʰ Weke. Sꝑungꝭ in the same weke.

Mʳ Pearn ij dayes

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist and store . xixˢ jᵈ qʳ.

[g] Robert Mordaunt, Esq. who married Mary daughter and heir of John Lestrange, Esq. of Little Massingham, Norfolk.

[h] William Castleton last Prior, and first Dean of Norwich.

[i] A bittern?

The vijth Weke. Workefolks in y^{e} same weke.
John Stede & Skyppon y^{e} carpents y^{e} hole weke.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xv^{s} j^{d} q^{r}.

The viijth Weke. Stungs in the same Weke.
M^{r} Curson ij dayes
M^{r} Augustyn Styward [a] & his wyffe, yong
M^{r} Rede of Bekylls & his syst' ij dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke besides gist & store . xviij^{s} iiij^{d}.

The ixth Weke.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xvj^{s} vij^{d}.

The xth Weke.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xix^{s} ij^{d}.

The xjth Weke.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xv^{s} ij^{d}.

The xijth Weke.

Tuesdaye.	It a hernsewe & xij rabbetts of store . .	—	—	—
Thursdaye.	It ij hernsewes & xij rabbetts of store . .	—	—	—

Stungs in the same weke.
My lady Boleyn [b] & M^{r} Edmund Knevett & his wyffe j daye
Mast Pearn & his wyffe iij dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke besyde gist and store . xxj^{s} ij^{d}.

The xiijth Weke.

Munday.	It a hernsewe & xij rabbetts of store . .	—	—	—
Tuesdaye.	It a hernesewe & vij rabetts of store . .	—	—	—
Thursdaye.	It a hernesewe, a pygge, & xij rabetts of store	—	—	—
	. . . . .			
It dī a bucke of store	. . . . .	—	—	—
It in bere v barrells & dī	. . . . .	—	vj	v

Stungs in y^{e} same weke.
My lady Bedyngfield,[c] S^{r} Thoms Lovell & hys wyffe [d]
M^{r} Franc Lovell [e] & hys wyffe iij dayes

[a] Augustin Steward, Alderman of Norwich, married Elizabeth daughter of William Rede of Beccles, gent.

[b] Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, wife of Sir Thomas Boleyn, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire, and mother of Queen Anne Boleyn.

[c] Grace daughter of Henry Lord Marney, wife of Sir Thomas Bedingfield of Oxborough, Knt.

[d] Sir Thomas Lovell of Barton Bendish, and Catherine daughter of Sir Thomas Woodhouse of Kimberley, Knt.

[e] Sir Thomas Lovell's brother.

Mr John Lovell & Mr Edward Lovell[f] iij dayes
Mastres Hastyngs[g] & Mr Coote & hys wyffe[h] ye hole weke.
And so the sum of thys weke besyde gist and store . xxiiijs iijd.

The xvijth Weke. Stungs in the same weke.
Mastres Hastynges iij dayes
Mast Coote & his wyffe iiij dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xiiijs ijd

The xviijth Weke.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xs ijd ob.

The xixth Weke.
And so the sum of thys weke besyde gist & store . ixs vd ob.

The xxth Weke. Stungs in the same weke.
Mr Curson & his wyffe vj dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke besyde gist & store . xvs iijd ob.

The xxjst Weke. Stungs in the same weke.
Sr Edward Knevett Knyght v dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke besyde gist & store . xxs iiid

The xxijd Weke.
And so the sum of thys weke besyde gist & store . xijs xd

The xxiijd Weke.
It ij malards. Kylled wt the crossbowe . . . — — —
It vj rabetts of store & ij ptriches kylled wt ye spẽr hawke . — — —
. . . . . .
It spent in ye same weke in beffe v stone . . . — ij xj

Stungs in the same Weke.
Mr Pearne & his wyffe iiij dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke besyde gist & store . xiiijs jd

The xxiiijth Weke. Stungs in the same weke.
My lord Abbott of Ramsey j daye.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xvijs iijd ob.

The xiiijth Weke.
Sonday. It ij dussen larkes . . . . — — —

[f] These were nephews of Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G.

[g] Catherine sister of Sir Thomas Lestrange, wife of Hugh Hastings of Elsing and Gressenhall, afterwards a knight.

[h] Probably Richard Coote of Blo-Norton, Esq. and Margaret Calthorpe his wife.

	£.	s.	d.
Munday. It̄ ij grene gees v^{d}. & v checons v^{d}. Sm̃a .	—	—	x
It̄ a pygge, iij hernesewes & xvj rabetts of store.			
Thursday. It̄ a fawne & ij hernsewes & xiiij rabetts of store.			
It̄ ij freshe samons of gist	—	—	—

Stungs in y^{e} same Weke.

M^{r} Hastyngs & his wyffe v dayes
M^{r} Edmũd Knevett & his wyffe the hole weke
M^{r} Xp'ofer Coote & his wyffe y^{e} hole weke.

And so the sum of this weke besyde gist & store . xx^{s} iij^{d} ob.

The xvth Weke. Stungs in y^{e} same weke.

My lady Robsart & M^{r} Stede j daye
Mast̄ Hastyngs j daye & his wyffe y^{e} hole weke
Mast̄ Edmũd Knevett & his wyffe iij dayes
Mast̄ Coote & his wyffe y^{e} hole weke.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist and store . xviij^{s} v^{d} ob.

The xvjth Weke. Stungs in y^{e} same weke.

My lorde Suffrynghm̃ [i] iij dayes
Mast̄ Henry Wynter iij dayes.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xv^{s} vj^{d}

The xxvth Weke. Stungs in y^{e} same weke.

Mast̄ Robsart & M^{r} Seymer j daye
Mast̄ Neve iiij dayes.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xvjs vj^{d} ob. q^{r}.

The xxvjth Weke. Stungs in y^{e} same weke.

My lorde Prio^{r} of Walsynghm̃ ij dayes
Mast̄ Robsart & mast̄ Neve v dayes
Mast̄ Pearn & his wyffe iij dayes.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xxij^{s} viij ob.q^{r}.

The xxvijth Weke.

Sonday. It̄ a swanne & ij malards kylled w^{t} y^{e} crosbowe.

Stungs in y^{e} same weke.

Mast̄ Robsart, M^{r} Yelverton [k] & his wyffe, M^{r} John Wutton.[l]

[i] Qu. Lord Abbat of Sempringham in Lincolnshire ?

[k] William Yelverton of Rougham, Esq. and Anne his wife, daughter of Sir Henry Fermor of East Barsham.

[l] John Wootton, Esq. of Tuddenham, who married Elizabeth sister of Sir Thomas Lestrange.

Mr Wyllm̃ Fermõ m & Mr Neve iij dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist and store . xixs ixd qr.

The xxviijth Weke. Stungs in ye same weke.

Mr Banyard & Mr Brown of Lynne j daye
Mr Pearn & his wyffe iij dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xviijs jd ob.

The xxixth Weke. Stungs in ye same weke.

Mr Forster ye Kyngs sv̄nt j day
It̄ Petur Johnson, Mr ꝑson of Woolv̄ton, &
ye ꝑson of Newton & yꝰ Compeny ij dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xvjs iiijd

The xxxth Weke. Stungs in ye same weke.

Mast̄ Henry Morgan j daye
Mast̄ Neve j daye.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xvjs vjd

The xxjst Weke.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xijs xd ob.

The xxxijd Weke.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xiiijs vijd

The xxxiijd Weke.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xij iiijd

The xxxiiijth Weke.

Tuesday. It̄m a brante . . . . . — — ij
It̄ a pecock & v conyes of store . . . . — — —

Stungs in ye same weke.
Master John Wutton j daye.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xiiijs

The xxxvth Weke.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xiiijs iiijd ob.

The xxxvjth Weke. Stungs in the same weke.

Mast̄ Pearn j daye.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xiiij iijd ob.

m Eldest son of Sir Henry Fermor of East Barsham, Knt.

The xxxvijth Weke. Stungs in y^{e} same weke.

Mast̃ Pearn j daye.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xv^{s}. iij^{d} ob.

The xxxviijth Weke.

It̄ a curlewe v^{d}. iij teles & iij stynts iij^{d}. & iij plovs vj^{d}.

Stungs in y^{e} same weke.

Mast̃ Robsart, Mast̃ Pearn, Mast̃ Symonds, & John Manne iij dayes, & Mast̃ Brown ij dayes.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xix^{s} iij^{d} ob. q^{r}.

The xxxixth weke.

It̄ iiij malards & a crane kylled w^{t} the crosbowe . . — — —

It̄ vj plovs xij^{d}. iiij redshancks ij^{d}. Sm̃a . . . — — xiiij

Stungs in y^{e} same weke.

Mast̃ Robsart j daye

Mast̃ Pearn & Mast̃ Symonds ij dayes

It̄ John Manne & ..... j daye.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xviij^{s}.

The xlth Weke. Cristmas Weke.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xxxviij^{s} x^{d}

The xljst Weke.

Tuesday. It̄ a swanne & vij conyes of store . . — — —

Wedynsday. It̄ viij malards, a bustard & j hernsewe kylled w^{t} y^{e} crosbowe.

Cristm̄s. And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store lxxxv^{s} v^{d}

The xlij^{d} Weke. Stungs in y^{e} same weke.

Mast̃ Wyllm̃ Fermo^{r} ij dayes

Mastres Pearn iij dayes.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xx^{s} vij^{d} ob.

The xliij^{d} Weke. Stungs in the same weke.

Mast̃ Banyard iiij dayes

Mast̃ Pearne & his wyffe iiij dayes.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xxvij^{s} j^{d} ob. q^{r}.

The xliiijth Weke.

And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xxiiij^{s} vij^{d} q^{r}.

The xlvth Weke. Stungs in the same weke.
Maistres Hastyngs iij dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . xx^{s} j^{d} ob.

The xlvjth Weke. Stungs in the same weke.
Mastres Hastyngs y^{e} hole weke & M^{r} Inglowse iiij dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . ——

The xlvijth Weke. Stungs in y^{e} same weke.
M^{r} Wymondhm̃ [n] & M^{r} Castyll [o] j daye
Mastres Hastyngs & M^{r} Ingloure y^{e} hole weke.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . ——

The xlviijth Weke. Stungs in y^{e} same weke.
M^{r} Edward Knevett & M^{r} Banyard iiij dayes
Mastres Hastyngs v dayes
Mast̃ Edmũd Wymondhm̃ M^{r} Castle &
M^{r} Inglowse ij dayes
It̃ the wyffes of the towne [p] j daye.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . ——

The xlixth Weke. Stungs in y^{e} same weke.
S^{r} Edward Knevett & M^{r} Banyard iiij dayes
Mastres Hastyngs v dayes
Mast̃ Edmũd Wymondhm̃ j daye
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . ——

The lth Weke. Stungs in y^{e} same weke (none).
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . ——

The ljst Weke. Stungs in y^{e} same weke.
Mast̃ Neve iiij dayes
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . ——

The lij^{d} Weke. Stungs in y^{e} same weke.
Mast̃ Penyson & j daye
Mast̃ Pearn & his wyffe v dayes
Mast̃ Stede j daye
Mast̃ Neve v dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . ——

[n] Edmund son of Sir Thomas Windham. [o] John Castle of Raveningham, Esq.
[p] The women of Hunstanton.

The first Weke. Straungs in the same weke.

Mast̄ Curson ij dayes
It̄ my Mrs mydwyffe & her wyffes ye hole weke.q
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . —

The ijd Weke. Straungs in the same weke.

Mast̄ John Wutton iij dayes
Master Banyard v dayes.
And so the sum of thys weke beside gist & store . —

No. 8.—1530.

	£.	s.	d.
The xiijth Weke.			
It̄ pd to John Siff for xviij stoon of beef at viijd the stoon .	—	xij	—
. . . . .			
For ye wurkfolks at Hecham. It̄ pd to hym for butt' & eggs xd, & for bredd for yor wurkefolkes at Hechm̄ . . .	—	—	xiiij
The xxviijth Weke.			
. . . . .			
It̄ pd to him for a neats souse	—	v	x

The xxxiiijth Weke.

Straungers.—My Lord Fytzwater,r Mr Calthorpe, Mr Xp'ofer Conyngsby,s George Cresseñ, and the King's pleyers.

The xxxvth Weke.

Straungers.—Mr Calthorp, Mr Conysby, Mr Cressnall, Mrs Perne.

The xxxvijth Weke.

Straungers.—Mr Calthorp, Mr Conysby, Mr Pryour, Mr Woodhouse.

q Formerly the midwife was the only person attending officially upon an accouchment, no medical man being present. She was therefore a more important person than in our time, and was accompanied by her assistants. The midwives had dispensations from the Bishops to baptize the children which were born, in case of need.

r Robert Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, afterwards Earl of Sussex; he had considerable estates in Norfolk which he inherited from the Lords Mortimer of Attleborough.

s Christopher Coningsby, Esq. of Wallington, killed at the battle of Musselburgh in the reign of Edw. VI.

	£.	s.	d.
The xxxviijth Weke.			
Itm a sowe that was kylled of my owen that I bought of Edward Owseley, weyng xvij stoon, wherof is spent in this weke .	vj stoon		
Itm p^{d} to hym for a swan	—	—	x
Straungers.			
M^{r} Calthorp, M^{r} Conysby, the old Priour of Cokkesford.			
The xlth Weke.			
. . . . .			
Itm p^{d} to hym for a curlewe, a dosyn knotts, a dosyn redschanks & stynts, ij teals	—	ij	—
Straungers. M^{r} Banyerd, M^{r} Martin Hastyngs.[t]			
The xliij^{d} Weke.			
Itm in reward the same weke by Frenshe di. a beffe .	—	—	—
. . . . .			
Itm to John Siff for neats & calves fete to make Jely .	—	—	v
The xlvijth Weke.			
It p^{d} to John Siff for a conger	—	—	xvj
The xlixth Weke.			
Straungers. M'tyn Hastyngs & his wyfe, Dysney Sheffeld & his wyff, M^{r}e$_{3}$ Pern, M^{r} Pigeon, M^{r} Arnold, Mr. Wotton.			
The fyftye Weke.			
Straungers.—M^{r} Hogan.			
The lij^{d} Weke.			
. . . . .			
It p^{d} to hym for a freshe samon	—	—	xx
VYTTALLS BOUGHT.			
Itm p^{d} the xxvijth day of Marche to Thom̃s Caton for ij fat oxen ageynst Est̃n	iij	ij	viij
Itm p^{d} to hym the same day for money that he leid owt of his own purse for the steers that he bought me ageynst Cristmas .	—	v	vj
It p^{d} the vjth day of May for j dosen green geese . .	—	—	xv

[t] Brother of Sir Hugh Hastings of Gressenhall.

	£.	s.	d.
Īt p^{d} the xvth day of June to the fouller when he went a wey w^{t} a horse	—	vj	viij
Īt̄m p^{d} the vijth day of July for iij calves mawes . .	—	—	vj

FYSSHE BOUGHT.

Īt̄m p^{d} the ij^{d} day of Septembre to Shabyngton for a C & di. of lyngs, at iiij^{l} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} the hundred	vij	—	—
Īt p^{d} the xxvjth day of January to John Syff for iiij cads of red heryng	—	xxiiij	—
Īt p^{d} the same day for iiij barrells of white herings at xiij^{s} iiij^{d} the barrell	—	xl	—
Īt p^{d} the same day for a ferken of samon . . .	—	x	—
Īt p^{d} the same day for a cagge of elis . . .	—	v	—

WYNE BOUGHT.

Īt p^{d} the xvijth day of Marche to Causton of Lyn, for bryngyng hom of a tun of wyn from Lyn that my son Nycholas[u] dyd giff .	—	iij	vj
Īt̄m the same day for the freyte of the same wyne from London to Lyn, w^{t} the cranenage	—	iiij	vij
Īt̄m p^{d} the xijth day of August to Shabyngton for a hoggeshed of wyne called Clarett	—	xxx	—
Īt̄m p^{d} the xxvijth day of October to John Mason for the caryage of the wyne at Lyñe	—	—	vj
Īt̄m payed the iiijth daye of Novembre unto Shabyngton for caryage of wyne	—	—	iiij
Īt̄m p^{d} to Robert Banyerd the xxxth daye of Decembre for ij quarts of Malvesey	—	—	viij
Īt̄m p^{d} to Southouse the ixth daye of Decembre for a bottell off Clarett wyne	—	—	vj
& for hys costys	—	—	iiij
Īt p^{d} the same tyme to Southouse for ij bottells of wyne .	—	—	xij
Īt p^{d} the iiijth day of January for iiij q̄rts of Malmesey to Rob^{t} Banyard, by the hands of John Siff	—	—	xviij
Īt̄m p^{d} the iiijth day of February to Banyard's wiff, by the hands of John Siff, for wyne that was fetched at diu̇s tymes . .	—	—	ij
Īt̄m p^{d} the xvjth day of February for a qr^{t} of Clarett wyne to Banyard's wiff	—	—	ij

[u] By this and various other passages it appears that this part of the Accounts was kept by Lady Lestrange herself.

	£.	s.	d.
Caryage. It p^{d} to Southouse the x daye of February for the cranag̃ & carying of iij hodghedds of wyn & a terce . .	—	—	viij ob.
Itm p^{d} to hym for a baskett for bryngyng hom of the gere & a nelle of canves	—	—	ix
Itm p^{d} the xviijth day of February to Edmũd Gybson for bryngyng down of the wyne from Lyñ	—	—	xx
SPYC'S BOUGHT.			
Itm for iij sugar loves weying xxiij lb. the fifte day of Marche	—	xiij	v
Itm p^{d} for a pownd of gynger	—	iij	—
Itm p^{d} the same day for a pownd of clowes & mase3 .	—	v	vj
Itm the same day for iiij lb. of ryce	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} the same day for di. lb. of issinglesse . .	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} the same day for xxiiij lb. of almans . .	—	v	—
Itm p^{d} the same day for a topenett of fyggs cods . .	—	ij	viij
Itm p^{d} the same day for j pece of grett reysons weying iij quarters & xj lb.	—	x	ij
Itm p^{d} the same day for a quarter of nuttmeggs . .	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} the same day for xij lb. corauns . . .	—	iij	vj
It p^{d} for a caskett for the seid spic's . . .	—	—	iiij
It p^{d} the same tyme to a carter to carie the seid spic's to the cariars lodgeyngs	—	—	ij
It p^{d} for the cariage of the seid spic's from London to Norwyche to the cariar	—	v	iiij
It p^{d} to the pedders [x] of Norwyche for bryngyng of the seid spic̃s hom to Hunstanton	—	ij	viij
It p^{d} the xvjth day of Aprill for j lb. of pepyr at London .	—	—	xxij
It p^{d} the xixth day of May for a sugar loffe weying vij lb. at vij^{d} the lb.	—	iiij	—
It p^{d} to Katherine the xxvijth day of May for prunes .	—	—	xij
It p^{d} the ixth day of August to John Man for viij lb. & ij vnces of sugar at viij^{d} the lb.	—	v	ix
It p^{d} to hym the sam day for ij lb. peper . . .	—	iij	viij
It p^{d} the xvjth day of Septembre to M^{r} Leyton of Lyn by the hands of Herry Shomaker for pep & brymston . . .	—	—	xxj
It p^{d} for a lityll barell of caps weyng vj lb. & di. . .	—	iij	—
It p^{d} to Southouse for a boxe of treacle . . .	—	—	x

[x] Carriers of goods on foot.

	£.	s.	d.
Īt p^{d} to hym for a pownd of cyñmyn . . .	—	—	iij
Īt p^{d} the xvjth day of February for orenge . .	—	—	iij

S'V'NTS WAG.

Edward Owesley. First p^{d} to hym the xviijth day of Marche for his iij^{de} q̃rter wage, endyng at our Lady-day, the Annunciac̃on next comyng . . . . . — xiij iiij

Īt̃m p^{d} the xv day of June to hym for his iiijth q̃rter wage endyng at the feast of Seynt John Baptist . . . . — xiij iiij

Īt p^{d} the xxvth day of Septembre to hym for his first q̃rter wage ending at Michelmas next . . . . . — xiij iiij

Īt p^{d} the xvi day of Decembre to him for his ij^{de} q̃rters wage ending at Cristmas next comyng . . . . . — xiij iiij

Rob̃t Southous. Īt p^{d} the xixth day of May to hym for his first q̃rters wag^{s} ended at Crowchemas last past . . . — x —

Mathew the Smythe. Īt p^{d} to hym the xxiij daye of Septembre in p^{t} payment of his first q̃rter wage, at a sevenyght aft hallowmes next comyng (he dyd begyn his yere at the Assumpc̃on of o^{r} lady) — ij viij

. . . . . .

Thm̃s Causton. Īt̃m p^{d} to him the xv day of Marche for his iij^{de} q̃rter wage, endyng at the Añunciac̃on of our lady next comyng — viij iiij

. . . . . .

Henry Goodand. Īt p^{d} the xxth day of May to him for his iiijth q̃rter wage ended at Crowchmas last past . . . — vj viij

Īt p^{d} the xijth day of August to him for his first q̃rter wages ended at Lammes last past . . . . . — vj viij

Īt p^{d} the first day of November to him for his ij^{d} q̃rters wage ended the same day Hallowmes day . . . . . — vj viij

Īt p^{d} to him the xiijth day of February for his iij^{d} q$_{b}$rter wage ended at Candelmas last past . . . . . — vj viij

Richard Cooke. Īt p^{d} to him the xviijth day of Marche for his iij^{d} q̃rter wage endyng at our Lady-day the Annunciac̃on next comyng — iij —

. . . . . .

Thom̃s John. Īt p^{d} to hym the xviijth day of Marche his iiijth q̃rter wage endyng at the feast of the Annunciac̃on of our Lady next comyng — iiij —

George the bruer. Īt p^{d} the xviijth day of Marche for his iiijth

	£.	s.	d.
q̃rter wage endyng at the fest of the Annunciac̃on of our Lady next comyng	—	v	—
John Siff. Iẗm p^{d} the xixth day of May to him for his iij^{d} q̃rter wage ended at Crowchemas last past . . .	—	vj	vij
John Towers. Iẗm p^{d} to him the xviijth day of Marche for his ij^{d} quarter wages endyd the xvth day of Marche last past .	—	x	—
John Mason. Iẗm p^{d} to him the xviijth day of Marche for his iij^{d} q̃rter wage endyng at our Lady-day the Annunciac̃on next comyng	—	vj	viij
Bartilmew Skyppon. Iẗ p^{d} to hym the xviijth day of Marche for his iij^{de} q̃rter wages ending at our Lady-day next comyng .	—	x	—
Edmũd Gybson. Iẗ p^{d} to him the xixth day of May for his ij^{de} q̃rter wage ended the xth day of May last past . .	—	v	—
Thom̃s the horskep. Iẗ p^{d} the xvth day of June to him for his first q̃rter wage endyd a sevenyght aft Crochemes last . .	—	vj	viij
Robert Basterd. Iẗ p^{d} the xvth day of June to him for his first q̃rter wage endyd a sevenyght aft Crochemes last . .	—	v	—
Witẗm Cademan. Iẗ p^{d} the xvijth day of Maye to Witẗm Cademan for his first q̃rter wage ended at Wytsonday last past .	—	x	—
Thom̃ Cooke the h'mitt. Iẗ p^{d} ẗo hym the xvijth day of February for his first q̃rter wage endyd a fourthnyght befor Candelmas last past[y]	—	v	—
FEES.			
To my uncle Banyard. Iẗm p^{d} to my uncle Banyard the xvjth day of Marche, for his holl yers fee, endyng at the audite . .	—	xxvj	viij
To Valenger. Iẗm p^{d} the xxixth day of Marche to Vallenger[z] for his holl yers fee ended at the audite last	—	xxvj	viij
Iẗm p^{d} the xijth day of July to the raton taker for his fee .	—	ij	—
Iẗm to Master Jenny the xv day of Decembre for his ij yers fee, ended at Ester next cumyng & the money đd to Thomas Weston his sv̄ant	—	liij	iiij
REWARDS GYVEN.			
To my vncle Banyard's sv̄nt. Iẗm in reward to my vncle Banyard's clerke, the xvjth day of Marche	—	ij	—

y The Hermits or anchorites were recluses who occupied cells in various places, sometimes in church-yards: and a heap of ruins in Hunstanton church-yard leads me to suppose that the anchorite here mentioned had his cell there, and that he received a regular salary from the Lestranges, as by this Account.

z At a later period, in 1605, Thomas Valenger was town-clerk of Lynn, and founded an almshouse in South Lynn.

	£.	s.	d.
Ītm in reward the same day to Master Tylneys sv̄nt, for bryngyng of evidence	—	iij	iiij
Ītm in reward the same day to Bartilmewe Skippon, for gatheryng of the rent & ferme of the mañs of Hunstanton, Holme cū membr̄, and Mushells in Hunstanton	—	v	—
Ītm in reward the xxth day of Marche to Goyneys son, for bryngyng of applis	—	—	iiij
Ītm in reward the xxiiijth day of Marche to S^{r} Edward Woodhouse, the fryer [a]	—	—	xij
Ītm in reward the same day to a felaw that browght oysters from Lyn that my cosyn Will. Hastyngs sent	—	—	iiij
Ītm in reward the xxvijth day of Marche to when he rode into Lyncoln Shire	—	v	—
Ītm in reward the xxixth day of March to my brother Wutton's sv̄nt	—	—	xij
Ītm in reward the same day to John Man's sv̄nt for bryngyng hom the sv̄nts lyv̄yes from Norwyche	—	—	xx
Ītm in reward the vijth day of Apryll to the vicar of Dockyng sv̄nt ij^{d}, to the p̄son of Ryngsted sv̄nt j^{d}, and to the vycar of Snettshm̄s sv̄nt j^{d} for bryngyng eggs	—	—	iiij
Ītm p^{d} the xvth day of Aprill to John Miller's sv̄nt, in reward for bryngyng of a pece of purpose	—	—	iiij
Ītm p^{d} the xvijth day of Aprill in reward to the Priour of Westacre's [b] sv̄nt iij^{s}. iiij^{d}, & to M^{r} Calibutt's sv̄nt xij^{d}	—	iiij	iiij
Ītm in reward the xvijth day of Ap'll aforseid to Warner of Newm̄kett	—	—	xx
Ītm in reward the xviijth day of Aprill to my nevew Kellam Throg-m̄ton [c]	—	x	—
Ītm in reward the xxviijth day of Aprill to Franc̄s Payn, the Kyng's sv̄nt	—	x	—
Ītm in reward the xth day of May to my Lord of Suffolk's trumpeter	—	—	xij
Ītm in reward the xjth day of May to Miller's sv̄nt, of Thorh̄m, for bryngyng of a q̄rter of a purpose	—	—	iiij

[a] Perhaps Edward third son of Sir Thomas Wodehouse of Kimberley. This Edward was living at this time.

[b] William Wingfield last Prior of Westacre. He surrendered his Priory for a pension of £40 a year, and subscribed to the King's Supremacy in 1534; and afterwards married and became Rector of Burnham Thorp in Norfolk.

[c] Catherine, daughter of Lord Vaux and sister of Lady Lestrange, married Sir George Throck-morton of Coughton in Warwickshire.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm in reward the xijth to the Priour of the Fryers of Burnhm[d]	—	iij	iiij
Itm in reward the same day to Rob^{t} Alen when he went to the Priour of Westacre	—	—	xx
Itm in reward the xixth day of May to the ꝑsons sv̄nt of Burnhm Debdale, for bryngyng of a brett	—	—	ij
Itm in reward the xxvijth daye of Maye to the ꝑson of Wulverton's sv̄nt, for bringing of a peace of purpos	—	—	iiij
Itm the same daye in rewarde to the Priour of Westacr̄ sv̄nt, for bringing home of Henry	—	—	iiij
Itm in rewarde the vth day of June to my Lorde Morleys mynstrells[e]	—	iij	iiij
Itm p^{d} the same day in rewarde to the sv̄nt of S^{r} Rog̃ Townshend, for bryngyng of a lett^{r}	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the ixth day of June, to a sv̄nt of S^{r} Roger Townshends, for bryngyng of a lett^{r}	—	—	viij
Itm in rewarde the xvth day of June to the carpent̄s that wrought at Hecham	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the xixth daye of June to M^{r}. Sted's man, when he brought money for y^{e} coks	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the xxiij^{d} day of June to John Mallary, when he rode to North hm̄ton shire	—	iij	iiij
Itm in reward the xxvjth day of June to freyer Fuller, of Lyn	—	—	itij
Itm in reward the first day of July to John Bedon, of Holme, towarde the losse of his horse	—	v	—
Itm in reward the same day to Coxage, for bryngyng of a copell of hounds from M^{r} Spryng	—	ij	—
Itm in reward the vijth day of July to the minstrells of Lyn .	—	—	xij
Itm in reward the xjth day of July to M^{r} Hogon's sv̄nt, for bryngyng of a lett^{r}	—	—	xij
Itm in reward the xxvth day of July to Baxter's sv̄nt, of Stannewgh, for bryngyng of ij yong busterds	—	—	ij
Itm in reward the xxth day of July, to my Lorde of Surreyes sv̄nts at Kenynghall	—	iiij	viij
Itm in reward the same day to John Lynhm, at Kenynghall	—	v	—
Itm in reward the same tyme to Peter of Lyn, for his labo^{ur} for goyng w^{t} me to Kenynghall & Norwyche . . .	—	vij	vj

[d] The Priory of Peterston in Burnham Overy.

[e] Henry Parker, Lord Morley, son and heir of Sir William Parker by Alice Lovel sister and sole heir of Henry Lord Morley.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm in reward the same tyme to the Kyng's mynstrells .	—	iij	iiij
Itm in reward the xijth day of August, to the mariage of John Mans wiffs dought, by the hands of Katine Jones . . .	—	xij	vj
Itm in reward to Skyppons brother, for ledyng hom of his fathers horse	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the xxth day of August to John Mans svnt, for bryngyng hom of my spyc's	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xxvjth day of August, in reward for a bucke that cam from Kenynghall	—	v	—
Itm in reward the ixth day of Septembre by the hands of Wilim Ryxe, to the norce of my son Nycholas, sn . . .	—	—	xij
Itm in reward the same to Laurans Mason, by the hands of Wilim Rixe, for the purpose that was taken there . . .	—	iij	iiij
Itm in reward the xvijth day of Septembrr, to my cosyn Freshms svnt, for bryngyng of a bucke	—	vj	viij
Itm in reward the same day of Septembre to Mackyn's svnt, for bryngyng of a dosen ptryches	—	—	xij
Itm in reward the xviijth day of Septembre to M^{r} Fulmston's svnt, for bryngynge of a pastye of a stagge	—	—	viij
Itm in reward the xxiij^{d} day of Septemb to Wilim Mannyng, my son Cressens svnt, for bryngyng of a stagge from Kenynghall .	—	iij	iiij
Itm in reward the xxiij^{d} day of Septembre to my cosyn Cheney, that cam w^{t} S^{r} Thoms Fressehms	—	—	xij
Itm in reward the last day of Septembre to M^{r} Vowells svnt iiij^{d}, and to M^{r} Hastyngs svnt, of Yaxim, iiij^{d}, for bryngyng of partryches and grapes	—	—	viij
Itm in reward the vth day of Octobre, to my nevewes Clement Throgmton and Nicholas Throgmton	—	x	—
Itm in reward the vijth day of Octobre to M^{r} Pernes svnt, for bryngyng of a coller of braune	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the xiijth daye of Octobre the cursun . .	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the xvth daye of Octobre to M^{r} Monax svnt, for bryngyng of my nagg	—	iij	iiij
Itm in reward the xvth daye of Octobre to Master Wottons man, when he was married	—	iij	iiij
Itm in reward the xxij^{d} daye of Octobre to the Kyngs svnt, when he brought the Kyngs lett^{r}	—	vij	vj
Itm in reward the sam day to P'our of Wallsingim servnt, wiche hadd byn burnt w^{t} fyer	—	—	iiij

	£.	s.	d.
Ītm in reward to Mr Cramptons sv̄nt & to a prest . .	—	—	iiij
Ītm in reward the xxijd daye of October . . .	—	—	iiij
Ītm in reward the xxiijd daye of Octobre to the Kyngs pleyers	—	v	—
Ītm in reward the xxvjth day of Octobre, to my son Nicholas mayde, whon the child was bushopped[f]	—	—	xij
Ītm pd the xxvijth day of Octobre to Nell Yong, in reward when she was syke	—	—	viij
Ītm in reward the last day of Octobre to Peroo, Mr. Southwells sv̄nt (huntsman), when he went his wey	—	v	—
Ītm in reward to the fetherbedd dryver the xth daye of Novembre, for dryvyng of xx bedds	—	vj	viij
Ītm in reward the xjth daye of Novembre for a brid pye .	—	—	viij
Ītm in reward the xvijth daye of Novembre to Osbert Reds sone, for bryngyng of stockdowes	—	—	ij
Ītm in rewarde the same daye to Arnolds sarvant, for bryngyng of ij synetts	—	—	xv
Ītm in rewarde to my bruer, for to bye hym a dublett .	—	ij	—
Ītm in rewarde the xjth day of Decembre to Sr Thom̃s Freshm̃s sv̄nt, for bryngyng of a doe	—	iij	iiij
Ītm in reward the same tyme to ij mynstrells . .	—	—	xx
Ītm in reward the iiijth day of January to Mr Southwells sv̄nt, for bryngyng of a doe in Cristmas tyme	—	ij	viij
Ītm in reward the same day to Thom̃s Lemman, for bryngyng of a doo that cam from Hokeryng	—	—	viij
Ītm in rewerd the xvth day of January, for washyng of yor sherts	—	—	iiij
Ītm in reward the xxvth day of January to Peter of Lyn, when my doughter Ales was maryed	—	—	xij
Ītm in reward the xvth day of February to a jogeler that came from my Lord Fellatts	—	—	viij
Ītm in reward the xxiiij daye of February to Hoge of Hebon and to Mr Spilmans son	—	—	xvj

LYV'YES.

George the bruer. Ītem pd the xviijth day of Marche to George the bruer for hys yers lyv̄ye endyng at the feast of the Annũciac̃on of our Lady next comyng	—	v	—
Thom̃s Joken. Ītem pd the same day to Thom̃s Joken for his yers lyv̄ye endyng at the feast aforesaid	—	v	—

[f] Confirmed.

	£.	s.	d.
John Mason. Īt p^{d} the same day to John Mason for his iij^{d} q̃rter lyv̄ye endyng at the feast aforesaid	—	v	—
Valenger. Īt p^{d} the xxixth day of Marche to Valenger for his yers lyv̄ye ended at the Audite last past	—	x	—
Southous. Īt p^{d} the vth day of April to John Man by the hands of Rob^{t} Southous for xxxij yerds of tawny for sv̄nts lyv̄yes at iiij^{s} iiij^{d} the yerd	vj	xviiij	viij
Bartillmew Skyppon, . . . Towers, . . . Gibson, Henry Goodwyn, John Syff, Thomas Caweson, . . . Ryx, . . . Warner, . . . Argatt, . . . Briggs, Edward Osley, Thomas horskep, payed unto all these their lyv̄yes at Whytsonday last past.			
Īt p^{d} the xxviijth day of Aprill to Hamond of Creecke, for j yerd and iij q̃rters of Bristow red clothe for the cullers of the sv̄nts lyv̄yes	—	vij	—
Īt p^{d} the iiijth day of May to Petyn of Castelacre for a yard and iij q̃rters of white cloth for the cullers of the sv̄nts lyv̄yes .	—	—	—
Īt p^{d} the xijth day of May to Hamond of Creke, for white and red cloth for lyv̄yes	—	iij	iiij
Īt p^{d} to hym the xxiij^{d} day of May for white and rede for Argats coote	—	—	xxij
Īt p^{d} the xvth day of June to John Mason, in full paym^{t} of his iiij q̃rter lyv̄ye endyng at Midsom̄ next comyng . . .	—	—	xx
Richard Cooke. Īt p^{d} the xvth day of June to Richard Cooke, for his holl yers lyv̄ye endyng at Mydsom̄ next . . .	—	v	—
Rob^{t} Bastard. Īt p^{d} the xxiij day of June to Rob^{t} Basterd for hys half yers lyv̄yes	—	ij	vj
Mathew the smythe. Īt p^{d} the xxviijth day of August to Mathew the smythe for hys yers lyv̄ye ended at our Lady Day the Assumpc̄on	—	x	—
Mary le Straunge. Īt̄m p^{d} the first day of November to Mary le Straunge for her yers lyv̄ye endyng at Cristmas next comyng	—	xv	—
To George the bruer. Īt̄m̄ p^{d} the xvij day of Decembre to George the bruer for his half yers lyv̄ye endyng at Cristm̄s next comyng	—	ij	vj
To Elizabeth Dudley. Īt̄m p^{d} the vijth day of January to Elizabeth Dudley for her lyv̄ye when she went to my Lord Fitz Wal̄	—	x	—
Īt̄m p^{d} the xvth daye of Januarye to Petyn of Castillacre for clothe for sleves of the lyv̄es for the sv̄nts	—	vij	—

SHOYNG OF THE HAKENEY HORSES.

Īt̄m p^{d} the xxixth day of Marche to Good the smythe for shoying of the hackeney horses for the q̃rter ended at our Lady Day last past	—	v	x

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Iīt p^{d} the ixth day of Octobre to the sadeler of Lyn for geer at yo^{r} rydyng into Yorkesher to my brother Hastyng .	—	vj	v
Iīm p^{d} to David John the ixth daye of June for ij bushells of otys bought at Ingillsthrop	—	x	—
Iīm p^{d} the ij^{d} daye of December to Willm̃ Allforth of Kettylston for xvj combe$_{3}$ of oets	—	xvj	—

TO MY LADY KNYVETT.

Iīt p^{d} the . . day of July to my Lady Knyvett in full paym^{t} of her halff yers annuyte endyng at Lames next comyng . . .	vij	x	—
Iīm p^{d} the iiijth daye of February to my Lady Knevett by the hands of my brother Wotton, in full payment of here halff yere$_{3}$ annuyte ended at the feast of the Purifycacon of o^{r} blyssid Lady last past	vij	x	—

ALLOWED IN BYLLS.

Iīm p^{d} the x daye of Marche to Rob^{t} Southous for money leid owt for yow was at the Sisez at Thetford & when you wer at London w^{t} the p'our of Westacr' . . .	—	vij	v
Iīm p^{d} the xvj day of Marche for his costs to Norwyche when he rod for spyc℄	—	—	xxij
Iīm p^{d} the xiij day of Aprill to Rob^{t} Southhous when he rod to London for my mayde for their costs outward & homeward	—	xxxiiij	iiij
Iīm p^{d} to David the xxviij day of Aprill for his costs, Southous, & Grens, when thei j ledd the p'son^{r} to my lord p'vey Seall to London	—	xvij	vj
Iīm p^{d} the vj day of May to Edward Owesley & to Bartylmew Skyppon for money that thei leid owt for yo^{r} costs when yow & I wer ther	—	viij	vj
Iīm p^{d} the xij day of May to Towars for money leid owt for yo^{r} costs at Walsynghm̃ when M^{r} Southwell was ther & dyu̅s other Gentylmen	—	ij	iiij
Iīm p^{d} the v day of June to Rob^{t} Southhous for the costs of horsemete & mans mete at Norwiche, Walsynghm̃, & Lyn when you rod to the execuc̃on of the Trayto^{r}$_{3}$	iij	xij	iiij
Iīm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Gren the same day for yo^{r} horsemete when yow war at Brysley	—	ij	—
Iīm p^{d} the ix day of June to Rob^{t} Southhous for yo^{r} costs whan yow rod to Walsynghm̃ to the Sesyons . .	—	iiij	x
Iīm p^{d} the xv day of June Gibson for his costs at Lyn when he rod to Thom̃s Cato^{r} of my errend	—	—	x

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p^{d} the xxx daye of July for yo^{r} costs and myn when we wer at Kenynghall, Norwyche, & Kymbley	—	xxiiij	vj
Itm p^{d} the same day to Rob^{t} Southhous for costs at Norwyche at the Sises, and at Walsyngham when yow rod thether upon the Kyngs busines.g	—	xvij	vj
Itm p^{d} the x day of August to Rob^{t} Southhous for money that yow gave to the Keps of Rysyng Chace & for dryncke . .	—	iij	v
Itm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Green the xvj day of August for his costs when he rod into M'shelande for my husbonds geldyng . . .	—	—	vij
Itm p^{d} to Bartilmew Skyppon the ij^{de} day of Septembre for his costs when he rod to Derham w^{t} a lettre of M^{r} Monock viij^{d}. and for his costs at Lyn at the mart tyme vj^{d}.	—	—	xiiij
Itm p^{d} the xvij day of Septembre to Wyllm̃ Raven when he rode to Lyn w^{t} venyson to M^{r} Leyton, for his costs . . .	—	—	ij
Itm p^{d} the viij day of Octobre to Southouse for his costs when he rod to Lyn w^{t} money to Shabyngton for to pay for Holm benefice	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the first day of Novembre to Rob^{t} Southhous for money that he leid owt when my lord of Norfolk was in the countrye .	—	iiij	xj
Itm p^{d} the xij day of Novembre to Bartillmew Skyppon for his costs to London for the subpena that yow had at the sute of John Wodhous	—	xij	j
Itm p^{d} to Southouse the ix daye of December when he went to Lundñ for master Wodhouse dauter	—	xviij	—
Itm p^{d} to Southous when he went off to London with M^{r} Woodhows for his daughter	—	v	—
Itm p^{d} the xvj daye of decembre unto master Woodhousse him sellfe	—	ij	vj
Itm p^{d} to M^{r} John Woodehouse of Horseford for his costs when he rode to London for his daughters	—	xvij	vj
Itm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Southouse for his costs and charges when he rodd to Lynne & other placys for feule	—	iij	ij
Itm p^{d} the xxviij day of January to Richard le Straunge for his costs when he rod to the priour of Lewes abowt y^{r} business .	—	xxvj	viij
Itm p^{d} the same day to him for his costs when he rod up to London w^{t} yo^{r} letr̃ for M^{r} Southwell	—	vij	vj
Itm p^{d} the fyrst daye of February to M^{r} Nicholas Bway for his costs goyng to London	—	iij	—

g *In the margin it is said* "For all the s'unts bord wages."

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p^{d} the x^{t} to Southous when he went to the mart for his costs ther	—	—	xvj
Itm p^{d} to him when we went to M^{r} Spillman's & to Weastre for o^{r} costs there	—	iij	j
Itm p^{d} the xiij day of February to Richard le Straunge when he rod to London upon my husbonds busynes, for his costs . .	—	xv	—
Itm p^{d} the xv day of February to Portyngton for money that he leid owt at Norwiche Sessyons at Twelth tyme . . .	—	iij	ix
Itm p^{d} the xxij day of February to Rob^{t} Southous for his costs when he rod to London w^{t} a lett^{r} to my son Nycholas concernyng a matt^{r} toward Doct^{r} Butts [h] for Thornhm̃	—	ix	iij

REP'AC'ONS OF THE MILL, BACHOUSE, BREWHOUSE, AND KECHIN.

First p^{d} the vij day of Marche for a hachett for the baker to hew furrs w^{t}all	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xviij day of Marche to John Liff the carpenter for a dayes worke in makyng of the thresshold in the brewhouse .	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xxvij day of Marche to Willm̃ Bets of Hechm̃ for betyng of the mill	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xxviij day of Marche to Shabyngton for a new fatt for the brueyng hous	—	xiij	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xxix day of Marche to Bets for betyng of the mill	—	—	iij
Itm p^{d} the same day to Thom̃s Cowp for iij dayes wurke in makyng of the boords in the kechin & mendyng of the bruig̃ vessells	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} the vij day of Aprill to Thom̃s Coop for hopyng of the vessells for the beer	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xxvij daye of Maye to Thomas Cowper for mendyng of the fatt	—	—	iij
Itm p^{d} the xxiij day of June to Thom̃s Cop for mendyng of the bruyng vessells	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the same day to John broke of Rynsted for dyggeyng of whynns to brewe w^{t}	—	—	xiiij
Twyn. Itm p^{d} the iiij day of August for dressyng of a stoon of hempe, & for spynnyng of it for twyn for the hay . .	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} the ij^{d} day of Septembre to Thom̃s Been for ij dayes worke in helpyng the bruer to brewe in harvest tyme . .	—	—	iiij

[h] Sir William Butts, Physician to King Henry the Eighth.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p^{d} the same day to Willm̃ Ovman of Hechm̃ for mendyng of the well in the kechyn & the mendyng of the ovennsse mowthe ther	—	—	iiij
It̄ p^{d} the xiij daye of Octobre for a pound of twyne .	—	—	iiij
Itm to John Syff the same tyme for toopesid of string & makyng	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} the xxij daye of Octobre to Thoms Coper for j daye & di. for makyng of a throff to the bruhousse . . .	—	—	vj
. . . . .			
Itm p^{d} the ij^{de} daye of Decembre for iij paylys for the bruhouse	—	—	v
Itm p^{d} the same daye for a skepp for the buttry .	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xxiiij daye of Decembre to the Myller off Rynsted for betyng of the myll	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} the same daye to Bell for iij dayes work in the bruhuse	—	—	vij
Itm p^{d} the xxvij day of January to Shabyngton of Lyn for a last of barrells to tun bere in, that is sey a dosen barrells . .	—	xj	—
Itm p^{d} the same day for iiij yards of bultyll for to make bultipooks upon	—	—	xvj

STUFF BOUGHT IN TO THE HOUSE.

Itm p^{d} the xxvij day of Marche to Thoms Beer of Norwyche by the hands of Rob^{t} John Man's sv̄nt for the changeyng of di. a dosen silver spones and for the	—	iij	—
Itm p^{d} the vij day of Aprill to the sharman of Snettshm̃ for vj lb. of flock for to stuff cusshonys	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xxiij day of Aprill to Crom̃ of Walsynghm̃ for xiij elnes & di. of grey canves for shets	—	v	vj
Itm p^{d} the x day of May to Rob^{t} Reed for xix yerds 1 & di. of lynen cloth for shets redy whyted at iiij^{d} ob. the yerd . .	—	vij	iij.ob.q
Itm p^{d} the same day to hym for xxix yerds of white hurden cloth at ij^{d} ob. the yerd	—	vj	— ob.
Itm p^{d} the same day to the seid Rob^{t} Reed for xxv yerds & di. of blankett at vij the yerd	—	xiiij	x ob.
Itm p^{d} the iij daye of June for iiij saltsellers for the halle .	—	—	xij
. . . . .			
Itm p^{d} to the sayde Davy for a trevett the same tyme .	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} to the sayde Davy at the sayd daye & tyme for ij chestys	—	ij	viij
Itm p^{d} to the sayde Davy at the sayde daye & tyme for ij chears & a lyttill tabyll	—	—	xiiij

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p^{d} to the sayde Davy at the sayde daye & tyme for ij tabylls & ij formys	—	—	xiiij
Itm p^{d} to the sayde Davy at the sayde daye & for a fallgate	—	—	xij
It p^{d} the xxth daye of August for ij payles for the deygh hous	—	—	v
Itm p^{d} for a locke for oon of the bern dores the xxiij^{d} day of Septembre	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the iiijth daye of Decembre for a coverlett of imagery	—	xxxiij	iiij
Itm p^{d} the same daye for iij clothes to hange in the parlor, at ix^{s} iiij^{d} a cloth, & in the hall	—	xxviij	—
Itm p^{d} the xxvijth day of Decembre for v clothys for the hanging of the ꝑler	iij	v	—
It p^{d} the xxviijth daye of January to Willes wiff for tyer for the ꝑlor^{r} hangyngs	—	—	v
Itm p^{d} the vjth day of February to M^{r} Rob^{t} Southwell & to doc^{r} Leyton the Kyng's comyssioñs, by the hands of my son Nycholas, for an old hangyng x^{s} of the Hey Hall at Westacre, & for an old cope xx^{s}	—	xxx	—

COOLYS BOUGHT.

First p^{d} the vjth day of Marche to Rob^{t} Banyard for iij chalder of coolys	—	xvj	—
Itm p^{d} the xiijth day of May to David John for xiij chalder & di. of coolys at iiij^{s} viij^{d} the chalder	iij	iiij	—
Itm p^{d} the xxvijth day of October to Rob^{t} Stoon for half a chalder of coolys	—	ij	vj
It p^{d} the xxth day of Novembre to Rob^{t} Rede for v chalder of coolis at vj^{s} iiij^{d} the chalder	—	xxxj	viij
It p^{d} the xxth day of February to Rob^{t} Reed for a chalder & di. of cooles	—	ix	—

HOPPYS BOUGHT.

Itm p^{d} the xxviijth day of July for vj ston of hoppys at ij^{s} iiij^{d} the stoon	—	xiiij	—
It p^{d} the ij^{d} day of Septembre for half a hundreth hoppys	—	ix	iij
It p^{d} the iiijth day of Octobre to Rob^{t} Banyard by the hands of John Siff for one hundreth hoppys	—	xviij	—

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p[d] xxviij[th] day of January to Francs the Flemyng for cccxxxiij lb. hoppes at xij[s] the hundreth	—	xxxix	iiij

LOND BOUGHT.

For lond p[r]chased in Fryng & other townes. Itm p[d] the xvij[th] day of Marche to John Ad[a]mson, Clerke, late Priour of Cokkysford, by the hands of John Grey, Clerke, in p[t] of paym[t] of a more sum̃e for londs p̄chased of him in Fryng & other townes . .	xiij	vj	viij
Brampton. Itm p[d] the xxviij[th] day of Marche to Rob[t] Brampton, gent. in pt of paym[t] of a more sũme for londe p̄chased of hym in Segeford	xx	—	—
Brampton. Itm p[d] the xvj[th] day of Aprill to Rob[t] Brampton, aforeseid, in full contentac̃on & paym[t] of an obligac̃on of xl[l] for lond p[r]chased of him in Segeford	xv	—	—
For londs in Frynge. Itm p[d] the same day to John Ad̃mson, Clerke, late Priour of Cokesford, by the hands of John Grey, Clerke, in full contentac̃on & paym[t] of xx[l], for londs p[r]chased of him in Fryng & other townes adionyng	vj	xiij	iiij
To Goselyng for londs in Hechm̃. Itm p[d] the xvj[th] day of Aprill to Roger Gosslyng, in p[t] of paym[t] of a mor̃ sũme for londs bought of him in Hechm̃	xx	—	—
To M[r] Calybut. It̄ p[d] the xv[th] day of May to M[r] John Calybut, for the p[r]chase of the Priory in Grett Walsyngham̃ . .	xx	—	—
To M[r] Calybut by the hands of Edmũd Patrik. Itm p[d] the iiij[th] daye of June to the same M[r] John Calybut in paym[t] of the purchase of the Priory in Grett Walsyngham	xxx	—	—
For Beels' lond in Segeford. Itm p[d] the xxvj[th] day of August to John Willson of Lyn, for money that was awarded him by the testam[t] of Rob[t] Beels, and that he shuld not medle w[t] the goods of the seid Rob[t] Beels as his Executo[r]	iij	—	—
Itm p[d] to Joh̃ne, late the wiff of Rob[t] Beels, for lond that my husbond bought of him, payable at the Assumpc̃on of our Lady last past	—	vj	viij
Itm p[d] the xxix[th] day of Septembre to Roger Goselyng, in full payment of xxviij[l], of & for all suche londs that my husbonde bought of him	viij	—	—
Itm p[d] the viij[th] day of Octobre to Rob[t] Warne3 wiff of Rudhm̃ by the hands of David John whē she made relesse of londs at Segeford Court	—	v	—

	£.	s.	d.
Westacre. Itm delyv̄ed unto my husband the ij^de daye of Decembre, when he went to Westacre for the lands purchased of the Pryor there[i]	x	—	—
Segford. Itm p^d to Argatt the Wedynsday before Seynt Andrew's daye to the use of the p'or of Christchurch in Norwiche, for a mes̄e called Hargatt's Frehold	—	xviij	xj
Itm p^d the xxij^d daye of December in the xxix^th yeare of the reynge off our Sou̅eyn Lorde Kynge Henry the viij^th, to John Styrmyn, Clerke, one off the Felowes of Gonwell hall in Cambryge, for the thurde payment, lymyted in a certen obligacyon wheryn my husband S^r Thom̄s le Straunge, Knyght, stode bownde in to the mas̄ & felowes off the seyde College concernynge the legacy & bequest off S^r Roger le Straunge, Knyght	x	—	—
For Tithes at Estern. Itm p^d the v^th day of Aprill to S^r John the pisshe p'st for all man̄ of Tythes	—	xiij	iiij
To the Duk̄ grace of Suff'. Itm p^d the iiij^th day February in the xxix^th yere of Henry the viij^th to Thom̄s Disney, Gent. Surveyo^r of the Duk of Suff. londs in the county of Norff. for j holl yers ferm of the man̄ of Segeforth due to the seid Duks Grace at the Fest of Seynt Michell thArchũngell, in the xxviij^th yere of Henry the viij^th	iiij	—	—

HECH'M P'SONAGE.

Itm p^d the xvij^th day of Marche for the repac̃ons of Hechm̃ Tythe berne for the last yere	—	vij	iiij
To M^r Conysby for our Lady day in Lent. Itm p^d the xviij^th day of Marche to M^r Conysby, by the hands of Thom̄s Newen for the Ferme of Hechm̃ Benyfyce, due at the Feast of the Annũciac̃on of our Lady next comyng, v3 the first q̃rter	vj	xiij	iiij
Itm p^d the viij^th day of August to M^r Conyngesby for the ferme of Hechm̃ benefice due at Lammes last past . . .	vj	xiij	iiij
Itm p^d the viij^th day of Septembre to Wyllm̃ Raven for the careyng of the tythe corn of Hechm̃ of the south side of the water .	—	xxxiij	iiij
Itm p^d the same day to Willm̃ Ryxe for the repac̃ons don on the tythe berne & the toll bowthe in Hechm̃ . . .	—	iiij	ix

[i] Sir Thomas Lestrange was one of the King's Commissioners to receive the temporalities of the priory of Westacre. These accounts of the purchase of land are obviously of dissolved religious houses.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
GERE BOUGHT FOR THE CHILDERN.			
Itm p^{d} the xvjth day of Marche to my son Roger by the hands of my son Nicholas	—	iij	ix
Itm p^{d} the xviijth day of Marche for a peyer of shois for the foole of the kechin & for the clowghtyng	—	—	xj
Itm the xxvjth of Marche to Butts, M^{r} Southwell's s$\tilde{v}$nt, for money that he leid owt for Willm̃ le Straunge, by the hands of the same Willm̃	—	viij	—
Itm gyven the xxvijth day of Marche to Roger le Strunge for his costs up to London & to bye him sherts . . .	—	xiij	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xxvijth day of Aprill to John Banyard the taylo^{r} for a peyer of hose stocks for Roger le Straunge . . .	—	—	xxiij
Itm p^{d} the xxviijth day of Aprill for j yerde & di. of white carsey for a payer of hose for Willm̃ le Straunge, & for j yerde of lynyng for the seid hose	—	iij	viij
Itm p^{d} the same day to hym for iij yerds of clothe for lynyng for a coote for the seid Willm̃ le Straunge, & for a hose lynyng for his asshe colerd hose	—	ij	ij
Itm p^{d} the same day to Southhous for a hose cloth for Willm̃ le Straunge	—	ij	viij
Itm p^{d} the same day to hym for ij peyer of shoys for hym	—	—	xvj
Itm p^{d} the xix day of May for a peyer of com̃ busskens for Willm̃ le Straunge	—	—	xvj
It̃ p^{d} the same day for poynts for Willm̃ le Straunge .	—	—	iij
Itm p^{d} to John Scokt the xxiij^{d} daye of Maye for Willm̃ Straungys quote makyng	—	—	xvj
Itm to hym for a nell [k] of fuschian	—	—	x
Itm for ij payer of hoose makyng the one of ashe colour & the other of white	—	ij	—
Itm the makyng of Henry & lytle Willyams cotys .	—	—	xvj
Itm to the Priour of Westacr ser$\tilde{v}$nt for a payre of shoose for master Henry	—	—	vj
It̃ p^{d} to Rychard le Straunge the iiijth day of June for his half yere annuyte endyng at Lammes next comyng . . .	—	l	—
Itm p^{d} to the Vycar of Thornehm̃ for Henry le Straunge bord	—	viij	—

[k] An ell?

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm p[d] the v day of July to Richard le Straunge by the hands of his sv̄nt when he rod to the supp̄ssion of the Abbeyes in —— .	—	xl	—
Itm sent to my son Thom̄s le Straunge by my son Nicholas boye the xij daye of August	—	v	—
Itm p[d] the xx[th] day of August for ij sherts for the foole of the kechin	—	xx	—
Itm p[d] the same day for a peyer of slopes for him . .	—	—	xiiij
Itm p[d] the same day to John Bell for makyng of Hamond le Straunges hose & his dubblett	—	—	xx
Itm p[d] the x[th] day of Septembre to Henry Shomaker, for compassyng of a peyer of boots, & for a payer of shoys for Willm̄ le Straunge	—	—	xvij
Itm p[d] the xxx[th] daye of Decembre to M[r] Willm̄ le Straunge for to playe at the cards	—	iij	iiij
Itm p[d] the xvj[th] day of Septembre to Richard le Straunge for to paye for the leasse that he hathe of a Ferme of Haggemond Abbeye [1]	—	xxvij	—
Itm p[d] the xvij[th] day of September for iij yerds & di. of fustyan for Hamond le Straunge, & for Pero that kepe the hounds .	—	ij	iiij
Itm p[d] the same day for a hose clothe & the lynyng for the same Pero	—	ij	iiij
Itm p[d] to Willm̄ le Straunge for to have in his purse whan he rod to Norwyche w[t] his father at the oyer & ꝑmynꝰ . .	—	iij	iiij
Itm the same daye for a lethyr doblett for the foole of the kechin	—	—	xiij
Itm p[d] the last day of Septembre to Harry Shomaker for ij peyer of shoys, the oon for Henry le Straunge & the other for Hamond le Straunge	—	—	viij
Itm p[d] the same day to the shomaker of Thornlhm̄ for a peyer of boots for Willm̄ le Straunge	—	ij	vj
It p[d] to the drap̄ of Southcrecke the same day for vj yerds & di. of freasse for coots for the children at ix[d] the yerd . .	—	iiij	ix
Itm p[d] the iij[de] daye of Octobre to Herry Shomaker for a peyer of boots for Herry le Straunge when he rod to Oxford w[t] M[r] Adm̄son [m]	—	—	xij
Itm p[d] the same day to Shabyngton by the hands of Henry Shomaker for ij peyer of knytt hose for him . . .	—	—	xij
Itm p[d] the vij[th] day of Octobre to John Taylo[r] for makyng of Hamond le Strunges coote viij[d], & Herry le Straunge coote of freese viij[d], & for lynyng to the same coots ij[s] vij[d] . . .	—	iij	xj

[1] Haghmon Abbey, of Austin Canons, in Shropshire.

[m] The tutor accompanying the boy to College.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm p[d] the xxvij[th] day of Decembre to M[r] Richard le Straunge in rewarde for this Christmes	—	vj	viij
Itm p[d] the viij[th] day of Octobre to David John for an axidens for Herry le Straunge[n]	—	—	viij
Itm p[d] the same day to the sadeler of Lyn for a peyer of spores for Henry le Straunge	—	—	vj
Itm p[d] to Richard le Straunge the x[th] daye of Octobre for his half yeres anuyte ended at Candellmes next[o] . . .	—	l	—
Itm p[d] to him at the same tyme in rewarde . .	—	xx	—
Itm p[d] the xxij[d] day of Octobre for a payre of shoes for the fole	—	—	vij
Itm p[d] the same tyme to John Banyard for makyng & mended[p] of the chillderns gere	—	xj	—
Itm p[d] the xxviij[th] day of Octobre to Henry Shomaker for a peyer of shoys for Hamond	—	—	iiij
Itm p[d] the iiij[th] daye of Novembre unto Shavyngton for ij yerds of fusthian for M[r] Henry	—	ij	—
Itm p[d] the xj[th] day of Novembre for iij peyre of hoose for master Hamond	—	—	xv
Itm p[d] the xij[th] daye of Novembre for iij peyre of hose for Hamond le Straunge	—	ij	iiij
Itm p[d] the xvij[th] daye of Novembre for mendyng of the folys show	—	—	iij
Itm p[d] to Herry Shomaker the xx[ti] day of Novembre for ij peyer of shoys for Henry le Stṙunge & Hamond . . .	—	—	xij
Itm p[d] to Southouse the ix[th] daye off December for a yeard & di. off whyte for Wyllm̃ Straunge hose	—	iij	v
Itm p[d] to hym for ij yeards of fustyon (the same day) .	—	—	xvj
Itm p[d] the xvij[th] day of Decembre to M[rs] Brogave by the hands of Bartyllmew Skyppon for ij Frenche hoods w[t] the byllym[ts] for Katyne & Anne	—	xxx	—
Itm p[d] the xxx[th] daye of Decembre for a payre of shoue for M[r] Willm̃	—	—	viij

[n] We have just seen that this boy was at College.

[o] Here is a younger son's annuity, £5 a year at that time. A few entries lower, however, this fifty shillings is called his quarter's annuity ; so we may hope he had £10 a year. He appears by subsequent entries to have had various articles purchased for him, in addition to this allowance. This Richard Lestrange was Sir Thomas Lestrange's second son, and was afterwards "Customer of Lynn."

[p] Mending.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm p^{d} the same tyme for a yerde & di. of blacke to make master Richard a peyer of hoose	—	iiij	—
Itm p^{d} the xxviijth day of January to Richard le Straunge for his q̃rters annuyte endyng at Candelmes next comyng . .	—	l	—
Itm p^{d} the same day to Edward Taylo^{r} for makyng of Wyllm̃ le Straunge hosez & mendyng of other gere for hym . .	—	iij	viij
Itm p^{d} the same day for a shert clothe for Willm̃ le Straunge, to Crome of Walsynghm̃	—	iij	vj
Itm p^{d} the same day for a yerd & di. of blanckett for lynyng for Willm̃ le Straunge; the yong^{r} doblett & slopes . .	—	—	xij
Itm gyven to my daughter Alis when she went to Norwiche w^{t} her husband	—	xx	—
For the foole of the Kechyn. Itm p^{d} the iij^{de} day of February for a peyer of shoys for the foole of the kechyn . . .	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} the vjth day of February to John Banyard the taylo^{r} for makyng & mendyng of the childerns geer . . .	—	iij	iiij
Itm p^{d} to Southhouse the xth daye of Februarie for xij yerds of bokerum	—	vij	—
Itm p^{d} the xiijth day of February to M^{rs} Whalley sylke woman by the hands of Richard le Straunge for his own dett . .	—	xvj	viij
Itm p^{d} to Roger le Straunge the same day by the hands of Richard le Straunge for bye him suche things as he want . .	—	vij	vj

MONEY DELYV^{9}ED TO MY HUSBOND.

First p^{d} the viijth day of Marche to Crom of Walsynghm̃ for vj elnes of clothe for ij sherts for yow	—	xiij	vj
Itm p^{d} to master Thom̃s Wyndhm̃ the xvjth daye of Marche for a night gown	vj	vij	vj
Itm p^{d} to my son Nycholas the xvijth daye of Marche for a standard clothe that he bought for yow at London . . .	—	xxvj	viij
Itm p^{d} the same tyme to him for a p̃sent that yow dyd gyff to my lord Amberall [q]	—	x	—
Itm p^{d} to him the same tyme for a shert bond for yow .	—	xiiij	—
Itm p^{d} to him the same tyme for money that he delyv^{9}d yow at Westacr'	—	xxv	—
Itm p^{d} the xxvjth day of Marche to S^{r} John, M^{r} Southwells p̃st by			

[q] The office of Lord Admiral of England, is of a date at least as early as King Richard the Second. If the Account here given is of the 28th year of Henry the Eighth, which we suppose from p. 506, the Lord Admiral here mentioned was William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
the hands of Willm̃ le Straunge for money that yow borroughed of hym to play at dyce when yow wer ther . . .	—	xx	—
Itm p^{d} xxj day of Marche to the shoma'r of Thornhm̃ for a peyer of show^{s} for Thom̃s Man	—	—	viij
Itm dd̃ yow the vj day of Marche when yow rod to London	vj	iij	iiij
Itm dd̃ yow the vij day of Aprill when yow rod to Norwyche for to mete w^{t} my cosyn Rob^{t} Southwell	—	xv	vj
Itm dd̃ the xv day of Aprill to pley at dyce when my nevew Throg-m̃ton was her & my brother Wutton . . .	—	xx	—
Itm delyv̋ed yow the xvijth day of Aprill when yow wer at Westacre Abbey to giff the Chanons for their good wills . .	—	xx	iiij
Itm dd̃ yow the seid xvijth day of Aprill for yo^{r} fostyan sloppes	—	ij	iiij
Itm dd̃ yow the vjth day of May to pay John Siff for oyst^{r}s & other fyshe that yow sent forth to Brysley in Lent . . .	—	—	x
Itm p^{d} the xxixth day of Aprill for a boxe of lectuary, to Southhous	—	—	xvj
Itm p^{d} the xijth day of May to Cristofer, my son Nycholas sv̄nt, for a sylke girdell	—	iiij	—
Itm p^{d} to John Sckott the xxiij^{d} day of Maye for makyng of yo^{r} caulse skyne ^{r} coote	—	—	xij
Itm payed to Henry Shomaker the same daye of the moone for a payre drye buskyns	—	—	xx
Itm payed to the sayde Henry at the sayde tyme for a payre of pynson shoyse	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} the xxvijth day of May to John Man & other at Norwiche at the execuc̃on of the Trayto^{r}ʒ for suche things as was bought for yow there ^{s}	—	xlij	iij
Itm dd̃ yow the same day to pay Thom̃s Sadeller of Lyn for suche geer as he bought	—	vj	ij
Itm dd̃ you the xvth day of June by the hands of Rob^{t} Southhous to giff M^{r} George Towneshendes norce	—	iij	iiij

r Calve's skin.

s The Northern Insurrection, which became so formidable in this year, 1537, and which resulted from discontent at the suppression of Monasteries, extended itself into Norfolk. This rebellion, called the Pilgrimage of Grace, was secretly approved of by the Duke of Norfolk, whom Henry the Eighth had sent to head the royal army against it. In Norfolk the disturbances began at Walsingham, from a dislike of the suppression of the Abbey there. Doubtless the execution of traitors at Norwich, here mentioned, refers to some of those in arms against the King on this occasion.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm dd yow the xxiij^{d} day of June for to paye Henry shomaker for a payer of white buskens	—	—	xx
Itm p^{d} the same day to him for ij peyer of shoys for yo^{r} selff	—	—	xiiij
Itm p^{d} the same day to my brother Wutton for money that yow lost at shotyng	—	xij	—
Itm delyv̄d yow the xxviijth đay of June when yow rod to Elmehm̄ ꝑke to the bucke	—	x	—
Itm p^{d} to Rob^{t} Reed the same day for iiij northern sadells w^{t} oon harness	—	xij	—
Itm dd yow the vth day of July to paye Jarye for a geldyng	—	xxx	—
Itm dd yow the xiij day of July when yow rod M^{r} Woodhouse to shote	—	xl	—
Itm p^{d} to my son Nycholas the xvjth day of July for yo^{r} gren cloke a peyer of knytt sleves & for trymmyng of yo^{r} horne . .	—	xxxvij	ij
Itm dd yow the xth day of August when rod to Castellacre	—	xl	—
Itm p^{d} the xviijth day of Septembre to M^{r} Gauntt for a geldyng for yow	—	xl	—
Itm dd yow the xxiij^{d} day of Septembre when yow rod to Norwiche to the Oyer & termyner	—	xl	—
Itm p^{d} to Henry shomaker the iij daye of Octobre for a peyer of heye shoys for yo^{r}selff	—	—	x
Itm money gyffin to my sonne Cresseñ wiche he haught when he went to housse	—	xxxiij	iiij
Itm dd yow the xxixth day of October when yow rod a huntyng w^{t} M^{r}. Calthorpe and yong Conysby to Congĩm Furrez . .	—	x	—
It dd to my husbande the xij daye of Novembre when he went to Norwich and to Mr. Southwells	—	xx	—
Itm p^{d} the xijth day of Novembre at Mr. Southwells comandm^{t} to Mr. Fletewod my Lord Chũncellors sv̄nt [t] to be a meane to my seid lorde for yo^{r} subpena at Wadhouse sute . . .	—	x	—
Itm p^{d} the same day to the seid Skyppon, for yo^{r} haukhood & for y^{r} offeryng at Hallowmes	—	ij	—
Itm p^{d} to Harry Shomaker the xxth day of Novembre, for a peyer of drie buskyns for yo^{r} selff when you rod into Yorkeshire w^{t} my brother Hastyngs	—	—	xvj
Itm gyffen to master Wilĩm le Straung the ij^{d} daye of Decembre, when he rodd w^{t} yow to Godwyk	—	—	xx

[t] Thomas Lord Audley was then Lord Chancellor.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
For Evydẽce the wt yow had at Mast̃ Spilmans. Itm pd to Mallory the ixth daye off Decembre, when youe war at Westacre, for wrytyngs at Mast̃ Spylman's	—	ix	vj
Itm pd to hym the same daye for dressynge of yr horse & yor botts when you went to Mast̃ Hogons and other placys . . .	—	—	xv
Itm đd you the same daye by the hands of Bartyllmew Skyppon, when yow rod to Westacre	vj	xij	ij
Itm đd you the vth day of January, to play at cards and dice wt Mr Croppe & others	—	x	—
Itm đd you the vjth day of January, when you rod to Norwiche to the sessyons aft̃ Twelth	—	xl	—
Itm đd you the xxvijth day of January, to pley at the dyce wt Mr. Croppe & Mr Reymes	—	x	—
Itm pd the xxviiijth day of January to Crome of Walsyngħm, for ix elnes of Hollonde clothe, for to make yow sherts . .	—	x	vj
Itm pd the same day to Edward Taylor, for making trese coote	—	—	xv
Itm pd the same day for dyeng of yor sylke hatt . .	—	—	iiij

CORN BOUGHT.

Malt. Itm pd the vjth day of Marche to Wylłm Smyth, of Ketylston in full paymt of xx combȝ malt	—	vj	viij
Comyng for the dowes. Itm pd the same day for a pound of comyng for the dowes	—	—	iiij
. . . . .			

MAKING OF JACKS.

Itm pd for ij pownd of twyn, for the jacks,[u] the viijth day of Marche	—	—	—
Itm pd the same day to Crome, for iij elnes of canvas, for yr jack	—	—	xiij
Itm pd the xvijth day of Marche to the taylour for the wurke man shippe of iij jacks	—	ix	iiij
Itm pd the same day for twyn, for yor jacks . . .	—	—	vj
For Javelyns. It pd the xixth day of May, for di. lb. of blacke cruell for the javelyns	—	—	xij
It pd the first day of June for j lb. & di. of yellow cruell & black, to Thom̃s Sadeler	—	ij	ix

[u] A jack, a coat of mail.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p[d] the xv[th] day of June to Mathew Smyth, for makyng of platȩ for the jackȩ	—	iiij	ij
Itm p[d] the same day to Rob[t] Banyard, by the hands of Southhous, for ij skins to cov' y[r] jacke	—	ij	viij
The Sepulcre Light.[x] Itm p[d] the ix[th] day of Marche, for the makyng of a candell for the sepulcre & for the wax that went to it .	—	xij	—
To the ꝑson of Cockley Cley. Itm p[d] the xvij[th] day of Septembre to the ꝑson of Cokley Cley, for tythe wull & lambe for the shepe y[t] yow bought of Wiltm Wodhous, of Yngtm . . .	—	v	—

SHOYNG OF THE CARTHORSES W'T OTHER CHARGES BELONGING TO THE HUSBONDRYE.

Itm p[d] the xxix[th] day of Marche to Good the smyth, for shoyng of the cart horses, for the q̃rter ended at our Lady Day last past .	—	vj	x
Itm p[d] the xij[th] day of May, for a payer of whynne gloves .	—	—	iij
. . . . .			
Itm p[d] the vj[th] day of July to Jary, for a geldyng for the cart	—	xvij	—
Itm p[d] the xxij[d] day of July, to the sever, for makyng of lattas for the corne chamber wyndowes	—	—	xvij
Itm p[d] the same to the ij carpenters of Darsyngtm, for iiij dayes worke of yche of them in makyng of a newe cart booke .	—	ij	viij
Itm p[d] the xj[th] day of August, for a dayes wurke of viij sherers at iij[d] the day in shering the whete closse	—	ij	—
. . . . .			
Itm p[d] the same day for a weilbarugh . . .	—	—	x
Itm p[d] the same daye for vj halters	—	—	iij
Itm payed the same daye for iiij shovells . . .	—	—	iiij

MONEY P'D FOR LITTLE RYNGSTED, CALLED BARRETT RYNSTED.

To the Busshop. Itm p[d] the xiij[th] day of June, for senage & ꝑxye, for this yere & yere that haye ben rñ, so that at this day there is nothing vnp[d]	—	xxviij	x ob.
For King's Money. Itm p[d] the same day for the Kyng's money, for the same benefice	—	vj	viij
Ingaldesthorpe Benefice. Itm p[d] the xiij[th] day of June, for synage and proxage for this yere	—	ix	—

[x] See before, in the note, p. 440.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p[d] the xxiiij[th] day of June to the pishe pst of Ingaldesthorpe, by the hands of Willm Gren, for his qrter wag ended the same daye[y].	—	xxvj	viij

FOR HOLME BENEFICE.

Itm p[d] the iij[de] daye of June to the Bisshopp of Norwiche, by the hands of Thomas Holl, for the pencon of the Churche of Holme, due at the seen at Est[n] last past	—	xxv	viij
To the Abbot of Lylsoull.[z] Itm p[d] the x[th] day of Septembre, to the Abbott of Lylsoull, by the hands of Thoms Shavington, for the holl yerez ferme, endyng at Michelmes next comyng . .	vj	—	—
Shernboe. Itm p[d] to John Chesse the v[th] daye of August, for the carrying of the tythe of Sharneburne, in pte of payment of foure nobulls	—	vj	viij
Itm p[d] the viij[th] day of Septembre to John Chesse, in full paym[t], for careyng of the tythe corne ther. Anno xxix[o] . .	—	xx	—
For the ferme of the psonage at Sharnbone. Itm p[d] the xviij[th] day of Novembre to the Erle of Rotland, by the hands of Willm Green, of Pentney, for the holl yers ferme of the psonage of Sharnbne, the whiche belongeth to Pentney Abbey, ended at the feast of Seynt Michell th'arcangell last past, anno H. viij[mi] xxix . . .	viij	—	—
Ingaldesthorp. Itm p[d] the viij[th] day of Octobre to pishe pst of Ingaldesthorp, by the hands of Willm Gren, for his ij[de] qrters wag ended at Mychelmes last past	—	xxvij	viij
Payment for the dressing of hemp. Itm p[d] the iiij[th] day of Decembre to Willm Grene, for dressyng and ryveing of xx stone & three quarters of hempp	—	iij	v

FOR THRESSHING.

Holme whett. Itm p[d] at dyvs tyme to sundry psons for thresshing & dytyng of xxvj combes and ij bushells of whete, of Holme Tythe, as it

[y] At this rate the perpetual curacy of Ingaldesthorpe was then worth £5. 6*s*. 8*d*. per annum. These payments for benefices are worthy of remark, the transfer of impropriations to laymen from the Monasteries having just commenced.

[z] The Abbot of Lilleshull, in Shropshire, who possessed the manor of Holme next the Sea before the dissolution, and by this appears to have retained an annuity from it afterwards

	£.	s.	d.
appereth by the booke of thresshing bering date from the fourthe day of Marche in xxviijth yere of Kyng Henry the viijth vntyll the fourth dey of the same monethe, in the xxixth yere, that is to witt by the space of an hole yere	—	viij	j
Holme Mixtlyn. Ītm p^{d} to dyv̄s ꝑsons at sundry tymes, for thresshyng & dyting of xxij comb & ij bȝ of mixtylion, as it appereth by the booke before expressed	—	iiij	xjob.
Holme Barley. Ītm p^{d} to dyv̄s ꝑsons at sundry tymes for thresshyng and dytyng of xij^{xx} x comb and iij busshels of barley of Holme tythe, as it appereth by the seid booke . . .	—	xij	iiij
For Peese of Holm Tythe, Hechm̄ Tythe, and my own grow. Ītm p^{d} for thresshyng of tithe pees, of Holme, Hechm̄, and of my own growe, as it appereth by the seid booke . . .	—	ij	iij
The Kyngs Money. Ītm p^{d} the xxiiijth daye off Decembre to the cunstables Batyley and Thaccar off Ryngsted, for the taske off Barnards londs	—	xxij	—
Ītm p^{d} to Thaccar the same day for londe lyynge in Ryngsted off the mañ of Hunstanton	—	vj	viij
Taske Money Hechm̄. Ītm p^{d} the xxvij daye of Decembre to Wyllm̄ Ryxe for the Kyngs money at Hechm̄ . .	—	iiij mks.	
Segeforde. Ītm p^{d} the same daye to Willm̄ Barrett for the Kyngs money at Sedgforde	—	xv	—
Thorneham. Ītm payed the xxviijth daye of Decembre to Thom̄s Jervys for the taske money ther	—	xx	—
Hunstan Mustrels, Jokyns, Wynsleys, Habbs, and Dyxe Clerke. Ītm p^{d} to John Grane and Gotrey ymp̄ the xxviijth daye off December for the taske ther	—	xlvij	—
Sharneborne. Ītm payed the xxixth day of Decembre to Henry Copper for the taske money there	—	vj	viij
Sharneborne. Ītm payed to Henry Copper the same day for xij acre̅ of land belonging to the tythe berne ther . .	—	—	xij
Holme. Ītm p^{d} the same daye to Edmond Callewe for the taske of lxv acre̅ and dī in Holme	—	x	xj
Ītm p^{d} the same Edmund at the same tyme for vj acre̅ in Holme, callyd the Northall lands	—	—	xi

No. 9. HUNSTANTON.

Thys book made the xixth daye of Marche, yn the xxiiij^{ti} yeer of the regn of our Soverayn lord Kyng Henr̃ the viijth, maketh mencyon of all maner of expensys & payments frõ the sayd xix daye of Marche on to the next accompt.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The iiijth Weke.			
Ītm p^{d} to my dowghter Helyn, for a kalfe . . .	—	ij	iiij
. . . . .			
The xxxji^{d} Weke.			
Ītm p^{d} to Ralfe Thomson for iij ston of byff, bowght of Kooke the bocher of Hũstanton	—	—	xxj
Ītm p^{d} to the fowler for fowll	—	—	xiiij
Ītm p^{d} to Ralffe Thomson for a stone of byffe bowght of Kooke y^{e} bocher off Hũstanton	—	—	vij
. . . . .			
The xliiijth Wek.			
Ītm p^{d} to the fowler for iij dosyn and dī of knotts . . .	—	iiij	j
Ītm p^{d} to hym for a dosyn stynts	—	—	ij ob.
Ītm p^{d} to a felowe of Snettyshm̃ for a dosyn stynts and iij other fowles	—	—	viij
Ītm p^{d} to the malster for eggs	—	—	iij
. . . . .			
The xlix Weke.			
Ītm to a woman of Ryngsted for but$^{?}$ for the chyldern	—	—	ii
. . . . .			
The sm̃ of the weks aforseyde w^{t} ij neet bought of Caddyman, price xviij^{s}	xx	iiij	vj
The hoole sm̃ of the payments w^{t} that y^{t} remayn in my hands	xviij^{xx}	xix^{v}	v ob.q̃
Remayn in my hands	xlv	v	iij

GEER BOUGHT FOR MY HUSBOND.

Ītm p^{d} to Crome for ij shirts clothis y^{e} xxiiijth daye of February for vj ells & a quart	—	vij	iij
Īt delyv̋d to my husbond the xxvth day of the same whan he went to Wyndh̃m to my Lady Knyvett	viij	—	—
Īt delyveryd to hym the same daye for his costs . .	—	xl	—
Ītm p^{d} to my son Nycholas the xxvth day of the same moneth for a cloke	—	x	—

	£.	s.	d.
Itm pd to Robt Southuse the xxvjth daye of the same moneth for his costs whan he went to London wt wyldefoule to masr Tresurer	—	xvij	ix
Itm to hym for ij dosyn poynts the same daye	—	—	xij
Itm to hym for a peyer of slopps that Browne hade	—	—	xiij
Itm to hym the same daye for hys costs & Brownys at Bartillmue feyer	—	—	viij

PLOWME'S WAGE.

Itm pd to Robt Sley for vj days work in plowyng the xxj daye of February	—	—	xij
Itm pd to hym the vjth daye of Marche for ij weks work	—	—	xxij
Itm pd to Robt Sley for a daye & di. harrowyng the xijth daye of Marche	—	—	iij

HECH'M TYTHE BERN. 24 Hen. 8.

Newe corn of ys yeer. Itm receyvyd from Hechm̃ Tythe bern the xviijth daye of January of hennys corn xvj combe & a skepe.

Itm receyvyd frõ the bern aforsayd the xxviijth daye of January of whete xvj combe & iij bz wherof a comb & iij bz ys putt yn the myxtelyn, & so ther remayn yn the chamber att this daye of wheete xxj combe.

Itm receyvyd frõ thens of barly iiijxx combe & xvij.

Itm receyvyd the xixth day of January frõ the bern aforsayd of myxtelyn xiiij combz & iij bz.

Itm pd to the threshers ther by the hands of Wylleam Raven the second day of February for threshyng of vxx combz barly & xiij, & for dyghtyng, xiijs viijd.

Itm pd for wheett thresshyng of xvj combz & dyghtyng, iijs xjd.

Itm pd for thresshyng & dyghtyng of xv combz, iijs iiijd.

HUNSTANTON BERN.

Newe Corn. Itm receyvyd the fyrst daye of December out of the sayd bern of wheet v combe.

Itm receyvyd the same daye out of that bern of myxtelyn ix comb.

Itm receyvyd the xvjth daye of January frõ the sayd bern of myxtelyn xix comb.

Itm receyvyd frõ thence the same day v combe pees.

Itm receyvyd of Hennys corn v combe.

Remayn yn the chamber.

Ītm ther remayn yn the chamber the xxvj daye of January of myxtelyn xxxiij combe & iij bȝ.

MALTE SPENT.

Mđ. That ther ys spent from the fest of the puryfycacyon of our Lady the xxiiij yeer of the Regn of Kyng Henry the viij onto the sayde fest next folowyng, beyng the xxv yeer of the regn aforsayd, of malt vij scoor combe & xix.

RYNGSTED BERN.

Ītm receyvyd the xxvjth day of November of Edwards wyffe xx combȝ of barley.

Ītm receyvyd the xvijth day of December frō the bern aforsayd iiij combȝ of wheete & iij tynts.

Ītm receyvyd of wynter corne strawe of the sayde corn C & di.

. . . . . .

	£.	s.	d.
HUNSTON NEW CORN THRESSHYNG.			
Ītm p^{d} to Ralfe Tomson the day aforsayd for ij dayes thresshyng .	—	—	ij ob.
. . . . .			
PAYD FOR HERRYNG, &c.			
. . . . .			
Ītm p^{d} to my host of the bull at Lyn the day aforsayd by the hands of the forsayd Rob^{t} for a cagg of els	—	v	—
Ītm p^{d} to my host aforsayd for iiij galons of oyle . .	—	iiij	viij
. . . . .			
FETCHYS BOUGHT FOR SEDE.			
Ītm p^{d} to Callowe for ij combe of fetchys the xxjst daye of February for sede	—	iiij	—
. . . . .			
A CLOSET MAKYNG.			
Ītm p^{d} the viijth day of Novembre for ij dayes worke & dī in makyng a closett in my chamber	—	—	x
BARLEYE BOWGHT.			
Ītm p^{d} to Gylberd Smythe of Brankester the xxiiijth daye off Septēbre for xxx combȝ off barley after xviij^{d} a comb to be delyv̄yd att the puryfycasyon off our Lady next com^{g} . .	—	xlv	—

	£.	s.	d.
Itm pd the xth daye of Novẽbre to Gylberd Smythe for when my husbond went to Norwyche for xxx combȝ off barleye to be delyv̋yd att our Ladye daye in Lent callyd the Annũsyasyon nexte comynge	—	xlv	—

CANDLE BOWGHT.

Itm pd the xiiijth daye of Octobre to the shomaker off Massy'ghm̃ for iijxx lb. off candle	—	vij	vj
Itm pd to Ralfe Tomson the last day of January for vj lb. candle	—	—	ix
Itm pd to my host of the Bull att Lyn the xvij daye of Februarye by the hands of Robt Reede for xxvj dosen candle . .	—	xxxij	vj
Itm for the barrells	—	—	x

GERE BOWGHTE FOR THE CHYLDREN.

Itm pd to the shomaker of Lyn the vj daye of Apryll for a payer of shos for Rychard & a payer for John Cressneȓs boye & a payre for the foll and a payer for Wyllym	—	—	xxiij
Itm pd the ix daye of Apryll for thryde for to sowe the chyldrens gere	—	—	iiij
Itm pd the xv daye of Apryll for di. a yerd of whyghte carseye to stoke Wyllm̃ a peyre of hose	—	—	x ob.
Itm pd the xviij daye of Maye for a yeard & a di. of canves to lyne the foll a dublett	—	—	v
Itm pd to the shomakere of Lynne the xxj daye of Maye for a paere of shoyse for Wyllm̃ & a payre for Rychard . . .	—	—	xiij
. . . . .			
Itm pd to the bocher of Hunston the xxvij daye of Septẽber for a payre off shoys for the fooll	—	—	vij
Itm pd to John Sowerman the xj daye of October for v yeards & a di of Russett cotton for a kott for Wyllym . . .	—	iij	viij
Itm pd to Ralff Thomson the xj daye of October for clowtye lether for the boye off the kechyn & the fooll . . .	—	—	iiij
. . . . .			
Itm pd the xxv daye off Octobre to Todd of Holm' for solynge a payre off showys for Wyllm̃	—	—	iij
Itm pd the xviij daye of Novembre to John Syffe for iij yerds of blankett for a petycott & a payre of slopps for the fooll .	—	ij	vj

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
WAGYS.			
Itm p[d] to John Fysshe the vj[th] daye of Apryll for his dĩ yere wagys endyd the same daye	—	xiij	iiij
Itm p[d] to Fransys Chansye the x[th] daye of Apryll for hys q̃rtę wages endyd at Crowchemes[b] next commynge . . .	—	vj	viij
. . . . .			
Itm p[d] to S[r] Rychard on Mydsom̃ daye for hys qrę wages endyd the same daye	—	xxxiij	iiij
. . . . .			
Itm p[d] to Rychard Banyard the ij[de] daye of Apryll for hys fee	—	xxvj	viij
Itm p[d] to Vallynger the viij daye of Julye lakkynge of hys fee the laste yere	—	ij	viij
. . . . .			
Itm p[d] to Robert the karter the xix daye of Jannere for his q̃rt[s] wages endyd the xxviij daye of the same monethe . .	—	v	—
Itm payd to Mathew the smyth the vij daye of Februarye for his q̃rt[r] wagę endyd att Seynt Valentyn next ensuyng . .	—	x	—
Itm p[d] to Thom̃s the malster the viij daye of February for his q̃rt[r] wagę endyd the iiij daye of the same monethe . .	—	v	—
Itm p[d] to Thom̃s the tayler the xxviij daye of Februarie for hę quart[rs] wagę endyd the second daye of Marche . .	—	viij	iiij
. . . . .			
The sm̃ of the hole wagę & fees on thys daye xxiiij[l] xix[s] iiij[d].			
MONEYE DELYV'YD TO MY HUSBOND.			
Itm p[d] to my husbond the v daye of Apryll for moneye alowyd to Rob[t] Sowthowse	—	xiiij	xj
Itm delyv̋yd to hym on Mandye Thursdaye . .	—	v	—
Itm delyv̋yd to hym the sam daye for a byll alowyd to Edward for hauks mett	—	vij	xj
Itm to hym the same day for a byll alowyd to Edward for hę costs	—	iiij	v
Itm delyv̋yd to hym the xij daye of Apryll for a byll alowyd to Nycholas	—	xxiij	viij
Itm delyv̋yd to hym the sam daye for moneye alowyd to S[r] Rychard for a candell	—	—	x

[b] Crowche, a cross. The feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14th.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm delyvyd to hym the xxij daye of Apryll whē he wente to the sessyons at Walsyngħm	—	xv	—
Itm delyvyd to hym the xxv daye of Apryll for a byll of costs alowyd to Mylsente	—	xiiij	iiij
Itm delyvyd to hym the vj daye of Maye whē he wente to my Lorde of Norfolke	—	xl	—
Itm delyvyd to hym the xvij daye of Maye for John Farrere	—	viij	—
Coronation of Anne Boleyn.[c] Itm delyvyd to hym the xxiiij daye of Maye when he wente to the corownasyon . . .	xl	—	—
Itm delyvyd to hym the xxj daye of June, for a byll alowyd to Edward	—	v	—
Itm delyvyd to hym the xxix daye of Jun' for to gyve John Sꝑung when he wente to London	—	vij	vj
Itm delyvyd to hym the iiij[th] daye of Julye when he went to Mr. Sumners	—	vj	viij
Itm delyvyd to my husband on Corpus Cristy day at Mr Spylmans, for busynes wythe my lord Sowche . . .	—	xxx	—
Itm delyvyd to hym the xj daye of Julye, for the tythe att Tychewell & srtyn corne on the ground, bowght off Sr Jaffreye .	viij	—	—
Itm delyvd to my hosbond the xxj daye of Julye, when he went to the French Quens berryall[d]	—	xl	—
Itm delyvd to hym the ix day of Auguste, whē he went to London to the Quen, for the matter betwyxt Sr Jamys Bollen & Allard's wyff	vj	xiij	iiij
Itm delyvd to hym the viij daye of Auguste, for Stoñ for hys wagge	—	xx	—
Itm delyvd to hym the sam daye, for to paye Hamote Poll, for iij rod & a dī. of lond bowht off hym	—	x	—
Itm delyvd to hym the xxv daye of Auguste, for a byll allowyd to Davyd, that he payed to John Man, for ij yerds and iij q̄trs of blake sattyn	—	xx	viij
Itm delyvd to my husbond the ix daye of Decembre, when he went a stalkynge for master tresurer	—	xx	—
Itm delyvd to hym the xvij daye of Decembre, when he went to Lynn Sessyons	—	vj	viij
Itm delyvd to hym the sam daye to pay to Thom̃s Neve, for a gowne for Mary Strange	—	xl	—

[c] Anne Boleyn was crowned June 1st, 1533. She was related to most of the Norfolk families, and was nearly allied to the Lestranges, through the Heydons of Baconsthorpe.

[d] At St. Edmondsbury. The Duchess of Suffolk, daughter of King Henry the Seventh. See note d, p. 435

	£.	s.	d.
Itm delyvd to my hosband the xix daye of Decembre, to pay John Woddouse	xx	—	—
Itm delyvd to my husbond when he went to my lord of Northfolk at twelthe	—	xx	—
Itm delyvd to hym the same tyme in Crystmas, for to playe .	—	xx	—
Itm delyvyd the same tyme to Edward Ouseley, for our costs when we went to my vncle Woddouse	—	x	iij
Itm delyvd to my husbond the xiiij daye of February, whan he pleyd att the cards wt John Mañ	—	v	—
Itm delyvd to hym the xvij daye of Februarye, when he pleyd att the cards wt Mast Bramton	—	v	—
Itm delyveryd to my husbond the xxij daye of the same, when he pleyd att the cards wt my cosyn Cressenalle . . .	—	x	—

REWARDS.

Itm in reward the ijd daye of Apryll to Pepys svante, for ij warpe off lynge & a warpe of codd	—	—	viij
Itm in reward the vij daye of Aprill to a horse leche . .	—	iij	—
Itm in reward the ix daye of Apryll to the vykers woman of Dokkynge, for iij gren geese & a hũdrethe eggs . . .	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the sam daye to the vykere of Snettysham svante, for C eggs	—	—	j
Itm in reward the xj daye of Aprill to Warns man, for iij green geese	—	—	ij
Itm in reward the sam daye to the vykere of Thornham lad, for a bottell of wyne	—	—	ij
. . . . .			
Itm in reward the sam daye to the lytle pson off Ryngsteds boye, for C eggs	—	—	ij
Itm in reward the xxij daye off Apryll to Mr Cobbs srvãte, for iij cople off rabbetts	—	—	ij
Itm in reward the xxvij daye of Apryll to the bayleye of Ryngsted's srvant, for a dosen pygeonꝭ	—	—	j
Itm in reward the fyrste daye Maye, to the pson of Hyllyngton svante for C eggs	—	—	ij
Itm in reward the xiij daye of Maye to the Kyngs srvante, for bryngynge letters from the Kinge	—	ij	—

	£.	s.	d.
Itm in reward the vij day of Jun to Fulmston sv̄ante for bryngynge iij fesands	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the sam daye to the keper s[r]vant of Rysynge for bryngyng dī a buke	—	—	iiij
. . . . .			
Itm in reward the xxviij daye of Jun to Doktere Dosysns s[r]vante for bryngynge strauberrys	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the firste daye of Julye to M[r] Cursons sv̄ante for bryngynge ij whelps	—	—	ij
Itm in reward the vi daye off Auguste to Rob[t] John Mans s[r]vante for bryngynge ij sygnetts and spicę	—	—	xvj
Itm in reward the vij daye off Auguste to ij mynstrells off Wyndhm	—	—	viij
Itm in reward the vij daye off Auguste to the keper sv̄ant off Elmham Parke for bryngynge a buke	—	—	xij
Itm in reward the xxx daye of Auguste to bocher off Hūston for kyllynge a nette	—	—	ij
. . . . .			
Itm in reward the sam daye to a fryer . . .	—	—	ij
Itm in reward the xxviij daye of September to Edmōd Pattryks sv̄ant for bryngynge graps and peachys . . .	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the ij daye off Octobre to a fryer off Lyn .	—	—	ij
Itm in reward the vi daye off October to my brother Hastyngs s[r]vant for bryngyng my blake nage	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the sam daye to Master Kokkens s[r]vant for bryngynge medlers	—	—	iiij
. . . . .			
Itm in reward the xxvij[th] daye of Novēber to the Ancares of Cocsford	—	ij	—
. . . . .			
Itm in reward the xxvij daye off January to John Laurance for leyinge of ratton bayn[e]	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the v daye of February to the pyper of Hecham	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the xiiij[th] daye of February to a prysts servant for bryngyng of fresche samond	—	—	ij
For schouryng of vessell. Itm in reward the xviij day of February to a poor woman of y[e] town for schouryng of ij garnysth of pew?	—	—	ij

[e] Poison for rats.

STUFFE BOWHT FOR THE HOUSE.	£.	s.	d.
Itm p^{d} to hym the xxj day of Octobre for ij dosyn dyaper napkyns for the butreye	—	ix	iiij
Itm p^{d} to Ralfe Thomson the laste daye of November for iij coverletts for the servants chambers	—	vij	—
Itm p^{d} to hym the same daye for iij coverletts for plowmen	—	ij	vj
Itm p^{d} to hym the same daye for disshys and spons for them[f]	—	—	iij
Itm p^{d} to Mestres Wotton at Crystmes last paste for a carpette	—	xx	—
Spyc̃s. Itm p^{d} to Ralfe off Hecḥm the ij^{de} daye off Apryll for a q̃rte of honeye	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} to Nycolas the vi day of Apryll for iiij ℔ of fyggs .	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} to hym the viij daye off Auguste for ij loffs off sowgere aft vj^{d}. ob. a ℔. . . . . Sm̃	—	viij	viij
Itm p^{d} to hym the sam daye for a q̃rte of clouffs . .	—	—	xx
Itm p^{d} to hym the sam daye for a q̃rte of mase . .	—	ij	vj
Itm p^{d} to hym the sam daye for ij ℔ of datte . .	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} for oranges and sugar candy . . .	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} to my son Nicholas the xxv daye of February for halfe a reme of papyr	—	—	xij
Carryage. Itm p^{d} to Wyllm Causton the xth daye of Apryll for carryage and portage of ij hoggsheds of wyne from Lynn to Hunstanton	—	ij	ij
Itm p^{d} to hym the xij daye of Maye for carryage of iij hoggshedds off wyne from Lynn to Hecḥm	—	—	xx
Itm p^{d} the xxij daye off Novembre for carrying of hogshed off weyn from Cley'	—	—	xij
COLLS BOWGHT.			
Itm p^{d} to Grom the xxiij daye off Julye for ix chalders off coll after v^{s} a chaldre . . . . . Sm̃	—	xlv	—
Itm p^{d} to Davyd the viij daye off Julye for iron bowght for our smythe	—	x	—
Itm p^{d} to the roper for the smythe belouse . . .	—	—	j
Itm p^{d} to the Scott of Ryngsted for a payre off smythys belows the xij daye of Apryll	—	iij	iiij
Itm p^{d} to Mathewe the Flemynge for a scythe the vth daye off November	—	xij	—

[f] It appears by this that the plowmen and labourers, employed for the cultivation of the land retained in his own hands by the landlord, were lodged and boarded in the house. In the account of the building of a Norfolk Hall, at a date a little subsequent to this period, I find the Plowman's Hall mentioned as one of the rooms.

No. 10. Hunstanton. 1533.

This book made the xxixth day of Marche, in the xxiiijth yere of the reign of Henry the viijth, by the grace of God defender of the feith, & Lord of Irlond, maketh menc̃on of all mañ of expenses of the howsehold, from the seid xxixth day of Marche vnto the next accompt.

	£.	s.	d.
The fyrst Weke.			
Sondaye. Iẽm a galł of salt sturgyn of gyste . .	—	—	—
Iẽm a soll of gyste	—	—	—
Mundaye. Iẽm a pyke of gyste	—	—	—
Iẽm a soll of gyste	—	—	—
Tewysdaye. Iẽm a mullytte of gyste . . .	—	—	—
Iẽm a salt eell	—	—	v
Iẽm a samon trowte of gyste	—	—	—
Straungers in the same weke.			
M^{r} Bannyard and M^{r} Calybotte & viij workemen, and so the sm̃ of thys weke besyde gyste & store	—	xxxij	vij
The ij^{d} Weke.			
Tewysdaye. Iẽm a crabbe & a cravose g . . .	—	—	iij
Thursdaye. Iẽm a brette cocke of gyste . . .	—	—	—
Straungers in the sam weke.			
M^{r} Sharnburn Fulm̃ston, the p̄son of Wolv̄ton, & the p̄son of Newton, & the und̄ shreve of Suff. & so the s̄m of thys weke beside gyste & store	—	xxvj	vj
The iij^{d} Weke.			
Iẽm in butt̃ a kake of gyste & a viij of store . .	—	—	—
. . . . .			
Straungers in the same weke.			
M^{r} John Wotton & Mr. Sharnburn w^{t} other of the cũtrey, and so the sum of thys weke, besyde gyste & store . , .	—	xl	vj ob.
The iiijth weke. Straungers in the same weke.			
The vyker of Feltwell, and Purpoyne,[h] wythe other of the cũtreye, and so the s̄m of thys weke, besyde gyste & store . .	—	xxiiij	iiij

g Cray fish. h Pierpoint.

	£.	s.	d.
The v^th^ Weke.			
. . . . .			
Tewysdaye. Ītm v pygeons of gyste . . .	—	—	—
Ītm ij spowys of gyste	—	—	—
Ītm iiij rabbetts of gyste	—	—	—
Weddynsdaye. Ītm a pyge of store . . .	—	—	—
Ītm iiij cople of rabbetts of store	—	—	—
Ītm iij popelers of store	—	—	—
Straungers in the same weke, John Barney, wythe other of the cũtreye. And so the s̃m of thys weke besyd gyst & store .	—	xxvj	viij ob.
The vj^th^ Weke.			
. . . . .			
Sũdaye. Ītm v herns & a popeler of store . . .	—	—	—
Mũdaye. Ītm iiij Se dotterelles	—	—	iij
Satterday. Ītm a cranose	—	—	ij
. . . . .			
Ītm in whete iij bz	—	iij	—
Ītm in Myxtelyn j combz	—	ij	x
Ītm in bere iij barrells	—	v	—
Ītm in candell j lb. & a di.	—	—	ij q̃^r^
Straungers in the sam weke.			
M^r^ Callybote wythe other of the cũtreye and so the s̃m of thys weke besyd gyste and store	—	xxj	viij ob.q̃^r^
The vij^th^ Weke. Straungers in the same weke.			
Myn ṽcle Bannyarde w^t^ other of the cũtreye & so the s̃m of thys weke besyd gyste & store	—	xxv	j ob.
The ix^th^ weke. Straungers in the sam weke.			
Myn ṽcle Banyard, wythe other of the cuntreye, & so the sm̃ of thys weke besyd gyste & store	—	xxvj	x
The xj^th^ Weke.			
. . . . .			
Ītm xiiij larks kyllyd w^t^ the hobbye	—	—	—

	£.	s.	d.
The xijth Weke. Straungers in the sam weke.			
Robsere & hys wyfe, John Wotts, John Man wythe there servantts & so the sm̃ of thys weke besyde gyste & store . . .	—	xxvij	vij̃ q'
The xiijth Weke.			
Tewysdaye. Itm̃ xij larks kyllyd w^{t} the hobbey . .	—	—	—
Thursdaye. Itm̃ vj mallards & v coots kyllyd wythe the spannyell.	—	—	—
Straungers in the same weke.			
My cosyn Wyndhm̃, myn uncle Woddowse & hys brother, John Cresnere & Arnold w^{t} ther s^{r}vants, & so the sm̃ of thys weke, besyd gyste & store	—	xxv	v
The xiiijth Weke.			
Weddynsdaye. Itm̃ ij fesands of gyste . . .	—	—	—
Straungers in the sam weke.			
M^{r} Gurneye,[i] Crystofer Pern & hs̃ wyffe, wythe other of the cũtreye, & so the sm̃ off thys weke besyd gyste & store . . .	—	xx	xj
The xvth Weke.			
Sũdaye. Itm̃ xij sparrouse of gyste . . .	—	—	—
Straungers in the same weke.			
My lady Knyvett, my brother Hastyngs & hys wyff, my syster Elsabethe, Mestrys Kurson, & John Wotton, w^{t} there sarvants, & so the sm̃ of thys weke besyd gyste & store	—	—	—
The xvijth Weke. Straungers in the sam weke.			
V workemen & so the sm̃ of thys weke besyde gyste & store	—	xxij	ij ob.
The xixth Weke. Straungers in the sam weke.			
M^{r} Jarnynghm̃, M^{r} Goldynghm̃, w^{t} ther s^{r}vants, and so the sum off thys weeke besyd gyste & store	—	xxj	ij
The xxth Weke. Straungers in the sam weke.			
Mestrys Cobe & hyr syster, w^{t} other off the cũtreye, and so the sm̃ of thys weke besyd gyste & store	—	xxviij	ij

[i] Anthony Gurney, Esq. of West Barsham and Great Ellingham. He married Margaret, daughter and coheir of Sir Robert Lovel, Knt. one of the representatives of the Lords Mortimer, of Attleborough.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The xxjst Weke.			
Tewysdaye. Ītm iij rabbetts of store . . .	—	—	—
Wedynsdaye. Ītm iij conyes & vij pegeons of store .	—	—	—
Sa℔daye. Ītm iij neatts tongs & a marybone . .	—	—	v ob.
The xxiiijth Weke.			
Ītm vij coneys off store	—	—	—
Ītm iiij ꝑtryches off gyste	—	—	—
. . . . .			
Ītm ij netts hydders	—	—	ij
The xxvjth Weke.			
. . . . .			
Mūdaye. Ītm ij ꝑtrychys kyllyd wythe the hauks .	—	—	—
Thursdaye. Ītm a crane	—	—	vj
The xxvijth Weke.			
Mūdaye. Ītm a hare kyllyd w^{t} the greyhowndes . .	—	—	—
. . . . .			
The xxixth Weke.			
Ītm iij workemen in that weke. Ītm Straungers in that weke, M^{r} Flet, Sefold, Fulm̃ston, Goslynge, and Vallynger, w^{t} other off the Cūtreye, and so the sm̃ of thys weke besyd gyste & store .	—	xx	ij
The xxxth Weke.			
Mūdaye. Ītm ij curlewys of gyste . . .	—	—	—
Ītm a ꝑtryche kylled wythe the hauk℔ . . .	—	—	—
Weddynsdaye. Ītm a wodkoke of gyste . . .	—	—	—
Frydaye, Satterdaye. Ītm spent in the seyd ij dayes iij codds off gyste & iij q̃rtes of lynge	—	—	ix
. . . . .			
Ītm Str^{a}ungers in that weke.			
Mas℔ Turner & his wyff, and so the sm̃ off thys weke besyd gyste & store	—	xv	x ob. q̃.
The xxxjst Weke.			
Sūdaye. Ītm ij fesands & ij ꝑtrychys kylled w^{t} the hauk℔ .	—	—	—

	£.	s.	d.
Itm a watter hen kylled wt the gun . . .	—	—	—
. . . . . .			
Itm workmen in that weke iiij, and John Wotton, and so the sum of thys weke besyde gyste & and store . . .	—	xx	vij

The xxxvij Weke.

Strungers in that weke, my cosyn Wyndhm, Thoms Neve, & Arnold wt ther servants, & so the sm off thys weke besyde gyste & store	—	xix	viij

The xxxviij Weke.

. . . . . .			
Tewysdaye. Itm a cranne kyllyd wt the gun . .	—	—	—
Itm spent in the sam weke ij codds of gyste . .	—	—	—
Straungers in that weke Thoms Neve, wythe hys svante, and the Vyker off Thornhm, wt other off the cutreye, & so the sm of thys weke besyd gyste & store	—	xxiij	iiij ob.

The xlth Weke.

. . . . . .			
Thursday. Itm a goose, a cockerell, & iij coneys of store .	—	—	—

The xlijd Weke.

. . . . . .			
Weddynsdaye. Itm a fesand of gyste . . .	—	—	—
Itm spent in the seyd weke in beef v ston . . .	—	ij	xj
Itm in whett iij bz	—	iij	—
Itm in myxtelyn iij bz	—	ij	j ob.
Itm in beere iiij barrells	—	xj	viij
Itm in candell iiij lb.	—	—	vj

The xliijd Weke.

Sundaye. Itm ij mallards kylled wt the gonne . .	—	—	—
Weddy'sdaye. Itm v snypys	—	—	—
. . . . .			
Strangers in thatt weke, Master Danyell & hys wyff, Masr Bramston, Masr Russell of Sedgeford, the Vycker of Holme, wt diverse other, & so the sm of thys weeke besyd gyste & store . .	—	xxv	ix

The xliiijth Weke.

Sondaye. Itm a wydgyn kylled wt the gonne . .	—	—	—

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Tuysdaye. Itm ij stockdowes of gyste	—	—	—
. . . . .			
Straungers in thatt week, my sonne Cressenall, John Sowerman, & the wyves of the town, wt dyverse other, & so the sm of thys week besyd gyste & store	—	xx	iij

The xlvth Weke.

Straungers yn thatt weeke, my sone Cressenall, the Vycare of Snettyshm, wt wyves of thys towne, & wyves of Hechm, wt other, & so the sum of thys week besyde gyste & store	—	xix	j

The xlvjth Weke.

Straungers in that weeke John Man, Rychard Wardroper, wt dyverse other, & so the sm of ys week besyd gyste & store .	—	xvj	ix ob.

The xlvijth Week.

Straungers in that week, Mastr Bramton, Mast Cobbe of Sneyttyshm, the Vicar of Holme, wt dyverse other, & so the sum of thys week besyde gyst & store	—	xiiij	ix

Coneys spent. Md that yer ys spent in the howse frō the begyny'g of thys book on to ye end of this week in coneys vij hundred cople & lvij cople.

No. 11. RECEIPT BOOK. 1533—34.

Holme. Fyrst receyved of Robt Stoon the xix day of September for the tythe of xxij acres off pese & fetches . . .	—	vij	iiij
Itm receyved of Thms Causon the x day of October for strawe of the rakyngge	—	—	xvj
Itm receyvyd the xx day of October Wyllm Balyff son for x combs of chaffe	—	—	xj
. . . . .			

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
RECEYTꝐ OF JOHN FARRER.			
Fyrst receyvyd of John Farro^{r} Baylyff of the mannor of Fryng & Anm̃ the last daye of Marche in the xxiiij yeer of the regn of Kyng Henr̃ the viijth in ꝑty of payment of hys Arreg̃ for the sayd yeer	vj	xj	vj ob.
Īm receyvyd of the sayd John Baylyffe of the mannor of Anmeř in full payment of hys arregꝐ of hys accompt ther for the hoole yeer endyd at Myhellmas in the xxiiij^{ti} yeer . . .	xj	ix	iij ob.
. . . . .			
RECEYTꝐ OF ROB$^{\text{'}}$ SOUTHHOUSE.			
Īm receyvyd of Robert Southouse the xxviij^{ti} daye of January the Baylyffe of the manñ of Hunstanton in ꝑty of payment of the yssues revenues of the sayd manner due at Mighellm̃ . .	x	viij	vij
. . . . .			
REC$^{\text{'}}$ OF STON.			
Fyrst receyvyd of Ston, Baylyff of the manner of Hunstanton, the iiijth daye in ꝑtye of payment of hys arregꝐ . . .	xx	—	—
Īm receyvyd of Rob^{t} Ston aforsayd baylyff of the mãner of Hunstanton MustrellꝐ & BarnardꝐ in grett Ryngsted the xxiiij^{ti} daye of Maye in the xxv yeer of the regn of Henr̃ the viijth in full payment of hys arregꝐ of hys accompts for the yeer endyd at Mighellmes in the xxiiijth yeer of our Sov̄eyn lorde the Kyng . . .	xij	ix	xj ob.
Rec. of my husbond. Fyrst receyvyd of my husbond the vijth day of Julye	xxij	vij	vj ob.
Īm rec of hym the vj daye of October . . .	—	xxx	—
Īm receyvyd of hym on Saynt Nycholas evyn when he cam frõ London	xxiij	xiij	viij
Rec. of M^{r} Steed. Īm receyvyd of Master Steed the vj daye of Maye for ij hoggysheds of wyne	—	xliij	iiij
Rec. of Grom. Īm receyvyd the viij daye of Julye of Grome for the tythe att Tychewell in clere geynes . . .	vj	—	—
Rec. of Ravyn. Īm rec. of Wylleam Ravyn the xxiiij daye of August in ꝑty of payment of iiij marks for the house thatt my husbond sold hym att Hechm̃	—	xiij	iiij

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Rec. of the Abbott of Ramsey. Itm receyvyd the fyrst daye of December of the Abbott of Ramsey, for my husbonds fee, payable at Mighellmes last past	—	xx	—
Receyvyd of Mathewe ye Smyth. Fyrst receyvyd the xvj daye of Octobre of Mathew the smyth for hys work . . .	—	xvj	x
. . . . .			
Itm receyvyd of Mathew the smyth for a gone makyn .		ij	—
Rec. of Davyd John. Itm receyvyd of Davyd John the xxij daye of Maye for the half yeers ferm of Thorpe & Felshm endyd att the fest of the annuncyacyon last past	xxiiij	xviij	—ob.
Itm receyvyd of the sayd Davyd the xxv daye of October for the yeers ferm of Thorpp & Felshm endyd att Mighellmes last past	xxix	v	j
Itm receyvyd of hym the xxj daye of August for viij^{xx} ston & xviij of Wulle	xxxj	iij	—

RECEYTE OF THE TYTHE AT HECH'M.

For hempe, wulle, & fysche.

Fyrst receyvyd the xxiiij day of Maye of Wyllm Raven for the tythe hempe & tythe fysche of Hechm . . .	iiij	xviij	viij
. . . . .			
Itm receyvyd the xxvij daye of Apryll of Wylleam Raven for vj tythe lammys	—	—	—
Neetts hyds. Itm receyvyd the xxiiij^{ti} daye of September for a neets hyd of Brown the bocher	—	—	xiiij
. . . . .			
Rec. for strawe. Itm receyvyd the xix daye of December of Battyllye of Ryngsted for vj C of wynter corn strawe . .	—	ij	—
Rec. of my husbond. Itm receyvyd of my husbond the xiij daye of February for a certen ꝑcell of londe wyche he sold Thoms Warner of Dokkyng	iij	—	—
Itm receyvyd of my son Nicholas the xxv daye of February whan he cam from London	xl	—	—
Itm receyvyd for di. a barrell of beer the xxviij daye of the same moneth of Stone	—	—	xij

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Darsynghm̃ Chapell. Iīm receyvyd of John Ellwold of Darsynghm̃ the xixth daye of June for the hoole yeers ferm of the Chappell att Darsynghm̃ aforsayd endydid att Mihellmes last past [a] .	—	xxxiij	iiij
. . . . .			
Iīm receyvyd of hym the ij^{d} daye of Octobre for moneye leid owt to my Lady Knyvet	vj	—	ix
. . . . .			
Seynt Bryds Chapell. Iīm rec. the xxix daye of July of y^{e} offeryng of Sent Brydys Chapell	—	—	iiij ob.
. . . . .			

MALT SOLD.

Iīm receyvyd of Raffe Symonds the xxv daye of June by the hands of John Jewell his sv̄ant for C combe malt . . .	xij	—	—
Iīm rec. of Davyd John for xx combe malte the xxiij daye of October	—	xxxiij	iiij
Iīm receyvyd the xxv daye of Octobre for x score combe malte	xx	—	—
Iīm of hym for fifty combe malte	v		
Iīm rec. of hym the xj daye of November for xxx comb of malt	iij	—	—
	41	13	4

WOOD SOLD.

Iīm receyvyd the ix daye of December in p̱ty of payment for the wood in the Asheyerd sold to Edward Owsley, John Smyth, Willm̃ Bateley, & Willm̃ Barnysdale for viij^{l} wherof rec. . .	—	xxvj	viij

HECH'M BERN.

. . . . . .

Spent in mestylyn the last yere lxij comb$_3$ & ij bushells.

Spent in whete the last yere xlij comb$_3$.

Rec. from the sayd bern of all mañ of greyn, y^{t} ys to say wheet, mixtelyn, & barlye, w^{t} hennys corn, C^{mo} iiij^{xx} & x cōbs ij b$_3$

Iīm remayn in the hands of my Lady xxx CC of barly straw	—	v	—

[a] The chapel of St. Andrew in Dersingham, which was attached to Binham Priory.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm alowyd to the thresser, & all corn for the tythe berne of Hycham on Pallme Sondaye, & remayn in my Ladys hand .	—	—	vj
For Wull. Itm receyvyd of David Joones the iij[d] daye of September for CC & v stoone of wull at iij[s] x[d] the stoon . .	xlvj	xix	ij
Itm rec. the iij[de] daye of September of Thoms Miller, otherwise called Nyvery, in full payment of the holl yers ferme of a meese & londs that were late Thoms Elwyn in Wygenhall, due at the fest of Seynt Petre the ad vincle [b] whyche is called Lammes last past	viij	. —	—

RECEYVYD OF MY HUSBOND.

Itm rec. of yow the xviij daye of Marche of the money that ye had for the horse of my cosyn Fyt3willm	iij	vj	viij
. . . . .			
It rec. of yow the xxv daye of October whan yow cam from Sr John Spylmans the Jugge	xviij[xx]xvj[li]		
Itm rec. of yow the xxvj day of November . . .	xxx	v	x
Itm rec. of yow the vj day of Decemb . . .	xxvij	—	—
Itm rec. the xxiiij[ti] day of February of my brother Hastyngges for a nag	—	liij	iiij

MONEY RECEYVED FOR MY BROTHER HASTYNGS BOORD, & ALL HIS IX P'SONS.

The fyrste monethe. Fyrst receyved of him for a moneths boord for him & all his, ended upon Seynt Thoms even byfore Cristmas the xx day of December	iij	v	—
The ij[de] monethe. Itm rec. of hym for a monethes boord for hym & all hys, endyd the xviij day of January . . .	iij	x	viij
The iij[de] monethe. Itm rec. of hym for a monthes boord for hym & all his, endid the xv day of February . . .	iij	xvj	viij
The ij[d] payment of Wynfeld Howse. Itm receyved of Wyllm Ravyn for Wynfylde Howse on Palme Sundaye wyche was payabyll at Allomes [c]	—	xiij	iiij
Compas solde. Itm rec. the xxvj day of September of Willm Yong for y[e] Compas before the stabull doer . . .	—	iij	iiij

[b] St. Peter ad vincula.

[c] Hallowmass.

No. 15. The xliij Weke.	£.	s.	d.
Iẽm p[d] to hym for wylde fowle y[t] wer sent to Rysing to my cosyn Southwells[d]	—	—	xij
VYTALLS BOUGHT.			
First p[d] the x[th] day of Marche for ij bushells of peese for porage	—	—	xvj
Iẽm p[d] the last day of Marche for fishe that was sent to my Lady Knyvett	—	—	xx
ONYONS BOUGHT, OYLE AND VYNAGRE.		s.	c.
Iẽm p[d] the xj[th] day of Marche to Shabynton by the hands of his sv̄nt for v gallons & iij pyntts of oyle, at xvj[d] the gallon, wyth iiij[d] for a vessell to putt it into	—	viij	vj
Iẽm p[d] the ij[de] day of February to Shabynton by the hands of John Siff for a ferken of vynegre	—	iij	iiij
WYNE BOUGHT.			
First p[d] the vj[th] day of Marche to Shabyngton by the hands of his sv̄nt for iiij gallons of clarett wyne that Mr. Marten Hastyngs had of hym	—	ij	viij
Iẽm p[d] the last day of Marche to John Siff for a petell of bastard[e]	—	—	viij
Iẽm p[d] the viij[th] day of June to Gybson for brynging of v hoggshedds from Lyn	—	ij	x
Iẽm p[d] the ix day of June to Shabyngton for freytt of the wyn that cam from London from my son Nicholas . . .	—	iij	viij
Iẽm p[d] the same day to him for cranage of the seid wyne and other charges	—	—	ix
Iẽm p[d] the same day to him for ij pottells of wyne . .	—	—	viij
Iẽm p[d] the xx[th] day of June for a pynt of maumesey and cherys	—	—	v
Iẽm p[d] the xxiij day of November to Herry Shomaker for vij gallons of Rũnysshe wyne	—	vij	xj
The Wyn reĉ of the buttelershipp of Lyn before Cristm̃s a[o] Henr. viij[o] xxix[o]. Iẽm p[d] the xviij day of January in the Excheker by the hands of my son Nicholas for ij tunes of wyne of the buttellershipp of			

[d] Sir Richard Southwell of Wood Rysing was a great favourite of Henry the Eighth; one of the Commissioners at the suppression of Monasteries, and one of the executors of his will. The Southwells of Wood Rysing were a knightly family there, settled for several generations. Ann daughter of Sir Thomas Lestrange married Anthony brother of this Sir Richard Southwell.

[e] A pottel of Bastard. Barrett in his Alvearie, or Quadruple Dictionary, 1580, says that "bastarde is muscadell sweet wine." Shakspeare in the first part of Hen. IV. speaks of brown bastard.

	£.	s.	d.
Lyn, wherof oon gyven to my son Cresseñ, and another Mr Hogan pd xxs for, wt vs pd to the clerks for their fee . . .	vj	v	—

SPYC'S BOUGHT.

Synamon. First pd the vjth day of Marche for di. lb. of synamon	—	iij	iiij
Almans. Itm pd the xvi day of Marche for vj lb. of almans at iiijd the lb. wt ijd mor, ... at all	—	ij	ij
Clowes and Maces. Itm pd the xix day of Aprill for a q̃rter of clowes xvid; and for a q̃rter of mases xvjd . . .	—	ij	viij
Itm pd the vjth day of May to Willys Wiff for a lb. of dats	—	—	iiij
. . . . .			
Bought at the mart at Candelmas. Itm pd the xj day of February for j lb. of gynger	—	iij	j
Itm pd the same day for iiij lb. of coranns . . .	—	—	xvj
Itm pd the same day for iij lb. of almans . . .	—	—	vij ob.
Itm pd for ij lb. of comyn the same day . . .	—	—	viij
Itm pd the same day for pouder for the horsez . .	—	—	iij
Henry the thressher that cam from Flycħm dyd entre into wagę the xth day of Marche, & for his wagę x.f Itm pd the ixth of June to him for his q̃rters wagę ended the same day . . .	—	ij	vj
To Fryer Woodhous. Itm pd the vth day of Novemb̃ to Sr Edward Wodhous in full paymt of his q̃rter wages endyng at Cristm next	—	x	—

FEES.

First pd the first day of Aprill to Valenger by the hands of Thom̃s Peerson for his yers fee ended at the audyte . . .	—	xxvj	viij
Itm pd the xx day of September to Mr. Yelv̄ton for his counsell concerning Annem̄	—	xx	—
Itm pd the same day to my vncle Banyard for his counsell in the same matę			
Wiłlm le Straunge. First pd to him the xxvi day of June for his first q̃rter wagę ended at Midsom̄ last past . . .	—	x	—
Roger le Straunge. Itm pd the xth day of December to him for his q̃rter wagę endyng at Cristm̃s next comyng, whereof vs for the next q̃rter	—	xx	—

REWARDS GYVEN.

First in reward the xth day of Marche to the Abbas sv̄nt of Denny g for bryngyng of ij cãaks	—	—	xx

f *Sc.* xs. g Denney, near Waterbeche, in Cambridgeshire.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm in reward the same day to Mr Thursebyes sv̄nt xijd for bryngyng of apples; & to Shabyngtons sv̄nt iiijd for bryngyng of oysters; & to the saddeller of Lyn iiijd for bryngyng of fyggs . .	—	—	xx
Itm in reward the xvij day of Marche to Mr. Hogons sv̄nt for bryngyng of a let̄ to my husbond.	—	—	xij
Itm in reward the xxti day of Marche to my Lady Spelman's sv̄nt for trymyng of the hopp yerd	—	iij	—
Itm in reward the same day to Saunder the fawkeñ for the tyme that he was wt me, or he entred into wage . . .	—	—	xvj
Itm in reward the vij day of Aprill to yong Fynche for bryngyng of oysters from Bury	—	—	ij
Itm in reward the same day to Gryme for bryngyng of a pyke from my brother Wutton	—	—	viij
Itm in reward the xiij day of Aprill to Dowthie Repps when she went to her brother Woodhous	—	iij	ix
Itm in reward the same day to my uncle Banyards clerk at the kepyng of the audyte	—	iij	iiij
Itm pd in reward to Fryer Woodhouse xijd the same day, & to Curson vjd when he cam to see his wurke	—	—	xviij
Itm in reward the xxviij day of Aprill to the Duke of Suff' trumpett & to my Lord P'vy Sealls minsterrells	—	—	xvj
Itm in reward the xiiijth day of May to Robt Druett when he was sent for	—	—	xx
Itm in reward the xxviij daye of Maye to my son Cressenñ sv̄nts when they cam hom wt my doughter Mary . . .	—	—	xij
Itm in reward the last day of May to Hugh Brown my Lord of Rutlands[h] sv̄nt	—	iij	iiij
Itm in reward the ijd day of June to John Lawrans iiijd; to Herry shomakers boye for bryngyng of shrympes and smeltes ijd; and to Skyppons son for bryngyng of stores for the myll viijd .	—	—	xiiij
For helyng of Anne Wynters legge. Itm in reward the xij day of June to the woman of Lyn for helyng of Ann Wynters legge by the handds of Shabyngton	—	xxv	—
Itm in reward the xxiij day of June to Beesse Goddan whan she was marryed	—	v	—
Itm in reward the xxviij day of June to Edmund Gybson when he was maried	—	x	—

[h] Thomas Manners first Earl of Rutland of that family.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm in reward the vijth day of July to the lymytor^{i} of the Grey Fryers of Lyn	—	—	ij
Itm in reward the xxjst day of July to Wiłlm Bennett sv̄nt w^{t} my cosyn Wiłlm Parr	—	v	—
Itm in reward the xvij day of August to my son Nicholas' woman for kepeyng of the childern whill I was forth at Norwych .	—	ij	vj
Itm in reward the xxij day of August to warner of Newm̄kett	—	—	xij
Itm in reward the iij^{d} day of Septemb̄ the kep of Rysyng ꝑke at my cosyn Southwells for a bucke	—	iij	iiij
Itm in reward to the kyngs fawken̄ the same daye . .	—	iij	iiij
Itm in reward the xv day of Septemb̄ to my cosyn Tressh̄ms sv̄nt for bryngyng of a bucke	—	v	—
Itm in reward the xxv day of Septemb̄ to Hayles the minstrell	—	iij	iiij
Itm in reward the xx^{ti} day of Septemb̄ to the kep of Wynferthing ꝑke, by the hands of Rob^{t} Gren . . .	—	iij	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xxix day of Septemb̄ to Trenches sv̄nt for bryngyng of an hundreth wardens^{k}	—	—	iiij
Itm in reward the same day to my nevew Clement Throgm̄ton	—	x	—
Itm in reward the v day of October to my Lord of Rutlonds mynstrelles	—	—	xij
Itm in reward the xxviij day of October by the handds of my sis^{r} Hastyngs to yong Sherman	—	ij	—
Itm in reward the xxviij day of November to Thom̄s horskep whan he was maried	—	xij	vj
Itm in reward the iiij day of December at Elsyng at my brother Hastyngs audyte to dyv̄s ꝑsons	—	iiij	iiij
Itm in reward the xxj daye of December to a felaw that brought a samon from Lambard the miller of Swanton Mills . .	—	—	viij
Itm in reward the first day of January at my cosyn Southwells to the officers ther	—	x	—
Itm in reward the same day to Xp̄iane Downes for her Newyers gift	—	vij	vj
Itm in reward to a poor body at Rysyng . . .	—	—	viij

i A limitour was a Friar who had a licence to beg within a certain district:

> "He was the beste begger in all his house:
> And gave a certaine ferme for the grant,
> None of his bretheren came in his haunt."—Chaucer, Prol. to Cant. Tales, v. 253.

k Warden pears.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm in reward the same day to a felaw that brought hom the shep from Westacre that wer worowed w^{t} doggs . .	—	—	vj
Itm reward at my cosyn Southwells for washing & for the horskep & to Luk Skyppon	—	iij	ij
It in reward the xvij day of January to Mr. Stedes sv̄nt the organ pleyer	—	—	xii
Itm in reward the xxviij^{ti} of January to my son Calthorps sv̄nt for bryngyng of orengez	—	—	viij
Itm in rewarde the ij^{de} day of February to Willm Wrights son of Tylney in Marshelonde for bryngyng of a lambe . .	—	—	vj
Itm in rewarde the xv day of February to M^{r} Hogons mynstrells & to the jogeler my Lord Fytzwater sv̄nt . . .	—	iij	—
Itm in rewarde the same day to Rob^{t} Reeds son for bryngyng of a pehen ij^{d}; and to Potters doughter of Holme for bryngyng of a goose j^{d}	—	—	iij

LYV'YES.

. . . . . .

Itm p^{d} the same day by the hands of Nicholas le Straunge for xxx yerds and di. of Tawny clothe for sv̄nts lyv̄yes for the yere endyd at Whissonday last	vij	xij	vj

Theis be thei that had lyv̄yes this yere:

Fyrst Willm le Straunge, David John, Edward Owesley, Rob^{t} Southhous, John Towers, Bartylmew Skyppon, Henry Goodand, Mathew the smythe, John Siff, Thomas Causton the horsekep, Thomas Warn̄^{v}, Willm Portyngton, Willm Ryxe, Thomas Hargate.

Itm p^{d} the xx September to Richard le Straunge for to bye him a lyv̄ye	—	xv	—

SHOYNG OF THE HAKENEY HORSEZ.

Itm p^{d} the xxviijth day of Marche to Good the smyth for shoyng of the hackeney horses for the q̄rter ended at the fest of the Annũciac̃on of our Lady last past	—	viij	x

PROVENT' FOR YO' HORSEZ.

First p^{d} the last day of Marche for iiij comƀz of oots for yo^{r} horsez	—	iiij	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xix day of Aprill for a combe oots for yo^{r} horsez	—	—	xiij
Itm p^{d} the x day of July to Thom̃s Locke for ij dayes & di. wurke in mowyng of greese	—	—	x

	£.	s.	d.
Itm pd the xxvij day of July to Thoms sadeller of Lyn for a supter horse sadell	—	x	—
Itm pd the xvj day of August to Wilt Ryxe for the hey makyng at Hecham	—	—	xvj

ALLOWED IN BYLLS.

First pd the iijde daye of Aprill to Southhous for his costs when he rod to Wymondham wt my doughter Marye wt ijs. iiijd. delyvd her at Sharmans	—	iiij	iiij
Itm pd the same day to Wiltm le Straunge for his costs when he rod into Suff' of yor massage	—	v	—
Itm pd the xiiij day of May to Portyngton for money leid out for yow when yow war at Thetford at the Sises & at Kenynghall	—	v	x
Itm pd the xij day of June to Towars for money that he leid out at divs tymes when he went to take fesaunts . . .	—	—	xxiij
Itm pd the xv day of June to Robt Southhous for his costs when he rod to London for the money that yow pd for the pchase of the man of Godwyke, & for the lease of the same man at the Kyngs hands	—	xxv	xj
Itm pd the thred day of July to Richard le Straunge for his costs when he dyd lye at Norwyche in serchinge out of the booke out of the regestre consnyng the benefice of Holme . . .	—	iiij	vij
Itm pd the xvij day of August to Southhous for suche money as he leid out while I was at Norwiche, as well for the costs as for the rewards gyven at dyvs placs the same jurney . . .	—	xxxv	viij
Itm pd the xvj day of Septemb. to Southhous for his costs when he rod into Northamton shire for Mr. Mountagew . .	—	v	iiij
Itm pd the xxti day of Septemb to Richard le Straunge for yor costs at Swafham when Mr. Bedyngfeld & yow mette for Annem .	—	xxj	ij
Itm pd to Fond the xix day of Septemb for his costs when he rod to Norwiche for Mr. Corbett, with xijd gyven hym for his labor	—	—	xx
Itm pd the xxti day of Septemb to Southhous for Mr Yelvtons dewe & svants at Swafham when he was ther to fynyshe the bookes of the gremt between Mr. Bedyngfeld & yow wt viijd pd to Wayts for his costs when he came to Kymbley wt a pece of purpose . . .	—	ij	x

	£.	s.	d.
Itm pd the xx day of Septemb to Robt Gren for his costs when he rod to Kenynghall for a bucke, & to carrye lres to Mr Treasuror	—	—	xij
Itm pd the same day to Edward Owseley for his costs when he rod to Framyngham wt a lre to Mr Treasurror, & wt ijd to the felaw of Segeford for fyndyng of the hare	—	ij	x
Itm pd the viijth day of November to Herry Walker when he rod to London with the roned geldyng for Mary le Straunge .	—	—	xx
Itm pd the xxi day of December to Southhous for his costs when he rod to Oxburgh wt the money to Mr Bedyngfield . .	—	—	xij
Itm pd the ij day of February to Southous for his costs when he rod to Norwiche, to Mr. Spensrs when he caryed yor letts, & to Lyn for to spek for the wyne	—	ij	viij
Itm pd to Robt Southous the last day of February for his costs when he rod to London to my cosyn Richard Southwell wit yor lettrs	—	x	ix

REP'ACONS OF THE MILL, BACHOUSE, BREWHOUSE, & KECHYN.

. . . . . .

Itm pd the vth day of Octobre, for ijlb. of twyn, for the hunt to make up his nett & to Mason for castyng netts . .	—	—	viij
. . . . .			
Itm pd the iijd day of November, for ijlb. of twyn for the ptriche nett	—	—	x
Itm pd the same daye for a garden rake for Sr Edward Woodhous	—	—	viij

. . . . . .

STUFF BOUGHT INTO THE HOUSE.

. . . . . .

Itm pd the last day of Marche, by the hands of Chamlett, for xiij score yards of Scottishe clothe	iij	xij	viij
Itm pd the vijth day of Aprill, for a bagge to put in money .	—	—	vj
Itm pd the xxvijth day of May, for a coffer . .	—	ij	iiij
Itm pd the viijth day of June for a hangyng of red & gren, lyned wt canves	—	vij	—
Itm pd the xxti day of July to the Vycar of Darsynghm, for xiij dayap naykyns at xiiijd the pece	—	xv	ij
Itm pd the xth day of November, for singyng bred and candells	—	—	ij
Itm pd the xxiijd day of November to Robt Rede, for vj chayers, iij of them at iiijd the pece, & the other iij at ijd the pece .	—	—	xviij

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p[d] to him the same day, for iij lanꝑnes . . .	—	—	xij
Itm p[d] the iiij[th] day of December to S[r] Wiltm Ganard, for a little clos bord w[t] lock & key	—	xv	—
Itm p[d] the same day for tryen dishes,[l] ladells, & spones iijd, for a grett skep v[d], & for ij payles iiij[d]	—	—	xij
Itm p[d] the xiiij[th] day of December, for rushes that went to Godwik	—	—	xiiij
Itm p[d] the ix[th] day of February to John Man, of Norwych, for a carpett	—	xvj	vij

LOND BOUGHT.

To Briggs. First p[d] the xvij day of Marche to Edward Briggs of Newton gent in p[t] of payment of a mor sume of & for all thos londs in Hechm called Briggs londs . . . . . v — —

For Beels londs. Itm p[d] the viij[th] day of Aprill to Rob[t] Reede, in full contentacon & payment of & for those londs late bought, Beells in Segeford . . . . . iij vj viij

Godwyke. Itm p[d] the xv day of June by the hands of Rob[t] Southhous, for suche charges as belongeth for the lease ther, & for the money that I p[d] for the p[r]chase of the man of Godwyke and other charges . . . . . iij — xij

To Willm Potter of Holkhm. Itm p[d] the thred daye of July to Willm Pott' of Holkhm, shepp[d], in p[t] of payment of a mor sm of & for all suche londs as decended to hym, sett lying or beyng w[t]in the townes & feldes of Holme & Grett Ryngsted, by and af[r] the dethe of oon Isabell Pott' deseased, as cosyn & heire of the seid Isabell . — x —

To George & to Thoms Towneshend. Itm p[d] the xx day of July to George Towneshend & to Thoms Towneshend for their good wylls for the leasse of the man[r] of Segeford . . . . xl — —

Itm p[d] the xvij day of August to M[r] Moryson by the hands of George Towneshend & Thoms Towneshend for the leasse of the man of Segeford . . . . . cxvj xiij iiij

Itm p[d] the same daye to the Clerke for writyng of the same leasse — v —

To the Chauncellor of the Agmentacon.[m] Itm p[d] the same day to the Chuncellor of the Agmentacon for grauntyng out of the decree for money that I p[d] for the p[r]chase of the man of Godwyke, to receyve my money of M[r] Southwell . . . . . x — —

[l] Treen, wooden dishes.

[m] Augmentations.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p[d] the same day to the Chũnt [n] of Crists Churche for the fee of the seall xv[s], and to the Clerke for the ingrossyng of the leasse x[s]	—	xxv	—
To Thoms Deen. Itm p[d] the iij[de] day of Septemb. to Thoms Deen of Hunstanton for his hous	—	xl	—
For the mañ of Annem. Itm delyved to my husbond the vij day of Octobre, when he rod to M[r] Spylman's for th'assurans of his lands in Annm	—	xl	—
To Briggs in full paym[t]. Itm p[d] the xxvij day of October to Edward Briggs, Gent. in full paym[t], & for all thos londs that my husboad bought of him in Hechm, called Briggs londs . .	v	—	—
For the recovy of Annem. Itm p[d] the xvj day of December by the hands of my son Nicholas for the recovy bytwixt M[r] Francis Bedyngfield, M[r] John Woodhous, & me for the mano[r] of Annem .	v	xvj	—
Itm p[d] the xxv day of December to Francs Bedingfield, Esquyer, in p[t] of payment of viijxxl. of & for the agrement for the manor of Annem	xl	—	—
The Taske of Godwyk. Itm p[d] the ix day of February to Gogney by the hands of Bartylmew Skyppon for the Taske. (M[d] to aske allowanns at the Kyngs Audyte)	—	xx	—
Itm p[d] for owt rents to dyvs mañs for the mañ of Godwick, by the hands of John Hobson, at my husbonds comandm[t] . .	—	xxxix	iiij
Loke in the ij[de] leafe (p. 546) & ther ye shall fynd p[d] to the Bayliff of Necton			
For the Tythes. Itm p[d] the xvj day of Aprill to S[r] John the pisshe p'st of Hunstanton for the tithes at Estern . . .	—	xiij	iiij
For tythe lammes. Itm p[d] to him the vij[th] day of Aprill for certen tythe lammes at Midsom last past	—	v	—
The maryage money of my doughter Ales. Itm p[d] the xj[th] day of May to my Lady Calthorp, by the hands of Thoms Leeder, in p[t] of payment of my doughter Ales mariage money . .	l	—	—
To the Priour of Crists Churche of Norwiche. Itm p[d] the xiiij day to the Priour of Christs Chnrche of Norwiche for a certen anuall rent goyng out of the man[r] of Fryng, due at the fest of Seynt Michell tharchũngell last past	v	—	—
The tenthes of Little Ryngsted. Itm p[d] the xxvj day of May for the tenthes to the Kynge by the hands of Thoms Oxburghe of litle Ryngsted	—	vj	viij

[n] Qu. Chaunc. for Chancellor.

	£.	s.	d.
For serchinge of the Registre at Norwiche. Itm p^{d} the thred day of July, by the hands of Richard le Straunge, for serchinge out of a book out of the registre & writyng of the same, consnyng the psonage of Holme	—	xxiij	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xth day of July for waxe for the p'st to sing w^{t} .	—	—	ij
Itm p^{d} the xxiiij day of August to my son Calthorpe in p^{t} of payment of a mor sũ of my doughter Ales mariage money .	iiij	—	—
Itm p^{d} the iij^{d} day of Octobre to my son Calthorpe in p^{t} of payment of a mor sũ of my doughter Ales mariage money . .	v	—	—
TO MY LADY KNYVETT.			
Itm p^{d} the xxviij day of July to my lady Knyvett, in full paym^{t} of her haff yers annuyte endyng at Lammes next comyng .	vij	x	—
Itm p^{d} the iij^{de} daye of February to my lady Knyvett by the hands of Nicholas le Straunge when he rod to London in full paym^{t} of her halff yers annuyte endyng at Candelmas last past . .	vij	x	—
To the dean of Crists Churche.^{o} Itm p^{d} the xx day of Decemb in the xxxth yere of H. viij to the Deane of Crists Church in full paym^{t} of & for yers ferm of the mano^{r} of Fryng ended at Mighelms last past by the hands of Thoms Newell	v	—	—
To the College of Gunvil hall in Cambridge. Itm p^{d} the xiiij day of December to the M^{r} of Gunvil hall in Cambrige by the hands of Thoms Styrmyn, Clerk, oon of the felawes of the same house, in full paym^{t} of fourty pounds of the bequest of Sir Roger le Straunge knyght	x	—	—
To the Grett Pson. Itm p^{d} to the Pson of Ryngsted by the hands of Edward Owseley for such duety as belongeth to the pson of Holme to pay to him, due to the seid pson at Michelmas last past .	—	vj	viij
Holme. Itm p^{d} the iiijth day of Septembre to the Abbott of Lilshull by the hands of his serv^{t} for the half of the ferme of the tithe corn in Holme feld for the yere ended at Mighelmas next comyng .	vj	—	—
For the Fyne of vj^{s} vj^{d}. To Willm Potter of Holkehm iij^{s} iiij^{d}. Itm p^{d} the second day of December to the Abbott of Ramseyes receyvo^{r} at Ringsted Court holden ther the Mũdaye next after Seynt Andrew for the fyne of suche copyhold londs as yow bought of Willm Potter of Holkehm w^{t} iij^{s} iiij^{d} p^{d} to the seid Willm in p^{t} of a more sume	—	ix	x
Godwyke. Itm p^{d} the xxv day of Novembre to M^{r} Southwell by the hands of M^{r} Butts his svnt in full paym^{t} of the half yers ferme for the same man^{r} due at Mighelmas last . . .	vj	xix	ij q^{r}

o Norwich.

	£.	s.	d.
Stowburgh in Westacre. Itm p[d] the same day to him in full paym[t] of the yers ferme of the Hogg ground in Westacre called Stowburgh pastur due at Midsom̃ last past	v	vj	viij
The Fyne of Godwyk. It p[d] to him the same day for the fyne of the man[r] of Godwik	x	—	—
To the Audyto[rs] Clerk. Itm p[d] to the Audyto[rs] Clerks the same day for inrolling of my indentures	—	vij	vj
To the Bayliff of Necton. Itm p[d] the first day of Decemb̃ for rent to the baylye of Neketon for the man[r] of Godwik . .	—	xv	—
To Henry Russell. Itm p[d] the xiiij[th] day of January to Henry Russell by the hands of Rob[t] Elgar in p[t] of paym[t] of a mor sm̃e of & for his good will of the ꝑsonage berne of Segeford . . .	v	—	—

GERE BOUGHT FOR THE CHYLDREN.

Itm p[d] the xxvj day of Marche for a shert for Willm̃ le Straunge the elder	—	v	iiij
Itm p[d] the xxvij day of Marche to the Kendall man for xx yerds of hose lynyng for the children	—	v	iiij
Itm p[d] the same day to Edward Taylo[r] for makyng of the chylderns geer	—	ij	—
Itm p[d] to Crom for a nyghte capp for Willm̃ le Straunge the yong[r]	—	—	iiij
Itm p[d] the iij[de] day of February for my doughter Ales appell that my son Nicholas bought for her at London [p] . . .	xxij	xij	iij
Itm p[d] the same day to Hamond of Creke for ix yerds of Byrstow red clothe at iiij[s] the yerde	—	xxxvj	—
Itm p[d] the xiiij day of Aprill to Thom̃s Taylo[r] of Houghton for makyng of my doughter Ales appell that was bought at London	—	v	—
Itm p[d] the same day for lynyng for my doughter Ales kertyll	—	iiij	—
Itm p[d] the xix day of Aprill to Edward Taylo[r] by the hands of Southous for iij yerds & di. of lynyng for my doughter Alys gown .	—	—	xvij ob.
Itm p[d] the first day of May to Edward Taylo[r] for makyng of the childerns geer	—	viij	j
Itm geven to my son Richard xx[s] the same day & to my doughter Cressen' xx[s]	—	xl	—

[p] Obviously her bride's wardrobe: her portion on her marriage to Mr. Calthorpe, is mentioned in two or three entries in pp. 544, 545.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p[d] the vj day of May for ij peyer of shois for the childern	—	—	xij
Itm p[d] the same day to John Banyard for makyng and mendyng of childerns geer	—	iiij	vj
Itm p[d] the x[th] day of May to John Man for Richard le Straunge dett, for iiij yerds of damaske xxx[s]. for a shert iiij[s] viij[d]. for a cap iij[s]. & for fustyan ix[d]	—	xxxviij	v
Itm p[d] the same day to the seid John Man for a velvett nyght capp for Willm̃ le Straunge the elder	—	iiij	—
Itm p[d] the xj day of May for xij yerds of bokeram for my doughter Ales gownes	—	vj	—
Itm to Willm̃ le Straunge when he rod to Lyn to the Surgeon the xxiiij day of May	—	iij	iiij
Itm gyven the xxviij[ti] day of May to Mary le Straunge when she went to Sherman for phisike	—	xx	—
Itm p[d] the ij[de] day of June for iij yerds of blankett for to hose the fooles of the kechin	—	ij	ij
Itm p[d] the same day for the makyng of the seid hose & a jerkyn	—	—	vj
Itm p[d] the ix day of June to Thoms Taylor of Houghton for makyng of my doughter Calthorpes gown	—	iij	ij
Itm p[d] to him the same day for lynyng for the same gowne & for mayles [q]	—	—	xiij
Itm p[d] the same day to Shabyngton for iiij yerds of Irysshe rugg ij[s] iiij[d]. iij qrters of white carsey xxj[d]. for a yerd of twyll viij[d]. for ij yerds of blacke fustion xx[d]. for Willm̃ le Straunge . .	—	vj	vj
Itm p[d] the same day to him for ij elnes of canvas . .	—	—	x
Itm p[d] the xv day of June for ij peyer of shoys for the ij fooles	—	—	xiij
Itm p[d] the same day to Mary le Straunge for to pay Sharman for her leche craft [r]	—	xviij	—
Itm p[d] the xx day of June for iij peyer of childern shoys by the hands of John Siff	—	—	xij
Itm p[d] the same day to hym for to pay to the taylor for mendyng of the childerns gere	—	—	vj
Itm p[d] the xxiiij day of June for a shert for the foole of the kechin	—	—	viij
Itm for iij sherts for Roger le Straunge too sherts for Richard le Straunge to M[s] Tege by the hands of Nicholas le Straunge .	—	xxvj	iij

[q] Bags.

[r] Medical assistance.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Ītm p^{d} the vjth day of July to Rychard le Straunge in p^{t} of paym^{t} of his half yers annuyte endyng at Lammes next . .	—	xxxv	—
Ītm gyven the same day to my daughter Cressen when she lay in	—	xx	—
Ītm p^{d} the xx^{ti} day of August to the taylo^{r} of Holme for makyng of my doughter Calthorps kertyll	—	—	xvj
Ītm gyven to my doughter Mary by the hands of my son Calthorp when she lay at London	—	vij	vj
Ītm p^{d} the xxiiij day of August for ij sherts for the fooles of the kechin	—	—	xx
Ītm p^{d} the last day of August for di. a pece of Holmes fusteyn for the childerns kertylls	—	ix	x
Ītm gyven the vjth day of Septemb to my son Cressen[9] for spekyng of my doughter Ales concernyng her mariage . .	iiij	—	—
Ītm p^{d} the vijth day of Septembre to Edward Taylo^{r} for makyng of the childerns geer	—	iij	iiij
Ītm p^{d} the same day to the shomaker of Thornhm̃ for iij peyer of shois for the childern	—	—	xiiij
Ītm gyven to Roger le Straunge when went to Spayn w^{t} M^{r} Wyott[s]	iij	—	—
Ītm p^{d} the last day of Septemb' to Xp'ofer for iiij peyer of knytt hoose & for elnes of carsey for the childerns hose . .	—	viij	—
Ītm p^{d} the xxvj day of Septemb' to the Kendall man for xx yerds of cotton for the childrens cots at v^{d} ob. the yerd ix^{s} ij^{d}. And for xj yerds & di. of cotton for them at iiij^{d} the yerd iij^{s} x^{d}. & ij yerds of carsey ij^{d}. for a petycott for Nell Yong	—	xv	—
Ītm p^{d} the xiijth day of October to a felaw of Calis that cam from my son Roger	—	xx	—
Ītm p^{d} the xxviij day of November to the shomaker of Thornhm̃ for a peyer of boots for Roger le Straunge iij^{s}, a peyer of shoys for him and another for the lakey x^{d}	—	—	x
Ītm p^{d} the xxviijth day of November for hose for y^{e} childern	—	—	ix
Ītm p^{d} the iiijth day of December for a shert for the lackey	—	—	xvj
Ītm p^{d} for iiij yerds of yellow lynyng for the childerns hose .	—	—	xviij
For Roger le Straunge Ītm p^{d} the same day to my son Nycholas for money that he leid out at Callys & other placys for my son Roger le Straunge	vij	vij	ij
For Mary le Straunge. Ītm p^{d} the same day to him for money leid owt by my seid son Nycholas at Lōdon for my doughter Mary	—	xxij	—

[s] Sir Thomas Wyat the poet, who was employed by Henry VIII. on various embassies.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm p^{d} the xxj day of December to John Taylor of Holme for makeng of the childerns geer ageynst Cristms . .	—	ij	viij
Itm gyven to Roger le Straunge in Cristms to play .	—	v	—
Itm p^{d} the sam day to Edward Taylor for a kirtell clothe for Nell Yong, & for the makyng	—	iiij	—
Itm p^{d} the same day for the dyeng of Petycote clothes for Anne le Straunge & Katyne le Straunge	—	ij	—
. . . . .			
To Mary le Straunge. Itm p^{d} the xviij day of January to Mary le Straunge for her qrter wage ended at Cristms last past .	—	x	—
Roger le Straunge. Itm p^{d} the xxvj day of January for a doblett cloth of fustyan for Roger le Straunge . . .	—	xx	—
To Richard le Straunge. Itm p^{d} the xxix day of January to Rychard le Straunge in full paym^{t} of his qrter annuyte endyng at Candelms	—	xxxiij	iiij
For Mary le Straunge. Itm p^{d} the last day of Jannary to my sn Cresseñ for suche money as he leid owt for Mary le Straunge when she ley at London	v	—	—
. . . . .			
Hamon and Henry. Itm p^{d} the xxviij day of February to the shomaker of Thornhm for ij peyer of shois, the oon for Henry le Straunge & the other for Hamond le Straunge . .	—	—	x
. . . . .			
The Taxe for Hunstanton. Itm p^{d} the vijth day of Aprill to John Grave & Godfrey Impyng for the Taxe for Hunstanton, for that they dyd not gather the full Taxe at the first tyme . .	—	vj	viij
Taxe at Hechm. Itm p^{d} the xiiij day of Aprill by the hands of Wyllm Ryxe for the Taxe at Hechm . . .	—	lix	x
Little Ringsted called Barretts. Itm p^{d} the iij^{d} day of Novembre to Humfrey Jordayn & to Humfrey Nycholls the Kyngs Collectors for Taske of Barrett Rynsted	—	xxxj	iij

MONEY DELYV'D TO MY HUSBOND.

First delyved yow the vjth day of Marche for to pay M^{r} Thursby for a geldyng that yow had of him	iij	—	—
Itm delyved yow the xv day of Marche when you rod to Kenynghall to my Lord of Norff'	—	xx	—
Itm p^{d} to Henry shomaker for a peyer of hey shoys for yorselffe	—	—	xij

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p[d] the same day for a brushe	—	—	viij
Itm delyv̄ed you the xxvij day of Marche when yow rod to Thetford Syse;	—	xl	—
Itm delyv̄ed to my son Nycholas that he p[d] for yow at London at dyv̄s tymes	iiij	xij	viij
Itm p[d] to master Corbett the yong̃ for the costs of the suyte for yo[r] ꝑtt xix[s] x[d], & Davidds ꝑtt xix[s] x[d], ageynst M[r] Wyngfeld of Dunh̄m	—	xxxix	viij
Itm p[d] the vij day of Aprill to Petyn of Castellacre, by the hands of Edward Owesley for iiij yerds of carsey at xv[d] the yerd, wantyng j penye	—	iiij	xj
Itm p[d] to John Siff the same day for twyn for yo[r] foxe netts w[t] the breydyng	—	ij	iiij
Itm p[d] the xxviij[th] day of June for ij basse hornes viij[s], for a sadell & all that longeth therto xiij[s] ij, & for a Byble xij[s] [t] . .	—	xxxiij	v
Itm delyv̄ed to yow the vij[th] day of July when yow rod on huntyng to M[r] Wyndhm̄ at Shipdhm̄ ꝑke & to Whinbgh . .	—	xiij	iiij
Itm p[d] the seid vij[th] day of July to Roger le Straunge for money that he dyd wyn of you at shotyng	—	iiij	iiij
Itm p[d] to Rob[t] Banyard the x[th] day of July for Bargeons costs when he dyd lye sycke ther	—	v	—
Itm delyv̄ed ther the xvij day of August for to paye for yo[r] den[r] at John Mans at Norwiche, & for shetyng to M[r] Roger Wodhous	—	x	v
For yo[r] goshawk. Itm delyv̄ed to yow the xxij day of August by the hands of David to bye yo[r] goshawk . . .	—	xl	—
Itm dd̄ to yow the same day to pley at tables w[t] M[r] Stede of Systern	—	vj	viij
Huntyng. Itm delyv̄ed you the xix day of Septemb̄, by the hands of Portyngton when yow rod on huntyng to M[r] Hogons .	—	x	—
. . . . .			
Itm delyv̄ed yow the xx day of October when yow rod to Godwyk, & from thens to Elsyng w[t] my sister Hastyngs . .	—	xx	—
Itm delyv̄ed you the ij[de] day of November when you rod to Walsynghm̄ to my cosyn Southwell	—	x	—
Itm dd̄ you the iiij day of December to pay Londesdale for yo[r] costs when you dyd lye at Elsyng in Som̄ w[t] M[r] Shreiff, & hunted in Swanton ꝑke & Hokeryng	—	xj	—

[t] The only English Bibles at this time were those of Tyndale and Coverdale and their associates, printed abroad in 1526 and 1532. The former contained the New Testament only. This purchase of a Bible by Sir Thomas Lestrange may possibly indicate a tendency towards the opinions of the Reformers.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm p[d] the xiij day of December to Thomas Wayts for a peyer of boots that he brought out of Yorkshire . . .	—	iiij	iiij
. . . . .			
Itm delyv̄ed you the xxvij day of December for to pley at cards at my cosyn Southwells, w[t] vij[s] vj[d] delyv̄d yow when yow went to Wymondhm̄ lodge	—	xij	vj
. . . . .			
Itm delyv̄ed you the xxij day of January when yow went a hawking w[t] my uncle Roger Woodhous	—	vij	vj
Itm dd̄ you the ix[th] day of February to pley at cards w[t] my son Cressen[r]	—	ij	viij
Itm p[d] the ix day of February to John Mann for a yerd & di. & di. q̄rter of sarsenett viiij[s], & for ij dosen ryband poynts xiiij[d], for a rebond xvj[d], for ij yerds of sarsenett v[s] iiij[d], for an vnce of sylk xij[d], and for di. yerd of satten iiij[s]	—	xx	x
. . . . .			
Itm p[d] the xxviij day of February to Southhous for yo[r] sadell xiiij[s], & for gñ powder & other things that he bought for you at London	—	xxj	x

SHOYNG OF THE CART HORSE3 W[t] OTHER CHARGES BELONGYNG TO THE HUSBONDRYE.

First p[d] the x[th] day of Marche for a horse hide, & w[t] iiij[d] for the leyng a ston of hemp for trayce	—	ij	iiij
Itm p[d] the xvij day of Marche to the collor maker for ij dayes worke	—	—	viij
Itm p[d] the xxviij day of Marche to Good the smythe for shoyng of the cart horse3 & for other things belongyng to the husbondry	—	v	v

THE COSTS OF THE SHEPE.

. . . . .			
Pyche & Tarr. Itm p[d] the same day for di. a barrell of pyche iij[s] iiij[d], & for a barrell of tarr iiij[s]	—	vij	iiij
. . . . .			
Itm p[d] to Bulward the xix day of Septemb̄ for his costs when he drove the hoggs to Westacr'	—	—	iiij
Itm p[d] the xiij day of Octobre to Ps'ton of Westacre for xx hoggs at xvj[d] the pece	—	xxvj	viij

	£.	s.	d.
INGALDESTHORP' P'SONAGE.			
Itm pd the xxv day of Marche to ꝑisshe p'st of Ingaldesthorpe, by the hands of Willm̃ Gren for his iiijth q̃rter wagꝭ endyng the same day, our Ladys day	—	xxvj	viij
At the Annũciacon of our Lady. Itm pd the xvth day of Aprill to Mestrez Leche, by the hands of Wilłm le Straunge, in full paymt of the holl yeres ferme for the ꝑsonage ther, ended at the fest of the Anunciacon of our Lady last past	iij	vj	viij
For the Tenthes. Itm pd the xxijd day of May to the Kyng our Sovayn lord for the tenthes for the xxix & for the xxxti yere of his reign by the handds of Thoms Oxburgh	—	xlviij	—
Itm pd to him the same day for ꝑxye & synage of the same .	—	ix	—
To Sr Edmund Colton. Itm the xxvijth day of June to Sr Edmund Colton, for wyne & bred & russhes . . .	—	—	xviij
Itm pd the xxviijth day of June to the same Sr Edward, for his q̃rter wag̃ ended at Midsom̃ last past	—	xxix	ij
Itm pd the last day of Septemb to John Redhed, by the hands of Sr Edmund Colton, for the careyng of the tythe corne ther .	—	xx	—
Itm pd the same day by the hands of him for the reꝑacons doon upon the tithe bern ther	—	viij	vj
Itm pd the xvij day of January to Sr Edmund Colton for his q̃rter wagꝭ ended at Cristmas last past	—	xxix	ij
Sters[u] bought & put at Godwyke. Itm the xxiij day of June to Thoms Warñ of Hoo for a score of Northern sters . . .	xij	iiij	xi
Itm pd the same day to him for xi smaller sters . .	v	x	—
Itm pd to him the same day for the costs of the seid neatt .	—	x	—
Itm pd to hym the same day for fellyng & ryvyng of the Oks that my brother Hastyngs dyd gyff yow for payle . . .	—	xij	—
Itm pd the same day to hym for ij oxen . . .	—	xxxvij	xi
To Robt Gren. Itm pd the first day of November to Robt Gren for ij milche nett	—	xxij	—
Itm pd for xx Northens at Seynt Edmunds feyer at Hoxon at xs the pece	x	—	—
The Sheppds Wagꝭ. Itm to John Prest the xv day of Septemb Shepꝑd of Westacre flocke in full paymt of his first q̃rter wagꝭ endyng at Michelm̃s next comyng	—	xvj	viij
Itm pd the viij day of December to John Prest, shepꝑd ther, in full paymt of his ijde q̃rters wagꝭ endyng at Cristmas next comyng	—	xvj	viij

[u] Steers.

THE COSTS OF THE REP'ACONS AT GODWYK.

	£.	s.	d.
. . . . .			
Itm p[d] the ix day of February by the hands of Bartylmew Skyppon for repacons doon ther, w[t] xij[s] iiij[d] p[d] for glasse wyndowes, and iij[s] iiij[d] p[d] for gatheryng of lawet, and for the makyng of x dosen hirdells at vij[d] the dosen v[s] x[d]	—	lij	i
Itm p[d] to Gosson the xxij day of February for his wage towards his bord, w[t] xij[d] gyven to the charcole burners that cam from Mr. Southwells	—	iiij	viij

ACC'TS OF EUSTACE ROLFE, SERV'T TO S'R NIC. LE STRAUNGE,
A[o] r' r' E. vj ter.

Itm rec the xvj[th] of May in a[o] r. r. E. vj[ti] ter. by me Eustace Rolfe of my m[r] and others at dyvers tymes as hereafter follow[th]:	xx	—	—
Itm rec the xxij of Maye of my Lady Dame Anne Le Straunge [x] at Godwycke	iij	—	—
Itm rec the same daye of my Lady Dame Katerine Le Strange	—	xxx	—
Itm rec the ij of June of my m[r] at the queenes hedd in London	viij	xvij	—
Itm rec the xv[th] day of June at the Tower upon a byll .	ijCiiij[xx]	xvij[li]	
. . . . .			

Sundrye payments p[d] by me Eustace Rolfe in a[o] r. r. E. vj[ti] ter. at my m[r] comandemente at sundery dayes and tymes as hereafter folowythe:

Itē gyven the xvj[th] of Maye at my m[r] comandemente to the maryners of his owne shippe	—	—	viij
Itē p[d] the same daye to James Ortog uppon a byll for money layed oughte for horssemete and his owne	—	xxvij	v
Itē p[d] the same daye to Nycholas Baskfylde uppon a byll for ēten clothe and other wars taken of Mystrs Myller and to thuse of the said Mystrs Myller	iiij	ix	viij
. . . . .			
Itē p[d] the same daye and yere to a boye at Thetforde for the carying of a letr to M[r] Woodhouse of Breckells . .	—	—	xij
Itē p[d] the same daye at Thetforde for the suppers of Cansceler of Harlyng, Redd Cansulor, Waller James, bothe the Walkers, and Eustace	—	iij	vj

[x] Anne daughter of Lord Vaux of Harrowden, widow of Sir Thomas Lestrange.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itē p^{d} there the same daye for wyne and appells, breade and beere, wh^{c} you hadd in yo^{r} chamber at yo^{r} fyrste comynge into the inne	—	—	viij
Itē p^{d} the same daye to the wyffe of the Wyghte Harthe in Thetforde for the hyre of a boye and a horse to Canselors of Harlinge	—	—	viij
Itē p^{d} the xxv of Maye for yo^{r} supper my ladys and Mr. Wodehouses at Lañam y	—	xj	ix
Itē p^{d} the xxvjth of Maye for yo^{r} horsemete at Lañam alnyghte wth Mr. Woodhousseys	—	x	viij
Itē p^{d} there the same daye for a quyre of papyer . . .	—	—	iij
. . . . .			
Itē gyven also the same daye to Copsey sonne for fetchynge yo^{r} bocks from M^{r} Woodhouses housse	—	—	viij
Itē p^{d} the same day for yo^{r} horsemete at Lanam . .	—	—	viij
. . . . .			
Itē p^{d} the same daye for yo^{r} drynking at Brantrey .	—	—	viij
Itē p^{d} the same daye for yo^{r} supper at Chelmsforde .	—	iiij	—
Itē p^{d} the xxviijth of Maye for yo^{r} breakefaste at Chelmsforde	—	iij	vj
Itē p^{d} the same daye at London for Mr. Hamond's dyñ and Eustacs and for fyre to drye them w^{t}all	—	—	xiiij
Itē gyven the same daye to men that wroughte uppon a cawsey between Chelmysforde and London at my m^{r} comandemente	—	—	iiij
Itē p^{d} the xxxth of Maye for the dynner and suppers of bothe the Walkers, Thoms the horsekeps, and Eustacs . . .	—	ij	viij
. . . . .			
Itē p^{d} to hyme the same daye for money that he gave to James when he wenthe before wth the trumpter at Lanām . .	—	—	xij
. . . . .			
Itm p^{d} the same daye for yo^{r} dynner & M^{r} Gawdys, w^{t} other, at the Kyngs hedd at the Temple in London . . .	—	iiij	—
Itē p^{d} to Robert Cansilors the same day at my Ladys comandmēte for her pyllen and other things	—	xv	iiij
Itē p^{d} the ij^{d} of June for yo^{r} bote hyre to Grenewyche frome London	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} the iiij of June for a yarde and a q̄r$^{\text{ter}}$ of grene brode clothe for a cote for M^{r} Hamond Le Strange, at viij^{s} iiij^{d} the yarde	—	ix	iiij

y Lavenham in Suffolk.

	£.	s.	d.
Itē p^{d} the same day for di. yarde of grene cersenett for to face the same cote w^{t}all	—	—	xxij
Itē p^{d} the same daye for a hat of taffetey for Mr. Hamonde	—	vj	viij
Itē p^{d} the same daye for ij Myllen cappes for M^{r} Hamonde le Strange	—	iiij	viij
Itē p^{d} the vth of June for ij Spanyshe skynes for Mr. Hamonde	—	xij	—
Itē p^{d} the same daye for a buffe gyrdell for Mr. Hamonde	—	iiij	—
. . . . .			
Itē p^{d} the same daye to the said Thomas for money wc̃he he gave to my lady Rychemands [a] man Haryson at my lad's comandemente	—	—	viij
Itē p^{d} the same day to Whyghte thorne of London, taylor, for makynge of my Ladye Hastynge gowne of damaske, and other things belonginge to the same gowne, as apperyth by his byll .	—	xxiij	—
. . . . .			
Itē gyven the same daye at my m^{r} cōmandemente to the porter of byshoppesgate iiij^{d}, to the port' of Cryppellgate iiij^{d}, and to Costeley's wyffe iiij^{d}	—	—	xij
Itē p^{d} the same days for a hors hyre to Stepneyghe for Mystrs Bettrys at my ladys comandemente	—	—	xij
Itē delyv̄d the xij of June to Cobbes at my M^{r} goyne to Rychemonde at my M^{r} comandemente . . .	—	xl	—
Itē p^{d} the xvth of June for my bote hyre from London to Syon	—	—	xvj
Itē p^{d} the same day for my bote hyre from Morteley [b] to London	—	—	viij
. . . . .			
Itē p^{d} the xixth of June to the saddeler for makinge of a styrrepe lether iiij^{d}; for the vernyshyng of a styrepe iiij^{d} . .	—	—	vj
Itē p^{d} to the sadeler the same daye for a yarde of buckeram vj^{d}; for frynge iiij^{d}; for trymynge a bytte viij^{d}; for mendynge of the pyllen [c] clothe vij^{d}	—	ij	j
Itē gyven the xxth of June at my ladyes cōmandemēte to the men that gather for the poore men in London . . .	—	—	xij
Itē p^{d} the same daye for a casse for the clerke of lether .	—	—	xij
Itē p^{d} the xxiij^{d} of June for ij gallons of Frenche wyne at Mr. Smythes	—	ij	viij
. . . . .			
Itē p^{d} the xxviijth of June for a hatte for my Ladye, & for a hatte for my Lady Hastyngs of velvett	—	xxviij	—

[a] Mary daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, wife of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, natural son of Henry VIII. [b] Mortelake. [c] Pillion.

	£.	s.	d.
Itm p[d] the same daye to S[r] Edmond Warner, Knyghte, a hundred pounde	jC	—	—
Itē delyv̄d the same daye to my M[r] at the Quenes hedd at the Temple barres in London	viij	—	—
Itē p[d] the xxix[th] of June for a payer of showes for mystrys Calthorpe at my Ladyes cōmandmēte	—	—	vij
Itē p[d] the xxx[th] of June to Robert Caustelor for his borde wag̃e at viij[d] the daye, from the xv[s] of June unto the fyrste of Julye .	—	x	—
. . . . .			
Itm p[d] the same day to one that brought a truste & a male from Stepneyghe, at my Ladys cōmandmēte . . .	—	—	iiij
. . . . .			
Itē p[d] the same daye to Eustace for his borde wag̃e at viij[d] the daye from the xxx[th] of June untyll the viij[th] of Julye . .	—	iiij	viij
Itē p[d] the viij[th] of July to one that fetchynge of my horse from Stepneyghe to London for to ryde to Syon . . .	—	—	iiij
Itē p[d] the same daye for ij bote hyrs from Poles to Westm̄	—	—	viij
Itē p[d] the same daye for the p'clamation for vyttalles .	—	—	ij
Itē p[d] the x[th] of Julye for a French hoode xiij[s] and for ij cornetts of velvett x[s] for my ladye	—	xxiij	—
Itē p[d] the same daye for a payer of bryckenders for my M[r] cov̄d w[th] blacke satten	x	x	—
Itē p[d] the same daye for rybbon lace for my ladye .	—	—	xij
Itē p[d] the same ḋaye ij peyer of whoose at xviij[d] the payer for mystr̄s Besse Hastyngs and mystr̄s Calthorpe . . .	—	iij	—
Itē p[d] the same daye for the grasse of vij horsses at xij[d] the weke a pece from the xxv[th] of Maye untyl the xij of Julye at Stepneyghe	—	xlv	—
Itē p[d] the same daye to Cokys wyffe for the beddes of the horssekepers and dryncke	—	ij	iiij
. . . . .			
Itē p[d] the same daye to Coke for a poste horsse to Syon for my M[r]	—	—	xvj
. . . . .			
Itē p[d] the same daye to M[r] Smythe for my M[r] borde, my ladys, myst[r]s Katerynes and Betts	v	iij	—
Itē p[d] the xiij daye of Julye for yo[r] horssemette at Ware to the number of xvij	—	iiij	viij
Itē p[d] there for my ladys drynkynge and others . .	—	ij	—

	£.	s.	d.
Itē p^{d} the same daye at Barkwaye for yo^{r} suppers .	—	vij	viij
Itē p^{d} the xiiijth of Julye for yo^{r} horssemete at Barkwaye allnyghte to the number of xvij	—	viij	—
Itē p^{d} the same daye to a poste that broughte a letter from Newm̃kett at Cambryge to my ladye	—	—	iiij
Itē p^{d} the same daye at Cambryge for yo^{r} suppers .	—	vj	—
Itē p^{d} the xv of Julye at Cambryge for xvij horssemete allnyghte	—	ix	—
Itē p^{d} the same daye for yo^{r} breakfastes at Cambryge .	—	iij	—
Itē p^{d} the same daye at my ladyes com̃andmente to the p̄sons of Cambryge	—	—	xij
Itē delyv̄d the same daye to my ladye at Cambryge .	—	x	—
Itē p^{d} the same daye at Elee for yo^{r} dynners . .	—	v	—
Itē p^{d} there for yo^{r} horssemete iiij^{s} iiij^{d} . . .	—	iiij	iiij
Itē p^{d} the same daye at Lyttelberye ferye for Thom̃s P'kers dyñ iiij^{d} and for breade and bere to my ladye and others . .	—	—	xij
Itē p^{d} the same daye for the ferynge ov̄ of xvij horses and at p̄stes houssys	—	iij	iiij
Itē p^{d} the same daye at Southerye for bere and breade for my ladye and others	—	—	xij
Itē p^{d} the same daye there for Nycholas Walkers and Eustace suppers	—	—	xij
Itē p^{d} there the same daye for a tylte bote for my ladye .	—	—	xvj
. . . . .			
Itm̄ p^{d} there the same daye for a shete at my ladyes comandmente	—	—	xx
Itē p^{d} there the wasshinge of shetts and other things .	—	—	iiij
Itē p^{d} the same daye to M^{r} Powte that broughte to Dounam campe	—	—	iiij
Itē p^{d} the xvijth of Julye to M^{r} Cobbes at my M^{r} com̃andemente upon a byll	—	xiij	x
. . . . .			
Itē p^{d} the xxvj of Julye at Lyne for paper . . .	—	—	iij
Itē p^{d} the xxvij of Julye for iiij lb. chyrrys . .	—	—	iiij
Itē p^{d} the same daye to Wadys wyffe for the Skolk mete and for v of o^{r} suppers	—	vij	viij
. . . . .			
Itē p^{d} the same daye at Norwyche to the wyffe of the Swanne for woode for to roste the mete and other things by the space of vij dayes	—	vj	viij
Itē p^{d} the same daye at M^{r} Richard Le Strange com̃andmente to the Jaylers wyffe of Norwyche	—	xxvj	viij
Itē p^{d} the same daye to M^{r} Gaudye at my M^{r} com̃andmente	—	xl	—

	£.	s.	d.
Itē gyven the same daye at my Mr comandement to one that made a grave	—	—	iiij
Itē pd the same daye to one that caryed yor ordēnnce to the at Norwyche	—	—	xij
Itē pd the fyrste of Septembre for the showynge of yor geldynge at Cleye	—	v	—
Itē pd the same daye for yor fereinge ov̄ the water at Cleye	—	—	iiij
Itē pd the seconde of September where Mr Hastyngs dwelyth for xj of my fellowes suppers	—	iij	—
Itē pd the vijth of September for ij quyre of paper & ynk .	—	—	vij
Itē pd the same daye at Norwyche at my Mr cōmandemente to John Man	v	—	—
Itē pd the same daye for xvij of or dynners at Norwyche	—	iiij	viij
Itē pd the same daye at Norwyche for xvij of or suppers .	—	iiij	—
Itē pd the viijth of September for yor horssemete at Norwyche	—	xlix	—
Itē pd the same daye ther for xviij of or suppers . .	—	v	viij
Itē pd the same daye for a pottell of sacke for the Kyngs Attorney	—	—	viij

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Pd the xxiiijth of Septēber Ao. r. r. E. vjti ter. by me Eustace Rolfe at sunderye tymes as hereafter folowyth.

. . . . . .

Supper.

Thetforde. Itē yor supper ther wth the Deane of Norwyche	—	iiij	vij

. . . . . .

Itē pd there more the same daye to a boye that wenthe to Harlynge at yor comandemente	—	—	xij

Dyner.

Newm̄kett. Itē pd there the xxvijth of September for yor dynner and the Danes of Norwyche wth Mr Gossenaldes . .	—	v	viij

. . . . . .

Supper.

Barkewaye. Itē pd ther the same daye for yor supper, the Deanes of Norwyche, and Mr Gossenaldes	—	xiiij	x

. . . . . .

	£.	s.	d.
Dynner.			
Ware. Itē p^{d} also ther for yo^{r} dynner, M^{r} Gossenalds, and the Deanes of Norwyche	—	viij	viij
. . . . .			
Itē delyv̄d there the same daye at my M^{r} comandemente to Cyllynghey	--	vj	viij
Itē p^{d} the xxix of Septembre for a cappecase for to carye yo^{r} letters in	—	—	xviij
Iṭ p^{d} the same daye for a lace for yo^{r} doblett . . .	—	—	j
. . . . .			
Itē delyv̄ed the same daye to Barms of London to bey gunpowder wthall	—	xx	—
Itē p^{d} the iij^{d} of October for mendyng of my M^{r} dagger at London	—	ij	—
Itē p^{d} the iiij of October for papyer . . .	—	—	j
Itē delyv̄ed the same daye at Lambeth for my M^{r} for to bey a horsse w^{t}all	iiij	—	—
. . . . .			
Itē p^{d} the fyrste of Decēber for a payer of showes for M^{r} Alexander Cressoner	—	—	x
Itē p^{d} the same daye for a xij poynts for the said Cressener .	—	—	j

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1549—50.

This boke maketh menc̄on of all mañ of receyts and payments receyved & payde by Willm̄ Skyppon, Clerke of the Kechyne there, from the xxiij^{d} of November in the yere of the raygn of Kyng Edward the Sixt the iiijth, untyll the xxiiijth of the same monyth.

THE RECEYTTS RECEYVED BY WILL'M SKYPPON.

. . . . .			
Hunston. Rec. of my brother Bartyllmū the vj of December	—	iiij	—
. . . . .			
Hunston & Holm cū membris. Rec. the xiiij of Marche A^{o}. v^{o}. E. s. of Bartylmew Skyppon, balyff ther, in p^{t} of payment of the revenues, issues, & p̄fyfts due to the same mañ at Candlemes last past xxxviij	iij	ij	
. . . . .			

	£.	s.	d.
Twesdaye the iij^{d} of Decemb.			
Itm p^{d} for a pottell of Sacke	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} for a pyntt of Malmesey	—	—	ij
Itm p^{d} for redd heryngs	—	—	iiij
. . . . .			
Freydaye & Satt̄daye the xix & xx of December.			
. . . . .			
Itm p^{d} for iij f.	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} for a pottell of Malmesey	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} for halff a hundred playce	—	—	xx
Wedonsdaye the xxiiij of Decemb.			
Itm p^{d} for iij codlyngs & a whighting . . .	—	ij	—
Itm p^{d} to Glov̄ of Marshlond for wildefowle . .	—	xx	viij
. . . . .			
Holm. Itm iiij pastys of venyson			
Itm iiij Stockedoves; in Butt. iiij^{d}, in eggs vj^{d}.			
. . . . .			
Docken & Fryng. Itm iiij cocks, vj collers of braune stor	—	—	—
Thirsday the xxiiij of Febrũ.			
. . . . .			
Itm a q̃rt̄ of Mutton — ij wyggins . . .	—	—	—
Freydaye & Satt̄daye the xiij & xiiij of Marche.			
Itm p^{d} for CC whit herrings	—	iij	—
Itm p^{d} for CCC red herrings	—	iiij	—
Itm p^{d} for a yolle of fresshe sam̃on . . .	—	ij	—
. . . . .			
The xviij Weke, the xxij of Marche.			
. . . . .			
Itm a pasty of purpose, in vell q̃, in lambe q̃.			

	£.	s.	d.

JOHN SYFF THE WRITER, 1547. 1 Edw. 6.

The ixth Weke, the xxvjth of Marche.

. . . . . .

Itm p^{d} for iij pynts of Sacke	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} for a virgyn of haringe	—	iij	—

The xxxvij Weke, the vijth of October.

Itm p^{d} for ij swyne soussys	—	—	ix
Itm p^{d} for ij woodcockes	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} for ij spowes & a seae doterell . . .	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} for ij bretts, the one of them sent to M^{r} Gresam̃s .	—	iij	—
For the Shippe. Itm p^{d} the xxj of Februarye to John Glov̋ for roppes that wenthe to the shippe by thandes of my M^{r} .	—	v	x

P^{d} BY MY M^{r}.

Fysshe boughte. Itm p^{d} the xxvth of Februarye to Thom̃s Waters of Lynne for haulfe a hundred lynges	v	—	—
Itm p^{d} to hym more the same daye for a hundred and a haulfe of coddes	—	liij	iiij
Itm p^{d} the same daye to Wyllm̃ Twinge of Lynne for too barells white harynge at xiij^{s} viij^{d} the barell . . .	—	xxvj	iiij
Itm p^{d} the vj of Maye to Robert Banearde for haulffe a q̃rt of saltfyshe	—	xvij	—
Itm rec. the xxth of Decembre of a man of Claye, one hundred and a haulffe of saltefyshe	—	—	—
Payed to the Sawers. Itm p^{d} the xth of Marche to ij sawers for xj dayes worke at vj^{d} a daye a pece	—	xj	—

. . . . . .

Payed to the Joyners. Imprimis y^{d} the iij^{d} of Marche to Robert joyn^{r} for v dayes worke at v^{d} the daye . . .	—	ij	j

. . . . . .

Payed to Laborers. Itm p^{d} the iij^{d} of Marche to John Cunstable for ij dayes worke at ij^{d} the daye	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the xth of Marche to Nycholas Inglande for v dayes & di. in heg̃inge at iij^{d} the daye	—	—	xvij
Itm p^{d} the same daye to one Richarde for v daye & di. in heginge at iij^{d} the daye	—	—	xvij

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Itm p^{d} the same daye to Haſye Broñe for v dayes worke at iij^{d} the daye	—	—	xv
Itm p^{d} the xjth of Marche to Dingle for iiij dayes thackinge at iiij^{d} the daye	—	—	xvj
Itm p^{d} the same daye to Dingles sonne for ꝟvinge hyme iiij dayes at ij^{d} the daye	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} the same daye to Edwarde Cape for helping of Wate in the malte housse iij wekes	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} the xij of Marche to Cunstable for one dayes worke in the brew housse	—	—	ij
Itm p^{d} the xviij of Marche to Cunstable for fellinge of whiñes iij dayes	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} the same daye for a bucket and the ropes for the welle in the kechinge	—	—	xx
Itm p^{d} the same daye to Baldwyne for his charge in sekinge for Wate'	—	—	xxij
Itm p^{d} the xvth of Apell to Munde Allen for his worke in the garden & other placs	—	iij	viij
Itm p^{d} the same daye to Baldwyẽ for his expence to Lynne for fetchinge home of brasse	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} the xxiij^{d} of June to Hoker for ij dayes worke in mowinge of netteles	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the ixth of Julye to John Goran for squaringe of a burdstocke	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} the viij of September to Waller of Hechm̃ for dyġen in the garden	—	—	iiij
Itm p^{d} the same daye to iij whomen for wedinge in the garden	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} the same daye to Thoms Allen for a waysshinge stoole for the maydes	—	—	viij
Itm p^{d} to hym more the same daye for the windowe in the stoore housse	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} the same daye to Elsinge men for ther beddes & ther costes homwarde	—	—	xij
Itm p^{d} the same daye to Gybson & Broune for kyllynge of a swyne & iij sheepe	—	—	vj
Itm p^{d} the xxix of Januarye to Baldewyẽ for his costes at Lynne whan he wenthe for the anker	—	—	xvj

	£.	s.	d.
. . . . .			
Itm p[d] the xxij of Auguste to Mathewe for xv hokes for the Roasomarye	—	—	xij
Itm p[d] the vj[th] of October to John Goolde for ij knyves for to choppe tallow w[th]	—	—	xx
Itm p[d] the xxiiij[th] October for xj[xx] vadam[a] of lyne for my Ladyes beddes	—	—	viij
Itm p[d] the xj[th] of December to Mathew for mendinge the andern in the kychinge	—	—	xviij
Itm p[d] the xij[th] of Januarye to Goolde for makinge a new weg̃e and mendinge ij olde weg̃ges	—	ij	viij

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Money rec. by John Syff. Imp'mis rec. the xxix of January A°. r. r. E. vj[ti] p̃mo of my ladye . . . . | — | xl | —

. . . . . .

PRIVATE ACCOUNTS OF S[r] NIC. LE STRANGE,
3 EDW. 6[th].

Wyllm̃ Bedome master. of Hũstanton lodyn at Hechm̃ the xx[th] day of Octobre A°. tert. E. vj[th].

It rec. for y[e] frayght of a clx q̃rt̄ delyvered in rye and malte at viij[d] the q̃r̃ fraytyd by Rychard Stonne at Newecastelle . .	vj	—	—
It mor rec. at hys retorn from Newecastell w[t] colys sold to dyvers menne as apperythe by hys byll for xij chalder and a half and ij boolls at x[s]. y[e] chalder, besyd iij d. & vj boolls delyvered in portage and iij chalder d. and iiij a. and vj bolls delyvered home . .	vj	vj	iij
Wherof payd for xviij chalder of colls at Newcastell w[t] other chargys to y[t] apperteynyng	—	lij	—
Mor payd for menne wagys and reparacyon of y[e] shyppe as apperythe by a byll	v	vj	iij
Payd in expencys for the vytall talye over & besyd leyd in at her fyrste saylyng	—	xx	—

Wyllm̃ Bedome M[r]. of Hũstantõ loden at Hechm̃ y[e] last of Januarye, A°. iij°. Ed. vj[ti].

Fyrste rec. for the frayght of x[xx] xvj q̃rter of malt at xij[d] y[e] q̃rter, fraytyd by Thom̃s John to Newcastell lakkyng xiij[s] iiij[d] .	x	—	—

[a] Fathom.

	£.	s.	d.
Rec. mor at hys retorn of dyvēs persons at Hechm̃ for vij chalder and a booll of colys at x^{s} y^{e} chalder over, & besyd iiij chalder delyvered in portage and x chalder delyverd home . . .	iij	x	vij ob.
Wherof payd for xviij chalder of collys at Newcastell w^{t} chargys to the same at iij^{s} y^{e} chalder	—	lviij	iiij
Payd for menne wagys done then, w^{t} ij boolls of salt bowght for y^{e} howse and xviij^{d} payd for a cart that browght ger lynes the shyppe	iiij	ij	—
Payd for expensys in vytall over y^{t} was dd̃ at y^{e} goynge furth'	—	xlvj	viij

RECEIPTES RECEIVED BY ME THOMAS RAGHET since the ixth daie of Aprill 1578, to th'use of my M^{r} S^{r} Nicholas le Straunge, Knighte.

Received the ixth daie of Aprill A^{o} supradc̃o from M^{r} Hamonde le Straunge by th'ands of Thomas Pratt	xl	—	—
Received the xijth daie of Aprill of M^{r} Hamonde Le Straunge	x	—	—
Received at London xxvj Aprilis from S^{r} Rowland Clarke Knighte by th'andes of John Bucha	x	—	—
Received p'mo Maii A^{o} supradc̃o, by th'ands of M^{r} John Myners, for the landes in Sowthwarke	Clx	—	—
Received of M^{r} Killentrey xxvj Maii . . .	xx	—	—
Received of M^{r} Hamonde le Strange xvij Maii . .	xx	—	—
Received of Mathewe Knokes iiij^{to} Junii in p̃te of paymente for the graye geldinge	—	xx	—
Received of my M^{r} from M^{r} John Dinsdale xxv^{o} Junii .	x	—	—
. . . . .			
Received mor of my M^{r} in the gallery upon th'accompte of Richard Sittinge xxiiijth	iiij	xv	—
. . . . .			
Received of Walles the wollman eodem die for xxxij stone di. of woll, at vij^{s} a stone	xj	xvij	—

FORAYNE PAYMENTES SINCE THE IXth DAYE OF APRILL 1578, PAID BY ME THOMAS RUGHET TO TH'USE OF MY M^{r} S^{r} NICHOLAS LE STRAUNGE, KNIGHT.

M^{r} Ashewell. Paid to the conptrowler of Lynne the xjth daye of Aprill for my La. horsse	—	x	—
Paid for iij searches in the Chauncery and for a copye of Ed. 6, concernyng Christe Churche in Norw^{ch} xv Apri. . .	—	ij	iiij
Paid to M^{r} Myners for the charges in Easter Tearme betwen Boston pl. and Morley def. xvj of Aprill	—	xvij	viij

	£.	s.	d.
Ed. Thruxton mercer. Paid to Ed. Thruxton m'cer, as appearethe by his bill of receipte, received by th'ands of Mr Grene Smith his servante dated the xvij	xx	—	—
Paid to Mr Myners for the searche of iij patentes in the Chauncery and for copyes to the same	—	xiiij	iiij
Given to Mr Bullock of the Inner Temple by th'andes of my Mr for Counsell the xxiijd daye	—	xx	—
Mr Tho. Lovell Esquire. Paid to Mr Thomas Lovell Esquire the firste daye of May, as by his acquittanc3 appeareth . .	iiijxx	—	—
Given to Mr Myners ijde Maij	v	—	—
Mr Myners. Given to the said Myners the iijd . .	—	xlvj	viij
Itm pd to Mr John Le Straunge for the searche of the date of Mr Wymonde Carewe, his lease	—	—	xij
My Mr. Dd to my Mr the vth at London . . .	—	xxj	—
Mr Killentree. Paid to Mr Killentrey the vth . .	xxx	—	—
Given to Mr Flowerdewe by th'andes of my Mr the vth daye for Counsell	—	xx	—
Paid to Mr Tho. Nicholas by my Mr eod. die . .	—	xxiij	iiij
Mr Calthrop of London. Paide to Mr Calthrop of London by th'andes of my Mr the vijth Maye	xiij	vj	viij
Paid to Mr Ployden and the Quenes Solister for Counsell by th'andes of my M'	—	xx	—
Dd my Mr to paye for a ringe to a goldesmithe the xjth .	—	xx	—
Mr Graye fieri fac. Paid to Mr Graye of Fanshawes office, as appereth by the bill of chardges, and for sealinge of a fieri fac' for th'execuc̃on of Tho. Hawkins and others in Leverington ꝑson drove	—	xxj	—
. . . . .			
Paid to Mr Almanvue Spreve of Cambridgeshire for the fieri fac' breaking up for Hawkins & others	—	xiij	iiij
. . . . .			
Paid to Mr Graye in Mr Fanshawes office as apperith by the bill	—	xix	viij

FORAINE PAYMENTES.

Maye.

Paid to a goldsmith for a silver peece for my Mrs eyes .	—	v	—
Paid for a cape for my Mrs ridinge cloake of velvet, and for making the cloake; by Math.	—	iiij	ix

	£.	s.	d.
Paid to a shearman for turninge & dressinge the said cloake	—	—	x
Paid to Mathew for a locke for the chamber dore at Howarde Howse	—	—	xiiij
Paid for a payre of scoales and weightes by Fr. Knape xiijth daye	—	ij	vj
Paid for xij lb. of prunes the xiiijth . . .	—	—	xxij
Paid for xv lb. ix o$\overline{3}$ of sugar, at xvj^{d} a pounde . .	—	xx	ix
Paid for a searche in the Chauncery at London the xv .	—	—	xviij
Paid for iij yardes and a halfe of black bays, at ij^{s} a yard .	—	vij	—
Paid to a caryar for caryinge dowen a hamp to Cambridge caryers	—	—	iiij
Paid for orenges and lemandes	—	—	xx
Paid for earthen vessells the xvjth daye of Maye . .	—	vj	viij
Paid for iij Inglishe bokes	—	—	xij
Paid for ij payre of spectacles	—	—	xij
Paid for iiij twilted caps for my M^{r}, th'one silke . .	—	x	viij
Paid for a bedd matte	—	—	xij
Paid for ij payre of shoes for my M^{r}, at xvij^{d} a payre .	—	ij	x
Paid for grocery ware bought by my M^{r} the xvijth daye .	—	xxv	viij
Paid for a firkin caryinge to the Cambridge caryers wth lemande$\overline{3}$	—	—	iij
Paid to a barbour for dressyng my M^{r} . . .	—	—	xj
Paid for ij smale Inglisshe bokes	—	—	iiij
Paid for iiij lb. pepper, at ij^{s} viij^{d} a lb. . . .	—	x	viij
Paid for vj glasses, at viij^{d} a peece	—	iiij	—
D$\overline{d}$ to my at London the xviij of Maye . .	—	xx	—

REWARDES.

Given to hir that kepte the gardin at Whitehall in rewarde	—	—	xij
Given to a tailor for solinge a payre of stockinges and bringing th$\tilde{e}$	—	—	ix
Given to Richard Catton the coake by th'ande$\overline{s}$ of my M^{r} .	—	—	x
Given to a pore man at the Charter house . . .	—	—	j
Given to the porter at Powles Churche . . .	—	—	iiij
Given to M^{r} Andersons boye	—	—	iij
Given to Willoughbye	—	—	xij
Given at my La. Westm^{r}lands that daye we came fr$\overline{o}$ London	—	—	iiij
Given to one that clymed the herons at M^{r} Prattes at my M^{rs} cominge from London	—	—	iiij
Paid for a pap boake wherin the chardges are written .	—	—	x

The chardges of my Mr Sr Nicholas Le Straunge, Knight, ridinge to London in Easter Tearme 1578, at London, and from London to Lynne, from the xth daye of Aprill untill the xviijth of Maye Ao sup̃ dc̃o.

	£.	s.	d.
Aprill.			
Laid out at Newmarket, as by the bill apperith, riding up to London the xiijth daye	—	xvj	iiij
Laid out at Puckeridge the xiijth	—	—	xiij
Laid out at Ware, as by the bill appearith that daye	—	xv	v
Laid out at London for horsse mate for vij horse iij dayes and iij nyghtes	—	xvij	—
Paid to Robert Mathew son to bringe the horses to Lynne	—	iiij	—
Laid out for mendinge a sadle	—	—	iiij
Laid out at the Bell in Smithfield for Mr Coates dyner and his man	—	—	xij
Laid out for the dynner & supp of my Mr for wyne and fyere the xvjth daye	—	ij	ij
Laid out for ij sackes of coales	—	—	xvj
Laid out for ij lb. of candle	—	—	vj
Laid out to Cambridge caryers for brynginge up a cheaste to London	—	vj	vj
Laid out to Mistress Whitwell for my Mr, Mr Buxton, and Mr J. Le Straunge dynners	—	iij	—
Laid out for boate hyere the xvij and xviijth daye	—	—	xij
Laid out for a quarte of claret wyne and a pinte of sacke the xviijth	—	—	viij
Laid out that daye for ij q̃tes of claret and a pynte of sacke for supper	—	—	xiij
Laid out the xx daye for ij quartes of claret wyne	—	—	x
Paid to Mr Ward upon his bill of Chardges for Mr. viz. from the xix of Aprill untill the thirde of the same monethe	—	xxxij	vj
Laid out for a breaste of mutton	—	—	xvj
Laid out for a quarte of Ale	—	—	j
Laid out for ij sackes of coales the xxxth	—	—	xvj
Laid out for a caponett	—	—	xx
Laid out for a racke of veale eod. against supp	—	—	xj
Laid out eodem for ij quartes of claret wyne and a pynte of sacke	—	—	xiij

	£.	s.	d.
May.			
. . . . .			
Laid out at the Rose Taverne in Newgate market the vth day for my M^{rs} dynner, as by the bill of chardges appeareth . .	—	v	viij
. . . . .			
Laid out to M^{r} Ware upon his bill for my M^{r} for iij dayes and for wasshinge of lynnẽ	—	x	vj
Paid to M^{r} Wardes daughter for viij billettes . .	—	—	vj
Paid to Mistres Acres for hir bedd in Easter Tearme .	—	—	xij
. . . . .			
Laid out at the bell at London for ꝑte of a bridle w^{ch} the hostlers loste	—	—	vj
. . . . .			

FORAINE PAYMENTES.

Maye.			
Laid out at Ware my M^{r} then returninge to Lynne from London, as by the bill of chardges planely doth appeare the xiiijth .	—	xiij	iij
Laid out at Cambridge eodem die at dynner . .	—	vj	vij
Laid out at Elye the xvth daye as by the bill of chardg̃ doeth appeare together wth the charges betwen Littleporte and Suddrye	—	xiij	viij
Mr. Tho. Lovell Esq. Paid to M^{r} Thomas Lovell Esquire the xvij of Maye	xx	—	—
Winkfeld, wollen draper. Paid to Winkfeyld the wollen of Lynne the xviijth of Maye	—	lj	—
Dd̃ to my M^{r} the xxth at Lynne . . .	—	v	vj
Paid to M^{r} Atkinson that daye for makinge the leasse for the assignement over of the leasse of the man^{r} of Hitcham . .	—	iij	iiij
Paid to him for writinge decree betwen my M^{r} and M^{r} Wymonde Carewe	—	—	xij
My M^{r}. Dd̃ to my M^{r} the xxvth daye . . .	—	xx	—
M^{r} Dinesdale. Paid to M^{r} Dinesdale the xxviijth .	x	—	—
Laid out at East Harlinge as by the bill appeareth .	ix	—	
. . . . .			

	£.	*s.*	*d.*

FORAINE PAYMENTES.

June.

. . . . . .

Laid out at Stowebridge my M^{r} and my Ladye ridinge to the mariage of my La. Bell	—	—	j.ob.
In rewarde to the Chamblaynes at my Lady Bells . .	—	ij	—
Given to a boye to helpe in wth the horses ther . .	—	—	iiij
Laid out at Lynne to the watermen for bringinge over the horsses	—	—	x

. . . . . .

XXIII. *A short Account of some Antiquities discovered in the District of Peten, in Central America; in a Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel* Juan Galindo, *Governor of Peten, addressed to* Nicholas Carlisle, *Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 7th June, 1832.

Government House, Flores,
October 28, 1831.

Sir,

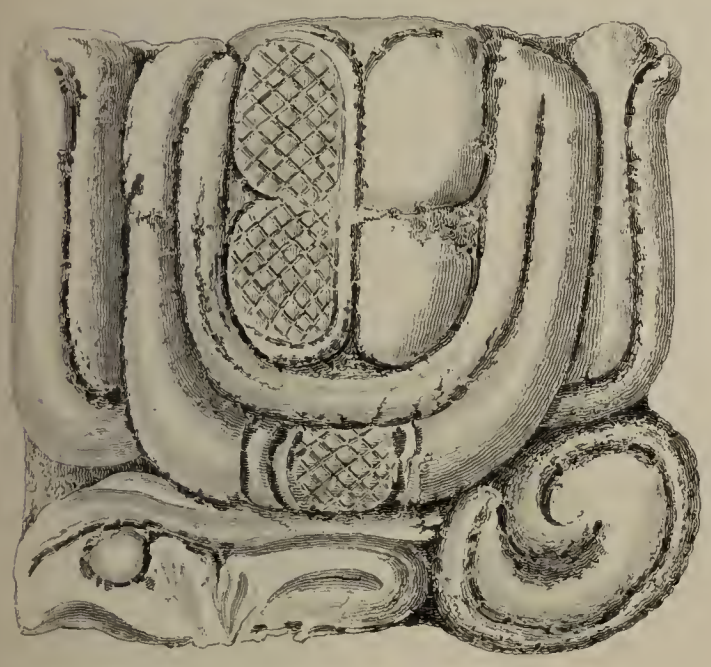
I HAVE the honour of presenting the accompanying articles to your Society, and which I presume may be interesting. The whole have been collected in the extensive district of Peten, the most northern portion of Central America, in which I have lately resided some months as Governor. The description of this district will form a portion of a Work on Central America, which I have lately prepared for publication.

The first notice to which I refer are four plaster tablets from the ruins of Palenque. These I took from the façade of the edifice styled the Study. (Plate LIX.) Specimens of the mortar used in the buildings, which are of stone, accompany these tablets; and a small face (the smallest) found near the ruins. Of the ruins themselves, I inserted an account in the Literary Gazette.

The next articles, in point of antiquity, are five fragments of tile from an island in the lake of Yashaw. This lake, which is passed on proceeding from hence to Belize in the Bay of Honduras, is about five miles long and two broad. It contains four small islands; one of which is covered with ruins, having in the centre a square Tower forty-five feet high, consisting of five stories, (each receding on all sides two feet,) and having no doors or windows, excepting in the upper story: the base is an equilateral rectangle twenty-two yards each way, and a staircase seven yards wide, with the steps but four







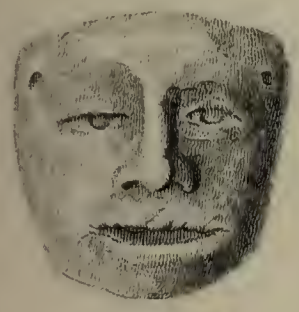


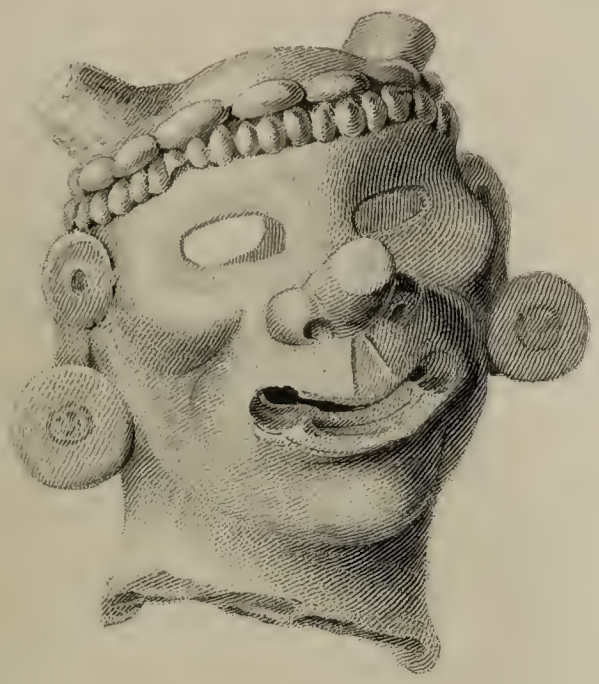
Scale $\frac{1}{3}^{rd}$ of an inch to 1 inch.

J.ª Basire del.t et sculp.

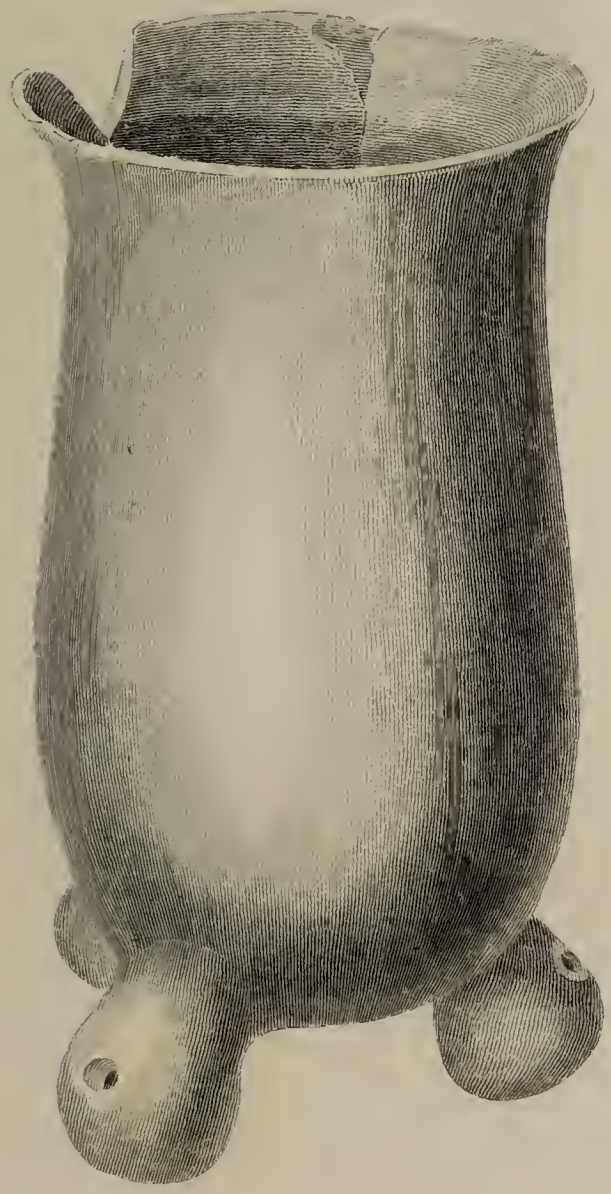
Tablets from the Ruins of Palenque, in Central America

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23.rd April, 1834.













Scale 2 an inch to 1 inch

J. Basire del. et sculp

Jar and Sculptures from an Island in the Lake of Yashaw

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1801.

inches high, leads sloping from the west to the top of the Tower; the upper story consisting of three unroofed rooms with low apertures, under which the spectator crawls to enter: though all sounds hollow beneath, yet there is no apparent entrance into the lower stories. I can perceive no similarity between this building and the buildings of Palenque, except that both are of stone; but the stones of which the Tower is constructed are somewhat larger; I should consider it more modern than Palenque, since part of the door-beams and other wood work still remains.

A small figure of a tortoise, the jar, two heads, and two faces of idols, recently found on this island, (see all but the tortoise, which did not arrive with the rest, in Plate LX.) are considered to be the manufacture of its ancient Indian inhabitants, who were called Itzaes and were a tribe of the Great Maya nation, which people, before the arrival of the Spaniards, occupied the whole of the peninsula of Yucatan and the adjoining part of the continent, now included in the eastern part of Tabasco, British Honduras, and the district of Peten, and were united by a similarity of language, which still prevails throughout their country, and is even studied and spoken by the whites and their mixed descendants. The only pure remnant of the independent Mayas is a tribe called the *Lacandones*, who inhabit the western part of the district of Peten, and are spread over an immense tract in the centre of the continent, though they principally reside on the rivers Pacaitun, San Pedro, and Usumasuita.

I shall at any time be happy to correspond with your Society on the subject of the Antiquities of this part of the world, which interest me in an uncommon degree: any communication you may favour me with, pray direct to the care of Mr. Charles Evans, Honduras, and it will be brought by the packet.

Offering to you personally the assurances of my devoted consideration,

I am, dear Sir,

Your very obedient humble servant,

JUAN GALINDO,
Lieut.-Colonel.

To Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. F.R.S.
Secretary.

XXIV. *Account of an ancient carved figure of St. George, preserved in the Museum at Dijon; in a Letter from* Thomas Willement, *Esq. F.S.A. to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H., F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 18th April, 1833.

Dear Sir, Green Street, April 12th, 1833.

My friend Mr. Ambrose Poynter having entrusted to my care a statue of St. George, which may, I think, in many points be considered extremely curious, I beg to forward it, with his permission, for the inspection of the Society of Antiquaries.

Mr. Poynter writes to me, that 'the accompanying figure of St. George, is cast from the original, carved in wood and emblazoned, and forming part of an altar-piece now in the museum at Dijon. This altar-piece is the work of Jacques de Baertz, carver of images (tailleur d'images) to Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, who presented this work, and another of the same sort, to the Chartreuse of Dijon in 1391. There are several figures of saints in these compositions; but this of St. George is undoubtedly the most valuable, as giving an exact representation of the knightly costume at the end of the fourteenth century.'

Mr. Poynter's opinion of its value will, I am sure, be fully established by a close examination of the figure. It is clearly evident, by the great care with which the most trivial parts are defined, that it is a very studied representation of the costume of the period in which it was executed. (See the Plates LXI. LXII.)

The Saint is armed on the body by the plastron de fer, or some such defence of plate armour, from which the lance-rest projects through the upper garment, perforated expressly for that purpose. Below the band confining the waist, he is covered with the gamboison, which is neatly laced in front down to the lowest point; above the waistband the covering is the

pourpoint with sleeves, evidently of some light texture, buttoned closely down the front, and on the outside of the sleeves. This is not marked by one cross extending to its limits, but is powdered, or semée, of circular badges, each charged with the cross of St. George: to these badges I shall more particularly refer hereafter.

The head of the Saint is covered by the basinet à visiere, seldom represented in sculpture, the ventaille of which he holds open by the hand bearing his shield; the camail with its lace, and the vervilles or staples of the basinet, are beautifully defined; three cords, which are looped, attach the camail and pourpoint to the under defence of plate. The inner part of the thighs appear to be covered with leather of an uneven surface, which is riveted to the edges of the cuisses; the girdle is richly jewelled, and is very similar to the girdle of William of Hatfield and to those of several other figures of nearly the same period, which are engraven so satisfactorily in the 'Monumental Effigies,' by the late Charles Stothard; the statue of St. George is, however, deficient in the dagger and decorated sword-sheath which generally accompany those; the sword itself appears to have been curtailed of its fair proportions, perhaps on account of its position in a niche.

The shape of the shield is unusual; but the material with which it is covered is evidently the same as on the outside of that which belonged to Edward the Black Prince, still preserved in Canterbury cathedral, namely, of very stout leather, impressed while wet by a mould, which left the lines of the cross and the rich diaper-work in relief. On the inner side of this shield, near the bouche or notch for the lance, is a small heraldic escutcheon charged with a cross; this most probably was an usual ornament to shields, and in this particular part, as it would thus, in action, place immediately before the eye of the warrior the emblem of his faith.

All the plate armour on the statue has been silvered, the rims and studs of burnished gold; the mail of the gorget dead gilt. The vest appears to have been blue, but the colour is now very defective; the badges on it are silvered, with red crosses. The shield on its interior surface, is gilt and burnished, the small escutcheon being the same as the badges on the garment. On the exterior, the whole front has been silvered, the cross being

emblazoned with a transparent crimson. The jewelry of the girdle is in imitation of rubies and emeralds.

Referring again to the ornamented vest, we have clear information of the extreme costliness and splendour of the dresses worn by the higher ranks during the reigns of King Edward the Third and King Richard the Second; and personal badges, as distinguished from coats of arms, appear at that period to have had, if not their first rise, certainly a more general application. At the institution of the most noble Order of the Garter, and for some time after, the dress of the Sovereign and of the Knights was powdered all over with the badge of that fraternity. Of this many proofs are given by Anstis from the wardrobe accounts; one hundred and sixty-eight Garters, with their buckles and pendants, were worked on the first surcoat and hood made for the Founder.

The badges on the dress of St. George so closely resemble, not only in form, but in the charge upon them, some pieces of gold found in Ireland, but which were doubtless of much greater antiquity, that I trust I may be excused for transcribing from Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden's Britannia the account he there gives of them: He says, (vol. ii. col. 1412), 'South from Donegall, is Belishannon; near which, not many years ago, were dug up two pieces of gold, discovered by a method very remarkable. The Lord Bishop of Derry happening to be at dinner, there came in an Irish Harper, and sung an old song to his harp. His Lordship not understanding Irish, was at a loss to know what the song meant; but the herdsman being called in, they found by him the substance of it to be this: That in such a place (naming the very spot) a man of gigantic stature lay buried, and that over his breast and back there were plates of pure gold, and on his fingers rings of gold, so large that an ordinary man might creep through them. The place was so exactly described, that two persons there present were tempted to go in quest of the golden prize, which the harper's song had pointed out to them. After they had dug for some time, they found two thin pieces of gold, exactly of the form and bigness of this cut.' [Here a representation of one of these pieces is introduced.]

'This discovery encouraged them next morning to seek for the re-



H. Shawe sculp.

Carved Figure of St George, at Dijon

H. Shawe sculp

Carved Figure of S^t George at Dijon.

mainder; but they could meet with nothing more.' The passage is the more remarkable, because it comes pretty near the manner of discovering King Arthur's body by the directions of a British Bard. The two holes in the middle of this seem to have been for the more convenient tying of it to the arm or some part of the body.

On a paper which accompanies this, I have given a fac-simile of the wood-cut which illustrates Bishop Gibson's account, and with it an enlarged representation of one of the badges on the pourpoint of St. George. Their great resemblance is particularly striking, and the original application of the two pieces of gold found in Ireland may be explained by the statue.

I have merely to add, that the church of the Chartreuse at Dijon was founded by Philip le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, fourth son of John King of France, on the 15th of January 1384, being the anniversary of St. Maurice, whose lance was said to have been effectually used in the first conquest of Burgundy from the Vandals. Philip was buried in this church on the 15th of June, 1404, having died at Halle in Brabant on the 27th of April. The Plates represent the front and back of the figure.

I am, dear Sir,

Your very faithful humble servant,

THOMAS WILLEMENT.

XXV. *Account of some Antiquities found in the parish of Blandford St. Mary, in Dorsetshire, by the Rev.* Thomas Rackett, *F.R.S. and F.S.A., in a Letter to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 16th May, 1833.

Dear Sir, 48, Upper Gower Street, May 16, 1833.

As some labourers were lately digging for the purpose of laying the foundation of a cottage, in a meadow a quarter of a mile from Blandford-bridge, in the parish of Blandford St. Mary, in Dorsetshire, on the estate of Sir John Wyldbore Smith, Bart. of the Down House in the same parish, they discovered six skeletons lying side by side, the heads toward the south-east, about two feet from the surface; a single skeleton, very perfect, was found at a little distance, and also a considerable quantity of detached human bones, the whole intermixed with pieces of decayed wood and black mould. Some of the persons employed being known to me, I desired them to examine the soil very carefully, and I have in consequence obtained the articles which accompany this letter, viz. Roman Coins of Trajan, Maximian, Licinius, and Constantine, and a Greek Coin,[a] a bronze figure of our Saviour, and a glass vessel, two inches in length, evidently formed in a mould and impressed with two grotesque heads. The foot of this vessel (which is narrower towards the bottom) is broken off, but not recently, as the vessel appears to have filled with dirt. It may possibly have originally contained a liquid, as the mouth is hermetically sealed by another piece of glass, which is also broken near the aperture, so that its form cannot be known.

That here was a place of sepulture during the time the Romans were

[a] I have been informed that since I left Dorsetshire, about three weeks ago, several other Roman coins have been turned up on digging the depth of a common spade, not far from the recently laid foundations.

masters of Britain is highly probable, and is rendered more evident by its local situation, as the partiality of that people for interment near highways is well known. The old western road through Abbey Milton (an ancient British trackway) passes within a few yards. The road to Dorchester through Milbourne St. Andrew's, now the turnpike road, is still nearer the spot; other roads, in various directions, to the vale of Blackmore and Sherborne, and to Poole, branch off from the same place. There is no account of any ecclesiastical foundation, or of any church or chapel, having ever existed hereabouts. The parish church is nearly a mile distant. Nor are there any traces of ancient fortifications, nor is there any historical record of a battle having at any period been fought in the neighbourhood.

The figure of our Saviour, which appears to have been attached to a cross, resembles so strongly in size and metallic appearance the Penates, which have been occasionally found, and of which the British Museum exhibits such numerous specimens, that it affords at least a presumption, that it may have been cast by the fabricators of similar molten images, at a period co-eval with them.

Of the use and adoration of images nothing is to be found in the first age of Christianity. Neither our Saviour nor the Apostles gave any injunction which could possibly be construed to command or sanction such a practice, and the converted Jews would preserve their abhorrence of objects which were so strictly forbidden by the law of Moses. Among the Gentile converts, therefore, attached to their ancient habits, and especially among the Romans, it is natural to look for their introduction. Representations, whether true or fictitious, of the persons had in honour by the increasing numbers of Christians were sought for, and no doubt manufactured with great alacrity by those 'whose craft was in danger to be set at nought' by the precept of St. Paul, that 'they be no Gods which be made with hands.' These images being venerated by some of the heretical sects, and admitted by those who were not yet converted to Christianity among their household gods, were, in proportion as the Christian religion prevailed, substituted for those of the Pagan deities and heroes.

In reference to this subject, Irenæus, who wrote in the latter end of the second century, in his exposition of the Carpocratian heresy, has the follow-

ing remarkable passage, the Greek text of which is lost, but which is repeated nearly verbatim by Epiphanius, about the latter end of the fourth century. "Unde Marcellina, quæ Romam sub Aniceto venit, cum esset hujus doctrinæ, multos exterminavit. Gnosticos se autem vocant, et imagines, quasdam quidem depictas, quasdam autem et *de reliqua materia fabricatas* habent, dicentes formam Christi factam a Pilato illo in tempore quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus. Et has coronant, et proponunt eas cum imaginibus mundi Philosophorum; videlicet cum imagine Pythagoræ, et Platonis, et Aristotelis, et reliquorum, et religiosam observationem circa eos similiter ut Gentes faciunt."[b]

St. Augustine also, enumerating the heretical doctrines of Carpocrates, thus expresses himself: "Sectæ ipsius fuisse traditur quædam Marcellina, quæ colebat imagines Jesu, et Pauli, et Homeri, et Pythagoræ, adorando, incensumque proferendo."

In the beginning of the third century the Emperor Alexander Severus had the image of Abraham and Jesus Christ placed together with those of Orpheus, Apollonius, and his other deities in his lararium, where he performed his daily devotions.

These passages *prove* the fabrication of images of our Saviour as early as the second century, and also the *possibility* of finding a bronze figure of Christ in a Roman cemetery, which had been deposited there while Britain was subject to the dominion of that nation.

Should the image which has occasioned these observations, be admitted (from the evidence adduced of its having been found in an ancient cemetery, from its external appearance, and other circumstances) to be referable to a period antecedent to the departure of the Romans, it must be considered as an interesting object, not only as being perhaps the most ancient figure of the Saviour to be met with in this country, but as an original specimen of a religious usage which subsequently occasioned violent dissensions, and which was a principal cause of the separation of the Greek and Romish Churches.

I remain, dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

THOMAS RACKETT.

[b] Irenæi Op. l. 1, contra hæreses, c. 25, p. 104.

Sydney Smirke del

P. Basire sculp

Part of Theodorics Palace at Ravenna.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1835

XXVI. *An Account of the Remains of the Palace at Ravenna, reputed to have been that of the Gothic King Theodoric. By* Sydney Smirke, *Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to Sir* Henry Ellis, *K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 17th January 1833.

12, Regent Street, Dec. 20, 1832.

Dear Sir,

The accompanying Sketch (Pl. LXIII.) I made when at Ravenna a few years ago; it represents a building in that City interesting as a reputed portion of the residence of a celebrated personage, and as an example of the style of architecture prevalent at a period very remote and obscure in the history of that art; I have therefore thought that it would not be considered unfit to be exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries.

The building referred to is constantly pointed out to the traveller as the only remaining portion of the Palace known to have been built and inhabited by the Gothic King Theodoric. There is most satisfactory proof of the Palace having stood on this spot; but with what degree of truth the present building is asserted to be a part of the original work it would now be very difficult to ascertain, but the supposition is very generally received, and there is nothing in the character of the details which would throw a doubt upon it. In the semi-classic style of the doorway, and in the little arcades against the upper part of the walls, it bears a sufficiently strong resemblance to the tomb of this Monarch, of the date of which no reasonable doubt exists.

Ravenna, as you are well aware, was Theodoric's capital, and his favorite place of residence; his palace there is described as having been originally

of much magnificence and extent, but Charlemagne greatly despoiled it, pulling down and removing, with no sparing hand, its columns, mosaics, and other decorations, in order to contribute to the splendour of those edifices with which he adorned the more favoured parts of his Empire. Among the embellishments so removed, is described by Agnellus in his life of Peter the Elder (one of the Bishops of Ravenna) an equestrian statue of Theodoric, of which the description given is so minute, and at the same time so curious, that I may be perhaps allowed to transcribe the passage: "In pinnaculo ipsius loci fuit Theodorici effigies, mire tessellis ornata, dextera manu lanceam tenentis, (*note*, tenens) sinistra clypeum, lorica indutus. Circa clypeum Roma tessellis ornata adstabat cum hasta et galea, unde verò telum tenens fuit. Ravenna tessellis figurata pedem dexterum super mare, sinistrum super terram ad regem properans. Misera! undique invidiam passa. Cives inter se maximo zelo * * * (*hîc desunt nonnulla*) * * * in aspectu ipsorum Pyramis tetragonis lapidibus, et bis-alis in altitudinem quasi cubitorum sex. Desuper autem equus ex cere auro fulvo perfusus, ascensorque ejus Theodoricus rex scutùm sinistro gerebat humero, dextero verò brachio erecto lanceam tenens. Ex naribus verò equi patulis, et ore volucres exibant. Quis enim talem videre patuit, qualis ille? Qui non credit sumat Franciæ iter, et eum aspiciet."

He afterwards adds that about 38 years previously to the period of his then writing, Charlemagne had conveyed this extraordinary work to Acquisgranæ, or Aix-la-chapelle.

The Façade represented in my sketch is built almost wholly of bricks, a material which appears never to have fallen into disuse in Italy, although in England we have little evidence of its having been manufactured for the builder's purposes during a long period of time. The two circular apertures in the lower part of the front appear to be modern; and the porphyry sarcophagus, which is let into the wall on the left of the doorway, is said to have been removed in recent times to that situation, on being found near the mausoleum of this monarch, whose body it was believed to have contained.

The large coved recess or niche over the entrance is a very peculiar feature, and may be observed in other buildings of Italy raised during these dark ages. It may also be noticed as previously occurring in some struc-

tures of the age of Constantine, and may have been perhaps originally suggested by those deep recesses that contribute so much to the effect of the interior of the Roman Pantheon, a building in all ages regarded as an object of wonder and imitation.

The resemblance borne by the specimen of ancient art before you to the earlier and plainer Structures of this and other countries of Europe, will not escape your observation.

The small columns set in a square rebate, worked at the angles of the coved recess above referred to, and supporting a plain semicircular arch, may be seen in most of our earliest Norman buildings, as well as frequently on the Continent; and it is worthy of note, that this particular application of a column, for which no authority can, I apprehend, be produced in any work of classic art, may be observed at the Zizza, a palace of the Saracen Emirs at Palermo, where the small shaft, so placed, is made to support an entablature carved with a rich frieze of Cuphic characters. It is interesting to observe the gradations from this simple insertion of a slender circular shaft in a square rebate, to all those complicated moulded jambs with which it delighted our ancestors to enrich their doorways and windows.

Other points of resemblance which this building presents to those of after times, will occur to you on the most cursory inspection: the projecting piers on each extremity of the front may be considered in no other light than as buttresses, whilst the series of arches in relief against the face of the wall may be at once recognised as a great advance towards those ranges of simple, or interlaced arches springing from small columns, which form perhaps the strongest characteristic of the subsequent architecture of Europe. As a favourite mode of exterior decoration, especially on the apsides of churches, they may also be seen on many very early buildings. The specimens of what is usually styled Lombardic art, have them almost invariably; and, although I am well aware that the Lombards are probably as little deserving the honour of having originated a style of architecture in Italy, as the Goths are of having done so in England, and that generally speaking the buildings attributed to them are the works of later artists, yet there can be at least as little doubt but that a great number of the buildings in the style

alluded to, which are to be found in Italy, and which present, in their general appearance, a near approximation to the churches of the Normans, were erected long before those Northmen had left their ships, or thought of any pursuits but those of war and rapine. These diminutive arcades which occur over almost the whole of Europe, sometimes appear interlaced; and it was to a comparatively late instance of them so arranged in Hampshire, that it has been imagined that the true origin of the Pointed Arch might be traced: an idea which can alone be attributed to the limited range to which researches into the history of Architecture were formerly confined.

In seeking to cultivate our knowledge of this History, no period nor country ought to be indifferent to us. The subject which has given rise to my present observations has not, it is true, any architectural charms to attract our regards, nor can any of the structures of this very dark age lay claim to a great share of pictorial merit; but I cannot think that they deserve the neglect and contempt with which they are too often passed over: they are interesting as holding a middle station between the buildings designed in the ancient Roman style and those which in England are termed Norman, and may be regarded as the timid and feeble efforts of art during its period of greatest depression and debasement. Nor should it be forgotten that the Ecclesiastical Buildings of this period deserve our peculiar reverence as the rude works of early Christianity, whilst it had yet to struggle with a thousand difficulties, and whilst its zealous promoters had yet no leisure to cultivate the arts of refinement. The Christian origin of the Style in question is manifest throughout; the mosaics that profusely encrusted the interior of the churches were a mode of decorating walls unknown to Paganism, and exhibited to the reverential gaze of the Catachumeni all the mysteries of the new religion, with effigies of the Saints who had suffered for it. The exterior of the churches presented a great variety of symbolic sculpture, typical of the Divine attributes, and exalting the virtues and triumphs of the Church: and it may be supposed that many of these symbols retained their place in architectural sculpture long after the mystic allusions which gave birth to them were forgotten. How far this symbolic character, to which the sculptors of the period seemed so greatly

attached, may have been derived from, or at least tinctured with the recently discarded superstitions of the conquerors of Italy, presents a path of inquiry but little explored, and invites the researches of those who are prepared for a task of this nature.

I ought to apologize for the roughness of the Sketch which has given rise to the above Observations; but it is almost exactly as I left it when drawn with a camera lucida on the spot, and I have thought it better to submit it to you in that state, than to attempt to give it more neatness of finish at the probable expense of its truth.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

SYDNEY SMIRKE.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.

APPENDIX.

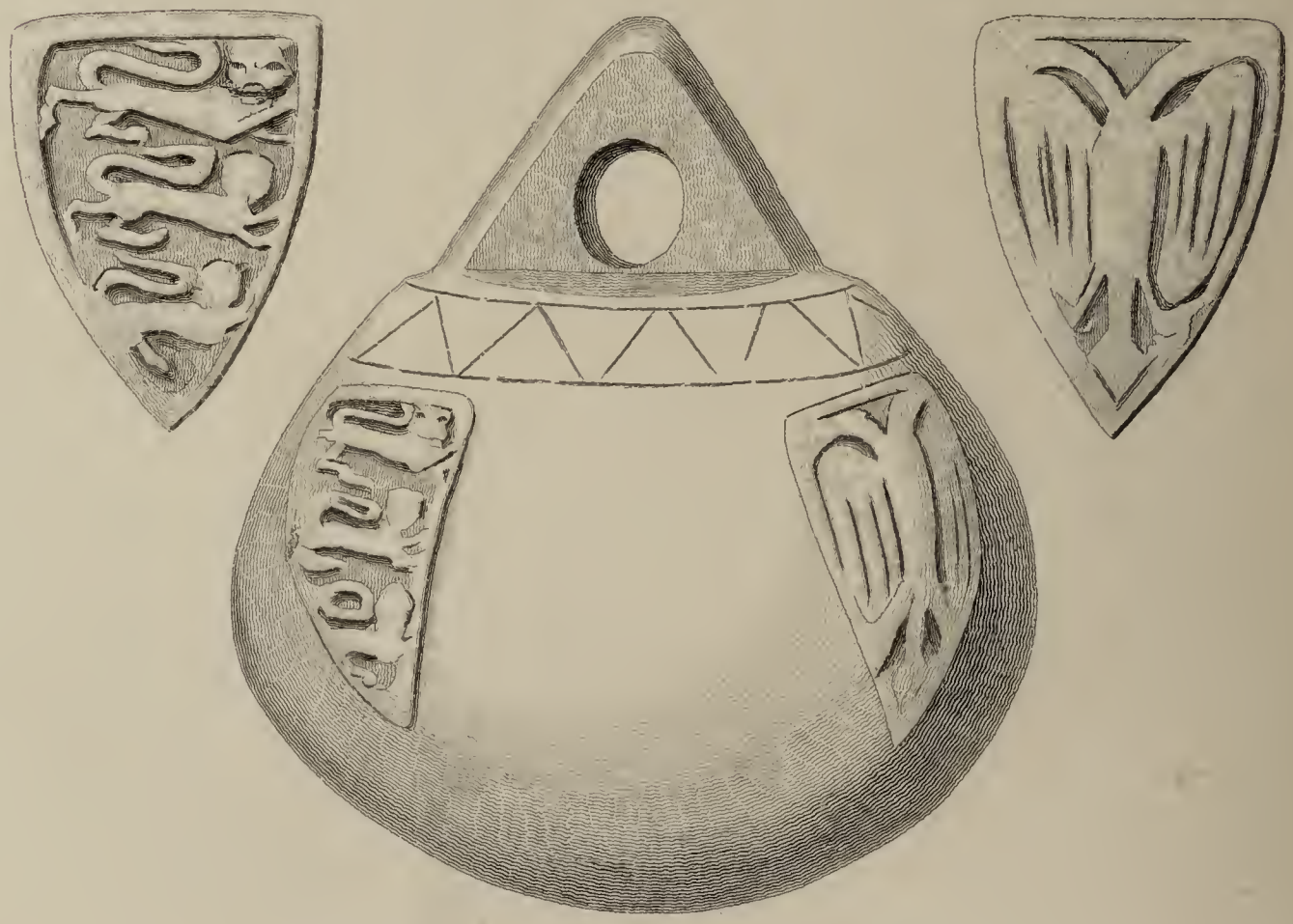
AT A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

December 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That such curious Communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archæologia.





Ancient Steel-yard Weights

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1834.

APPENDIX.

Ancient Steel-yard Weights.

Feb. 2, 1832. Mr. Samuel Woodward, of Norwich, exhibited to the Society drawings of what appear to have been two Steel-yard Weights (Plate LXIV), of which the smaller was lately found buried in a piece of waste land, in the parish of Catton, near Norwich. The larger had been previously purchased by a brazier in Norwich. They are of brass on the exterior surface. The smaller one still filled up with lead; but of the other, the lead has been melted out, though some of the metal is still adhering to it. They are evidently of the same era and workmanship: and bear the same zig-zag ornament. The arms on them are the lion and the double-headed eagle; possibly for Cornwall, and Richard King of the Romans.

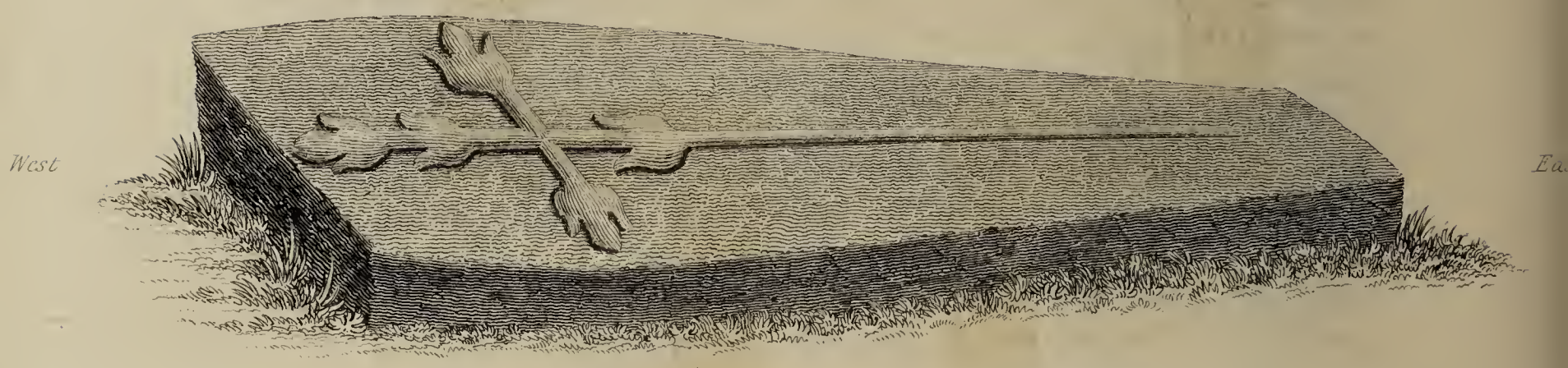
Queen Elizabeth's Bath, King's Mews, Charing Cross.

February 9, 1832. William Knight, Esq. presented to the Society two Drawings, a Plan, and a perspective View of the interior of a small building, known by the name of Queen Elizabeth's Bath, which formerly stood amongst the mass of old building upon the site of the King's Mews at Charing Cross; and which was entirely removed to make room for the present improvements in that part of the metropolis in the month of February 1831.

The Building was nearly square on the Plan, and was constructed of fine red brick. Its chief merit consisted in its groined roof, which was of very neat workmanship, and formed by angular ribs springing from corbels. The form of the arch led Mr. Knight to ascribe the date of this building to the fifteenth century. See the Plan, Pl. LXV.: the Interior View, Pl. LXVI.

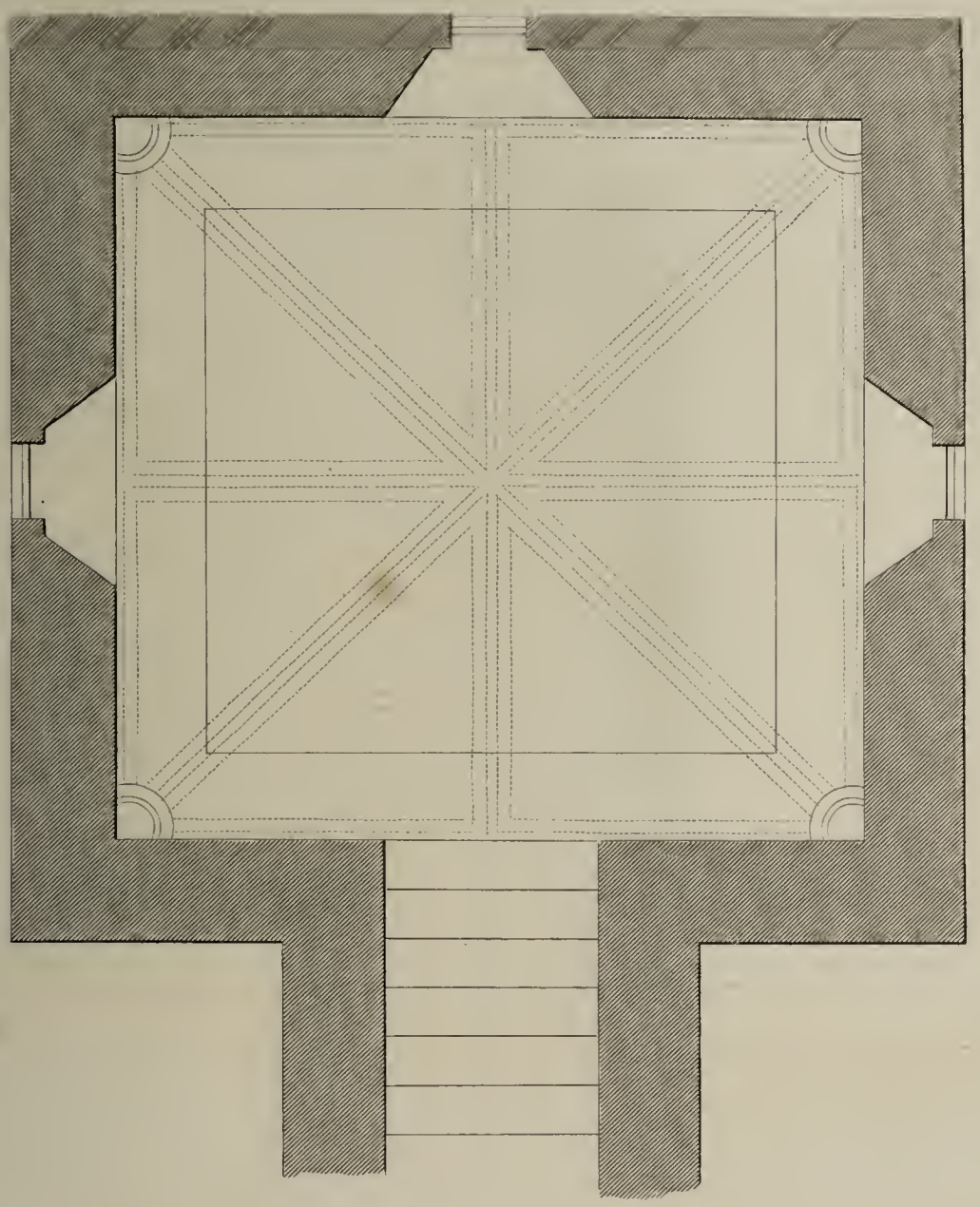
Grave-stone discovered in the Church-yard of Great Bookham, Surrey.

April 12, 1882. William Bray, Esq. F.S.A. at the age of ninety-six, as the last mark of his respect and regard, communicated an account of a Grave-stone, evidently of great antiquity, which had been accidentally discovered, three years before, in the church-yard of Great Bookham, in the county of Surrey, lying on the native soil, unsupported by any wall or pillar, and without inscription.



It was marked only by a Cross fleury.

The Rev. Mr. Boscawen, by whom this tomb was first noticed, in his visitation as rural dean, conjectured from its appearance that it had covered the body of some ecclesiastic above the common order, and Mr. Bray surmised that it might possibly have belonged to John Rutherwyke, Abbot of Chertsey, who in 1341 had built a chapel in addition to the body of the old church of Great Bookham, as still appears from an inscription, remaining upon a stone in the south wall, which has been already engraved in the Archæologia, Vol. XIII. Pl. XXV.; the concluding line of which





W Knight del

J.s Basire sculp

Ground Plan of Queen Elizabeths Bath, Kings Mews, Charing Cross

Removed in February 1831.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1834



W. Knight del.ᵗ

Js. Basire sculp.

Interior View of Queen Elizabeth's Bath

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 3rd. 1834

implies, that Abbat Rutherwyke intended to be buried in or near the chapel or chancel which he had built: and it is equally observable that this Gravestone, corresponding in presumed date, is placed nearly opposite to a small door in the south wall of Rutherwyke's building, leading into the churchyard.

John de Rutherwyke died Abbot of Chertsey, in 1346.

At the time of the Conqueror's Survey the manor and advowson of Great Bookham belonged to Chertsey Abbey, but the Impropriation was obtained from the Abbey in the 20th Edw. I., 1292, by John Pountes, Bishop of Winchester, when a vicarage was ordained.

The length of the stone is 5 feet 7 inches; breadth at the head 20 inches, at the feet 12 inches; 8 inches thick. The staff or cross is nearly five feet long: a small part broken off.

Judicial Proceedings at Norwich, at the commencement of the Userpation.

April 12, 1832. Mr. Samuel Woodward, communicated an Account of certain judicial proceedings at Norwich, at the commencement of the Usurpation, copied from a MS. written about the year 1675, in the possession of Edward Steward, Esq. of Norwich.

"Anno Dñi 1650. In this year, being the second year after the martyrdom of King Charles the First (of glorious memory), the people of England, groaning under the heavy burthen of their new created taskmasters, were ready to lay hold of any opportunity whereby to be eased of their intolerable burthens, they being brought by sad experience to call to mind the happy dayes which they had enjoyed under kingly government, which compared with the arbitrary actings of the Regicides, now as statesmen reigning, their little finger appeared to be more heavy then were the Kinges loynes. Therefore, in the County of Norff. some of the people complotted to adventure their all for the interest of their royall master, and had appointed their rendevous to be at Easton Heath, about three miles off Norwich, supposing by the help of some citizens privy to their design, to be let into that City, as soon as they had made up any considerable body. At the

night appointed, divers from about Downham and Mattishall, and other places in Norff. mett, but the company was nothing answerable to expectation, and they whoe met were betrayed by one pretending to be of their confederacy, whoe gave alarme thereof to the City of Norwich, whereof the small company which met in the said Heath taking notice, they dispersed themselves, thinking to make provision for their safety by a timely flight; but by the diligence of the Comittee and States Journeymen of Norwich and Norff. divers were apprehended and imprisoned, amongst whom was one who went sometimes by the name of Smith, and sometimes Kitchingman. He with one Major George Roberts fled towards Bury, where they were taken, and brought prisoners to Norwich. All this time, this Smith als Kitchingman was supposed a real loyal subject to the King, but now by his carriage it began plainely to be evident that he appeared only soe in shew, and that he was purposely made use of as a decoy duck to drawe all the Royallists into the Usurper's nett, whereby the statesmen might the more readily through fear affright the people to subjection; for he it was that was most principal actor in the plot, and rodd up and down the country to all the most noted Royallists, especially such as had formerly been engaged in the King's army, and acquainted them with the design, setting forth how it was more than probable to carry on the worke, telling where he went that a competent number of people was therein ingaged; butt he being (as aforesaid) brought prisoner to Norwich, most treacherously and villainously discovered the names of all such as he had any conference with about the business, whereby the gaoles were filled with the true-hearted Royallists, in order to their trial at law for this soe treasonable (so called) an insurrection and rebellion. Hereupon a consultation was had by the Machivilian statesmen how to try the prisoners soe as they might be sure to be hanged for an example of terror to others. This they concluded would not be effected by a jury of their equals, according to the known practice of the lawes of the land; therefore a High Court of Justice was, by the predominant power of the Rump of the Parliament, then sitting, erected on purpose for the butchering of these persons; and Philip Jermin, Justice of the (then termed) Upper Bench, John Puleston, and —— Warburton, Justices of the Common Pleas, with others in Norff., Norwich, and Suff., most eminent friends to

that tyrannical power, were comissioned as Judges; whoe began to sit in Court at the Shire-house in Norwich on the twentieth of December; when, after they had read their Comission, they adjourned from thence to the New-hall in the said City, where, being both judges and jury, they condemned six persons on the day following, being Saturday the twenty-first December, which six, viz. David Purslew, William Wilson, Nathaniel Bennet, Robert Betts, William Trott, and Edmund Brady, were executed in Norwich Market-place on Monday the twenty-third day of December, and dyed very couragiously, crying out on the gallows, 'God save the King,' and saying to this purpose, 'That, whereas they stood condemned by the Judges to dye as traytors, they were innocent and true subjects, and the Judges were the traitors.' But the Judges were now preparing in an unheard-of way for trying of the other prisoners, and, wanting witnesses, sent for some prisoners promising them pardon to testify against their fellowes. To this purpose they made use of William Hobart, Gent. to testify against Mr. Thomas Cooper, a minister and schoolmaster, which Mr. Cooper they particularly appointed to be early tried on Christmas Day, partly to show their dislike of the observacon of that day, and partly to add to his affliction, whome they well knew to honour that festival day; and though they had no evidence against him but presumption that he was privy to the plot, yet they condemned him; and the next day mayde use of another prisoner, one Armstrong, to testify against the said Mr. Hobart, and soe condemned him, which was said by some of the Judges to be for conveniency, to have one black cote and one red cote, meaning one minister and one gentleman, to suffer amongst the rest. Mr. Cooper afterwards was executed at Holt, before his schoole-house doore, and Mr. Hobart at East Dereham. The latter of which had some hopes of a reprieve, it being by the prevalency of his friends obtained to be put to the vote of the Commissionated Judges, whether he should dye or not, and it was carried in the affirmative but by one vote, which alsoe happened through the mistake of one Mathew Linsey, grocer, then Maior of Norwich, one of the Commissionated Judges, who not understanding the terms of the question, being put obscurely, as whether he was *pro* or *con*, voted for Hobart's death when he intended to vote for his life; and afterwards he declared his errore, yet Judge Jermin, whoe was President of the

Court, would not suffer him to recall it, which awoke Mr. Linsey into soe sad an apprehension of his mistake, as that about a fortnight after he fell sick and died. There were besides, by the tiranny of that Court, upon the same account, condemned: John Saul, whoe was executed at Lynn; Major George Roberts, whoe was executed at Walsingham; Major Francis Roberts and Mr. John Barber, citizens of Norwich, who were executed at Norwich; Thomas Hill, John Baker, John Disney, Thomas Richardson, David Dobbs, Thomas Wragg, William Rastell, and Thomas Collins. These eight were executed, some at Downham, and some at Swaffham, Fakenham, Thetford, and Wisbech.

"Soe many of the prisoners as were brought before the Court to their tryall, came away condemned. The Court acquitted not one; yea, indeed, they were condemned before ever they appeared before the Court, for the Judges first themselves contrived and prepared the evidence against the prisoners privately, and afterwards sent for the prisoners to their tryall. Divers other of the loyall prisoners, unheard, and never appearing at the Court, were confined to imprisonment, some for three months, others for six months.

"But the aforenamed Smith ats Kitchingman, for his good service in discovering the persons in the plot, and testifying in evidence against them, though he was principal actor, was not tried nor censured by the Court. One remarkable passage of the unparalleled ingratitude and inhumanity of this Smith ats Kitchingman is not to be omitted. When being taken with Major George Roberts about Bury, as is before related, whilst they were prisoners at Bury, they complaining to a gentleman dwelling not far from thence, whoe came to visit them, that they were there without friends and money, he pittying their condition, gave them what money he had about him, being about eight shillings, and tould them his name, and where he dwelt, and assured them, if they could make an escape, his house should be a refuge for them till they could better provide for their safety. Afterwards at Norwich, this ungrateful villain Smith ats Kitchingham discovered this gentleman, whoe was therefore brought away to Norwich, and imprisoned with the rest. This relation the said Major George Roberts affirmed for truth after he was condemned to dye."

May 10, 1832. *Letter from* W. R. Whatton, *Esq.* F.S.A. *to J. H. Markland, Esq.* F.R.S. *and* S.A. *giving an Account of the discovery of an ancient Instrument of brass, at Rochdale in Lancashire.*

"MY DEAR SIR, Portland Place, Manchester, April 21, 1832.

"I send to you, for the inspection of the Society of Antiquaries, a curious instrument which has lately fallen into my hands, the utility of which I am at a loss certainly to determine. It was found, about a year since, by a labouring man, in a stone-quarry, upon the estate of H. M. Chadwick, Esq. at Mowroad, in the parish of Rochdale, in this County.

"In stubbing up the root of an oak, which was felled about thirty-five years back, and was probably of eighty years' growth, a large loose stone presented itself. This stone was broken up and removed, and the instrument thereby exposed to view.

"It is imagined by the quarry-men that the stone had not been moved into the situation in which it was found by human agency, and that therefore the instrument must have been introduced underneath it; and, from all that can now be learned from the finder, it does not appear likely that it could have been deposited there after the acorn had been planted or sprung up into a tree.

"The instrument, as you will perceive, is of brass, and divided into two parts, each forming the segment of a circle, which unite so as to resemble a single piece.

"One half consists of a row of nine wreaths of bead-work, having five divisions, similarly indented, except on the inner sides, and united together by means of bits of metal like small pulleys; and into each of this half of the instrument is fixed an iron tooth, made to fit tightly into the sockets of the other half, so as to embrace that part of the body which it was intended to ornament or distinguish.

"The second half is of a more simple form, having the metal squared, and the edges of its inner and outer circumference considerably raised, and the interspaces much tooled and ornamented. At each end of this half there is also one of the wreaths before mentioned, raised upon a square or base.

"I have not succeeded in finding a drawing or description of such an instrument in any of the authors or cabinets I have consulted, though the

Society may, perhaps, be able to recognize it and its application at first sight.

"I suppose it cannot be a torques, because, independently of its dissimilarity to the usual twisted appearance of that ornament, as implied by the name, it would be too small to hang forwards upon the breast as the torques did, and its utility as an instrument of honourable distinction would be thereby greatly impaired and obscured. The size of the torques, moreover, was generally about three feet in circumference; though Leigh, in his History of Lancashire and Cheshire, mentions one of gold which measured even four feet.

"Neither does it seem to be a bracelet, though I am very well aware that the armillæ were frequently of brass and iron, as well as of gold, silver, and ivory; and Montfaucon even remarks that they were used as badges of servitude or slavery, as well as for marks of honour and distinction.

"In all the examples I have seen, either engraved or described, the armillæ have invariably been *of one piece*, and so formed as to fit closely round the arm by the spring and elasticity of the metal; besides, it would perhaps not be necessary for this instrument to open by a separation of its parts, when it might be as easily fixed and worn by sliding it over the arm.

The only other explanation I have to offer is, that it may be the collar of a Saxon serf or slave.

"It is supposed to have been the custom with the Anglo-Saxons, and perhaps also with the Normans, to distinguish their menial dependants and slaves by the arbitrary marks of property and ownership; and though this opinion has been much questioned by many able Antiquaries who have delivered their sentiments upon the subject, yet there are others who have not scrupled to avow a belief that the practice really existed.

"Mr. Fosbroke, at page 564 of the second volume of his Encyclopædia, says, 'The tunic open at the sides appears to have been, among the early Anglo-Saxons at least, the distinguishing badge of slavery; but the decisive mark was a *collar of iron*, constantly worn round the neck of all bondmen.'

"Sir Walter Scott, too, in describing the garb of the Saxon slaves, in the first volume of Ivanhoe, has an excellent representation of the practice, and may be quoted here; for, although works of fiction ought at all times to be

received with great circumspection, as evidence of the manners and customs of nations, yet the well known antiquarian knowledge and correct taste and judgment possessed by that accomplished writer, afford us perhaps a sufficient guarantee that the accuracy of his portraiture may be relied upon.

"Of Gurth, he says, 'One part of his dress only remains, but it is too remarkable to be suppressed; it was a *brass ring*, resembling a dog's collar, but without any opening, and soldered fast round his neck, so loose as to form no impediment to his breathing, yet so tight as to be incapable of being removed, excepting by the use of the file. On this singular gorget was engraved, in Saxon characters, an inscription of the following import: Gurth, the son of Beowulph, is the born thrall of Cedric of Rotherwood.'

"Of Wamba, he says, 'He had thin silver bracelets upon his arms, and on his neck a collar of the same metal, bearing the inscription, 'Wamba, the son of Witless, is the thrall of Cedric of Rotherwood.'

"With regard to the age of the instrument, I have but very little to offer; —the zigzag ornament between the edges of the flat part may perhaps be taken as some indication of its antiquity, for I find, in the second volume of the Archæologia, page 36, in a description of some Irish antiquities, by the Bishop of Meath, there is an engraving of a gold breastplate, upon which a similar zigzag ornament may be perceived: the instrument is supposed to have been worn by a person of condition, and to have been exceedingly ancient.

"I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, yours most faithfully,

"W. R. Whatton."

Discovery of Gold and Silver Coins, at Mount Batton, Plymouth.

May 10th, 1832. Henry Woolcombe, Esq. in a Letter addressed to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary, dated Plymouth, April 2, 1832, gave an account of the discovery of five gold and eight silver coins, by a workman employed in clearing a portion of the head or soil of a limestone quarry,

situated on a peninsula in the harbour of Plymouth, called Mount Batton, the property of the Earl of Morley. The gold coins were described as less than sovereigns in size, but each equal in thickness to two sovereigns, weighing three pennyweights and a half each. They were of rude workmanship, concave on one side and convex on the other, having on the first-mentioned an impression of parts of a horse, and a distinct impression of a chariot-wheel, with a variety of round balls, heads of spears, &c. On the reverse, apparently, the single branch of a plant, but too indistinct for its genus to be ascertained. The silver coins varied in size between a shilling and a sixpence, but were thicker than either, flat, and stamped on both sides; the impressions or devices similar to those on the gold coins. The whole are presumed to have been what our Antiquaries have considered as the money of the ancient Britons.

Account of the falling in of a portion of the Wall and Roof of St. Alban's Abbey Church.

May 31, 1832. The following Letter from JOHN GAGE, Esq. F.R.S. Director, addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary, was read:

"DEAR SIR, Lincoln's Inn, 30 May, 1832.

"A portion of the monastic Church of St. Alban's being reported to have recently fallen down, the various accounts given of the extent of the calamity made me solicitous to examine the building. On the 25th instant, therefore, accompanied by my friend Mr. William Twopeny, I visited the venerable edifice, and it seems to me very proper that the Society of Antiquaries should have some knowledge of the injury which the church has sustained, and of the state of the building generally.

It is well known that the original building (of which the centre tower, the transepts, and much of the north side of the nave, are parts,) is constructed chiefly of brick and tile, in the circular style, with an absence of ornament, excepting, perhaps, the bands of a few columns in the triforium. The lovers of ecclesiastical Architecture will rejoice to hear that, though a

serious accident has occurred, we found that no part of the original building had received damage from it.

The five westernmost arches on the south side of the nave, with the triforium and clear story above, are erected in the pointed style usual during the first half of the thirteenth century; the arches, triforium, and clear story immediately joining to and continuing in a line eastward of these, are, as to date and style, a few years later. A considerable portion of the clear story and triforium above the five westernmost arches first mentioned, has, toward the east end of them, been for many years past giving way, until at length, a few weeks since, a portion of the wall below the clear story windows, just at the junction of the earlier and later styles before noticed, gave way, and falling on the roof of the side aisle below passed through it. Here, therefore, the upper part of the south side of the nave is in a very bad and dangerous state; but the main arches below are to all appearance perfectly sound. It is to be remarked that in this part of the building the wall below the clear story windows, and which consequently is at the back of the triforium, and as usual of no very great substance, is constructed of very inferior materials; possibly, therefore, this may account for the mischief, especially as the work below it, and the wall eastward of it, and which is better constructed, do not appear to have moved. In all other parts of the building, the main walls appear to be in a very good condition, but on the north side of the church somewhat damp, chiefly from the height of the ground on the outside above the pavement within.

"The only other great evil, so far as the safety of this valuable and singular building is affected, appeared to us to be the state of the roofs generally, especially those of the north transept and tower, which are in extremely bad condition. In any repair which may be executed of the roofs, it is to be hoped that some better mode may be adopted of throwing the water off, which is done at present only by long shoots projecting several feet from the parapet, so that much of the water discharged by them, especially in windy weather, must necessarily be dashed against the main walls below, an evil which eventually will do them considerable injury.

"I am, dear Sir, your obedient humble servant,

"John Gage."

Account of some Antiquities discovered in excavating for the foundations of London Bridge; and of the ancient Northern Embankment of the Thames, in its neighbourhood.

June 21, 1832. A Letter from WILLIAM KNIGHT, Esq. F.S.A. addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary, was read; giving a short account of some Roman and other Antiquities discovered in excavating for the foundations of the new London Bridge, and its approaches, during the several years from 1824 to 1831.

In the early part of March 1824, the clearing the bed of the river, previous to the driving of the piles for the coffer-dams, commenced. This object was accomplished by means of dredging. In the course of the operation a number of miscellaneous articles were dragged up, consisting of coins of the Roman, Saxon, and early English æra; ancient seals; a crucifix; brooches; gold rings (all of the middle age); ancient daggers and swords; brass and iron keys; amulets; and a few implements of domestic use, supposed to have been lost from the dwellings which formerly stood upon the ancient bridge.

On the north-eastern side of the new bridge, now occupied by the stairs, on the surface of the bed of the river, which consisted apparently of burnt ruins, were found between thirty and forty gold half-sovereigns and angels of the seventh and eighth Henries; and in the line of the river, near the site of the chapel-starling, was found a leaden seal or bulla, inscribed "P. P. Urbanus VI.," the reverse exhibiting the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul.[a]

The Roman coins found in the bed of the river were those of Augustus, Drusus, Antonia, Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina senior, Faustina junior, M. Aurelius, Elagabalus, and Alexander Severus; with a great variety of others of the Lower Empire.

The Saxon and English coins were found in great abundance. They consisted of a Saxon penny of Wulfred Archbishop of Canterbury, WVLFRED ÆRCHIEPI. *rev.* sÆEBERHT. MONETÆ; five Danish pennies of Canute; two pennies of Ethelred II.; half-pence and pence of Henry V. some struck at Calais; pennies, half-pence, and farthings of Edward I.; a half-groat of

[a] In clearing away the crypt of the Prior of Lewes Inn, in Southwark, to form the new line of road-way, another bulla was discovered in good preservation, inscribed "P. P. CLEMENS VI."

Edward IV.; a half-penny of one of the Richards; pennies of Henry VIII. some of them of Wolsey's coinage; half-pennies and a groat of Philip and Mary; numerous small coins of Queen Elizabeth, including her three-half-penny and three farthing pieces; various silver monies of James I. and Charles I. from the penny to the half-crown; farthings and sixpences of William and Mary; royal tokens and farthings of copper of the reign of Charles I.; a great variety of jettons or counters of brass and other base metal, and many private tokens of tradesmen resident in the neighbourhood.

THE ancient embankment of the Thames showed itself on the northern side of the river. The exterior embankment next the stream was constructed vertically, and built with Kentish rag and Purbeck stone, in courses, and in a manner similar to the piers of the late ancient *original* bridge. It was backed by quantities of chalk and madrepore, the latter probably brought as ballast in vessels. Within this embankment, for nearly a hundred feet, several small jetties, forming docks and quays, appeared, which were doubtless, at some time, landing and discharging places.

Proceeding northwards, the ground was found to be a mass of marsh extending from the river's edge about three hundred feet onwards, evidently from its having once formed part of the bed of the Thames. It shelved up towards Thames street, and was excavated from ten to twenty feet deep at that part, to find a safe foundation for laying the south abutment of the land arch built across Thames Street.

Here the first timber embankment was discovered, and was found about ten feet below the surface of the ground. It was traced to the depth of more than twenty feet, and was formed of large solid trees of oak and chesnut, about two feet square, roughly hewn, having strong timber walings spiked to the piles; the whole being of great strength, and massive. The timber composing this embankment was perfectly sound.

The second embankment was discovered about sixty feet beyond the north side of the Thames, towards the site of Crooked Lane, and was of a completely different character from the one just described. It was composed of elm piles, from eight to ten feet long, closely driven together, and being further in shore than the former, and of a totally different description, must have been constructed at some other period.

It was in clearing away these old embankments, and in going to an additional depth for the construction of the great sewer which runs through the centre of the new Northern approach to the river, that a large quantity of the fine red Roman ware was discovered, at the average depth of about eighteen feet below the surface, both plain and ornamented; together with fragments of Roman amphoræ, vases, tazzas, crucibles, lamps, bottles of glass, and one small pavement of red tessellæ. This last was found on the site of Crooked Lane, about ten feet below the surface of the street. A similar pavement was discovered on the South side of the river, near which were found Roman coins in good preservation.

In the excavations crossing the line of Great Eastcheap, an evidently Roman construction presented itself, which from its form and contiguity to Watling Street led to the conclusion that this must have been part of the celebrated Roman road. It consisted of two walls, seven feet six inches high, tapering a little upwards, built in rough courses of Kentish rag stone, and separated by two layers of Roman tiles: the latter two courses breaking joints and binding throughout the wall. The average dimensions of these tiles were sixteen inches and a half by eleven inches and a half, and about two inches thick. These walls supported a raised bank or road about sixteen feet wide, and stood upon a stratum of loam. Below this, to the depth of twenty feet, was found the hard native gravel which forms the rise of the land here; under this was the same species of blue or London clay which constitutes the bed of the river at this spot.

On a fabulous Conquest of England by the Greeks: By Lord Mahon.

Nov. 22, 1832. A nation fallen into disaster and disgrace will often seek consolation in the records of former glory, or even of fabulous achievements. Such was the case with the Byzantine Greeks in the last period of their history, and, amongst other extravagant fictions, we may observe with some surprise and amusement, a poem on a supposed conquest of England by themselves.

The poem in question is to be found in the Royal Library at Paris, and is

marked 2909 in the catalogue of Greek Manuscripts. From its style, as well as from its characters, it is believed to have been written in the fourteenth century. It is the same in metre as the Chiliads of John Tzetzes, and selects Belisarius as the General for the conquest of England. To that island it gives the modern name of Εγκλητερα, and to its King the title of Ρηξ, which, it is well known, was often borrowed from the Latin by the Byzantine writers. The poem states that Belisarius, after landing in England, ordered his ships to be burnt, in order to cut off all hope of retreat from his army, and inspire it with courage. After an obstinate resistance the Ρηξ is defeated, and the island entirely subdued. Belisarius then builds a fresh fleet, and sails back to Constantinople, where we are informed, with most laudable accuracy, of the very day of his landing—the 20th of September. One circumstance of the voyage homewards strongly speaks the feelings of an ignorant Byzantine, to whom his own capital and its immediate neighbourhood seemed far more important and extensive than all the rest of the world besides. He says that the fleet made a halt midway for the purpose of refreshment, and he places this midway station at the island of Mytilene, not one-twentieth part of the distance between England and Constantinople!

I may take this opportunity of also remarking, that amongst nearly all the Byzantine writers, England is the subject of complete ignorance or absurd legends. Thus Tzetzes, though usually accurate and well informed, tells us that Cato the Censor received an embassy from the Kings of the British (Βρεττανοι) with a present of gold and a proposal of alliance![a] Yet, at the period when Tzetzes wrote, there was already a body-guard of Varangians at Constantinople.

Procopius also, whose personal experience and powers of description place him very far at the head of all the Byzantine writers, no sooner touches British ground than the discerning historian becomes transformed into a credulous fabulist. His island of Brittia is divided by an ancient wall into two districts, one of them being the abode of departed spirits, who are ferried over from the continent by living boatmen![b]

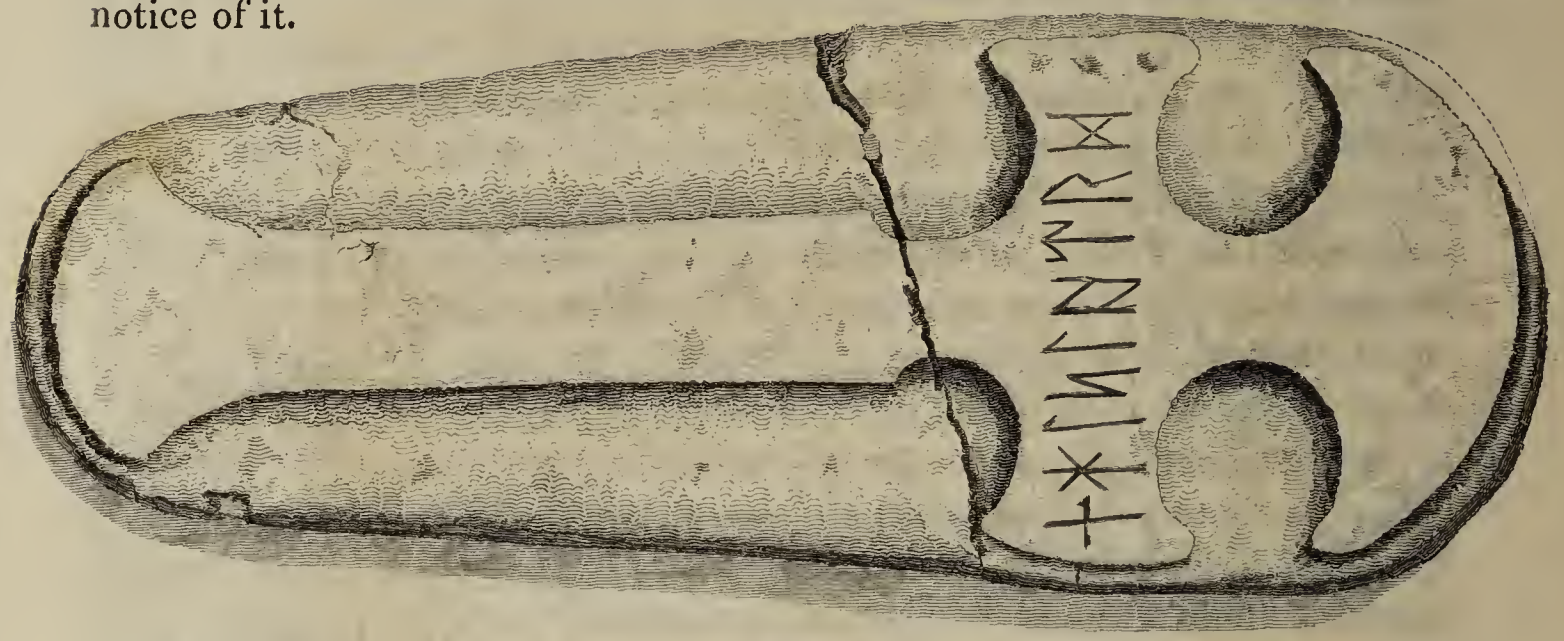
The latter tale has been already noticed by Gibbon; but if the people of

[a] Chil. x. v. 651.

[b] Procop. Goth. lib. iv. c. 20.

Constantinople could admit such strange accounts of England in a grave history, we need not be surprised at any in a legendary poem.

November 22, 1832. Lady Mantell, widow of Sir Thomas Mantell, of Dover, F.S.A. presented to the Society a drawing of a monumental slab inscribed with Runic characters, which was found some years ago, at the time the Antwerp Inn, near the market place of that town, received some alterations. It had been Sir Thomas Mantell's intention to forward a notice of it.



The late William Hamper, Esq. F.S.A. of Birmingham, to whom the inscription was submitted, believed it, after the cross, to record the name of a monk, +GISOHTVS.

The dimensions of the stone are, in length 5 feet 10 inches; breadth at the head, 2 feet 1½ inch; at the lower end, 1 foot 7½ inches.

February 21, 1833. Charles Edwin Gwilt, Esq. exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, Drawings of a Crypt discovered in making the approach to New London Bridge, on the site of the south-east angle of the Hostelry of the Prior of Lewes, in the parish of St. Olave's Southwark, accompanied by a Letter addressed to John Gage, Esq. Director, from which the following extracts are made:

"The position of the Crypt was at the south end and east side of Carter



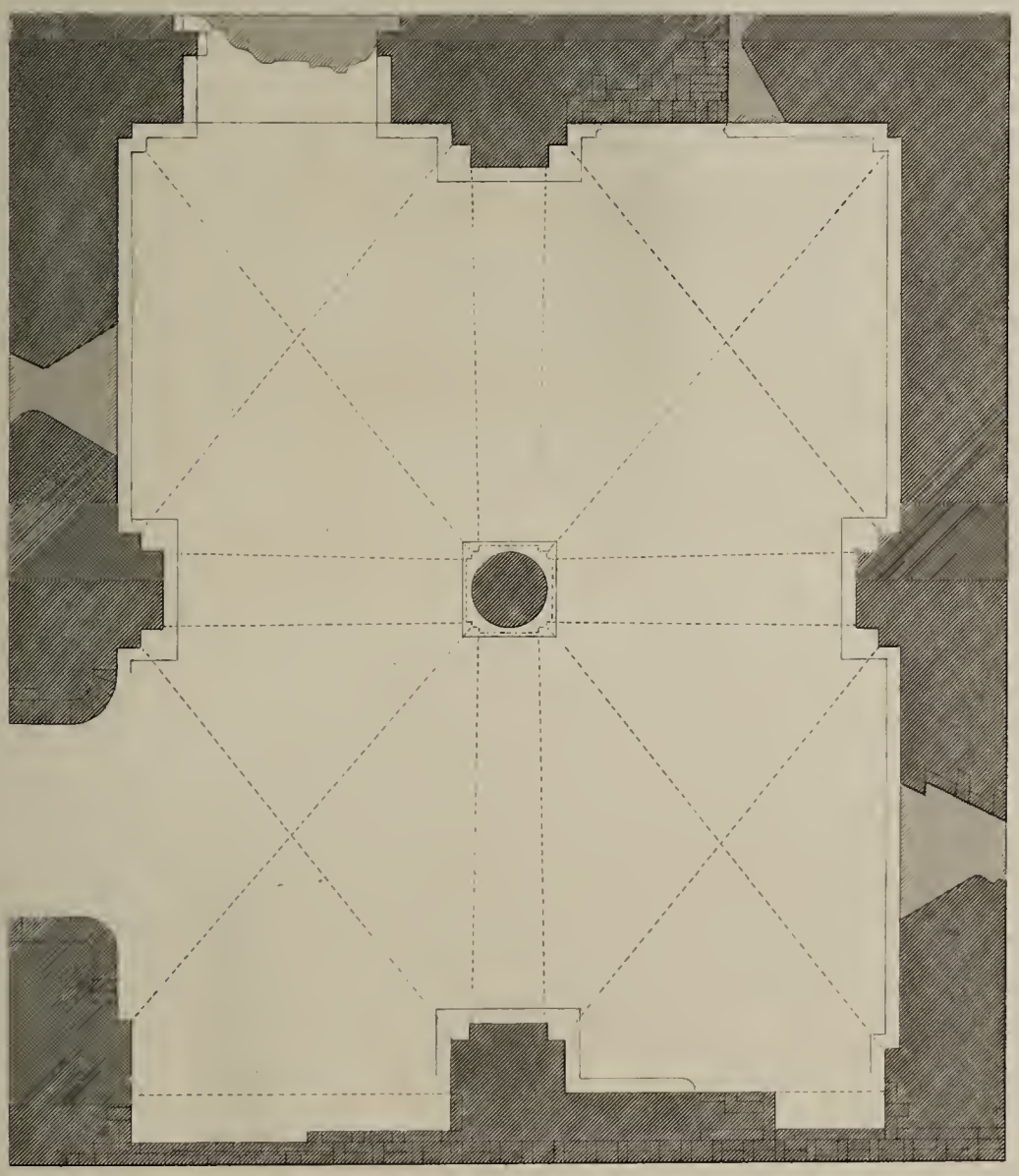
1



2



3



4

0 5 10 15 20 Feet

C.E. Gwilt del

J.s Basire sculp

Ground Plan, Section, &c of a second Crypt, discovered in 1832, part of the Hostelry of the Prior of Lewes.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1834

C.F. Gwilt del

J.B. Basire sculp

Interior View of the second Crypt, of the Hostelry, discovered in 1832, of the Prior of Lewes

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 30th April 1834

Lane, and about 250 feet south of the body of the Church of St. Olave in Tooley Street, its position in relation to the Crypt, of which you have favoured the Society with a description in the 23rd Volume of their transactions, was due east inclining rather to the south, and distant about 155 feet.

"Plate LXVII. fig. 4, is the ground plan of the building in the state in which it was found encumbered and filled up with modern brickwork.

"It was an irregular parallelogram averaging about 26 feet from east to west by 21 ft. 3 in. from north to south in the clear of the walls, the walls from 2 ft. 8 in. to 3 ft. in thickness.

"It was divided into four bays or compartments of groined arches supported by flat piers against the walls, and a central column of the Anglo-Norman period, altogether not dissimilar in style to the Crypt in Bow Church, but probably of a little earlier construction. The arches appeared to have been elliptical; but, a heavy stack of chimnies having been erected upon them, they had become so exceedingly crippled that the true form could scarcely be obtained, except indeed only where their section impinged against the contiguous walls, as shewn in plate LXVII. fig. 2.

"The general height may be stated at 11 ft. 6 in. from the ground to the crown of the groin. Under the ribs on which the groins rest 7 in. less. No pavement was to be found. Traces of windows and a doorway at the N. E. angle, as shewn in the drawings, still remained; in other respects it is presumed that the drawings are in themselves sufficiently explanatory of the nature and construction of the building, of which the materials were precisely of the same nature as in the first Crypt discovered.

"It would appear from the construction of the walls which (with the exception of that at the west end) were still remaining, together with the windows on the north-east and south sides and doorway beforementioned, that the Crypt must have supported an insulated building, but to what purpose it was applied would perhaps be in vain to conjecture.

"The level of the external ground was about 6 or 7 feet above the underside of the base of the central column, and the ground inside the Crypt had accumulated to about 18 inches.

"The entrance, by a wooden flight of descending steps on the north side, appeared to have been constructed for the convenience of later times,

"Plate LXVII. figg. 1 and 3, give the north and east faces of the central column, which measured from the underside of the plinth to the top of the capital 6 feet 7 inches, from the top of the capital to the crown of the groin 4 feet 11 inches; the diameter of the column being 2 feet 2 inches.

"The perspective drawing, Plate LXVIII. was taken from the south-west angle, and is laid down from geometrical drawings, with a view to give as nearly as possible the original apparent forms of the arches.

Roman Amphora found in the Park at Woburn Abbey.

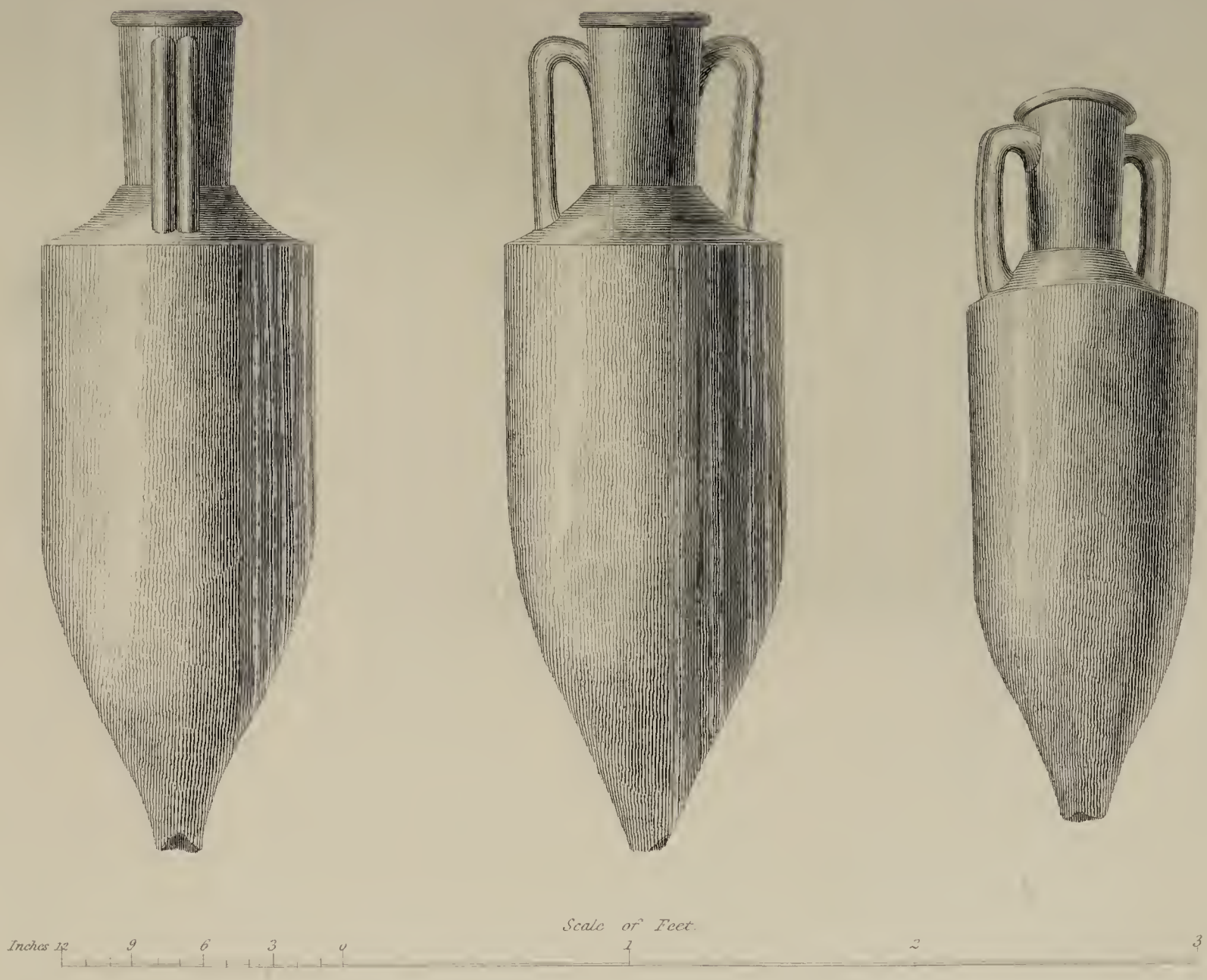
March 14, 1833. The following Letter from His Grace the Duke of Bedford was read, addressed to the Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, President:

"MY DEAR LORD, Woburn Abbey, March 8, 1833.

"I am now about to address you in your official capacity as President of the Society of Antiquaries, and knowing how laudably desirous the Society is of ascertaining the minutest particulars with regard to the Stations occupied by the Romans during the period of their stay in Great Britain, I make no apology for troubling you on the subject of a very perfect Roman amphora recently found in this park, of which I send you an exact drawing. (Plate LXIX.)

You may recollect one in my Sculpture Gallery which was found about thirty years ago, nearly in the same spot where this has been discovered, about a few yards from it, and both within three feet of the surface of the ground; the spot has always been supposed to be a Roman station, and communicating with an elevated piece of ground about three miles north of it, and adjoining a village now called Ridgemount. There was one nearly similar found about two miles from hence about a century ago, it is now in the possession of Mr. Howe of Aspley, and is figured by Lysons in the 1st vol. of his "Magna Britannia," p. 24.

In vol. X. of the Archæologia, p. 132, there is an account of the fragment of an amphora found at Kingsholme, in Gloucestershire, and communicated by Mr. Samuel Lysons; this fragment precisely corresponds with the upper part of the vessel recently found here. In p. 120 of the same Vol. the top



J.s Basire sculp

Roman Amphora found in the Park of Woburn Abbey

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April, 1834

part of an amphora of yellow pottery is also described by Mr. Hayman Rooke, and "said to be the only fragment of one ever found in Britain." I have a fragment found in the same spot in the park, which also appears to be of yellow clay. Various fragments of ollæ and other vessels, have also been found in the same spot. The two entire amphoræ I have in my possession, are I think more perfect than any of those in the British Museum.

"Believe me always, my dear Lord, very sincerely yours,

"BEDFORD."

The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T.
&c. &c. &c.

March 21, 1833. Mr. DOUBLEDAY laid before the Society, by the hands of Sir Henry Ellis, an impression from a small circular Seal appendant to an instrument preserved in the library of the Society of Advocates at Edinburgh.



In the area a Swan is represented standing in front of a Tree, in the attitude of preparing to attack some other animal. The inscription round reads S. HUGONIS FILII WILLELMI DE CRESSINGHAM.

Hugh de Cressingham is a person commemorated in most of the accounts of the exploits of William Wallace.

The earliest mention of his name in our public records is in the Abbreviatio Placitorum of the 10th Edward I. He was afterwards one of the Justices Itinerant for Yorkshire; and in the 20th of that king's reign, had

certain houses in York granted to him which had been confiscated as belonging to Jews. In that same year, 1292, he was of the deputation in whose presence John King of Scotland performed his homage to King Edward the First, in the hall of the palace of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and in the 25th Edward I., Sept. 6, 1296, he was made Treasurer of Scotland.[c]

Prynne, in the volume of his Papal Usurpations from John to King Edward I., calls him a canon of St. Paul's, and parson of the churches of Enderby, Kingsclere, Hatfield, Chalk, Berles, Burnton, Dodington, Cressingham, and Reymarston; adding, in the margin, "an insatiable pluralist."

Hemingford had previously given him a bad character, and ascribed to his immoderate passion for hoarding money, the neglect to execute the orders given by the king to build a stone wall along the ditch which had been newly dug for the defence of Berwick. Hemingford also calls him a prebendary of many churches (p. 130), "qui cum esset prebendarius in multis ecclesiis, et multarum haberet curam animarum, nunquam tamen arma spiritualia vel casulam induit, sed galeam et loricam, in quibus corruit. Et qui gladio linguæ suæ multos olim exterruerat in judiciis multis, gladio tandem perversorum occisus est."

He fell, in consequence of his own ignorant impetuosity, whilst leading the van of the English army against Wallace in the battle of Stirling, Sept. 11, 1297.

The indignities with which the Scots treated the body of Cressingham are borne testimony to by numerous historians. They flayed it. Hemingford, in continuation of the passage just quoted, says, "quem excoriantes Scoti, diviserunt inter se pellem ipsius in modicas partes, non quidem in reliquias, sed in contumelias. Erat enim pulcher, et grossus nimis."

Sir David Dalrymple, after quoting the above passage, adds, "Abercromby vol. i. p. 521, says, that 'they made *girths* of his skin;' others say that they made *saddles* of it. I cannot discover the origin of such exaggerations. It is well that the Scots are not said to have used the skin of Cressingham for tent coverings and camp cloaks."

The savage treatment of Cressingham's body by the Scots, however, is

[c] Rot. Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 29.

expressly mentioned by Trivet, "quam Scoti, ob odium speciale, excoriantes pellem ejus in particulas diviserunt;"[d] and we have a still more important authority in the well-known Chronicle of Lanercost, where the author mentions the stripping of a broad portion of his skin for the purpose of making a sword-belt for William Wallace.

The seal states Hugh de Cressingham to have been the son of William. No other notice of any of Cressingham's family occurs, unless it may be in the Scala Chronicon at Cambridge, in which the writer of these memoranda is informed he is mentioned as of low origin.

In the Wardrobe Accompts of the 25th and 26th of Edward the First, there is an entry of the payment of 20*s.* of the king's gift by his own hands to the harper of Hugh de Cressingham, about to return to his lord in Scotland.

Roman and British Antiquities discovered at Mildenhall, in Suffolk.

May 16th, 1833. The following Letter was read from Sir HENRY BUNBURY, Bart. to John Gage, Esq. F.R.S. Director.

"DEAR SIR, Charles Street, 13th May, 1833.

"In forwarding to your care (in order that they may be submitted to the Society of Antiquaries) a variety of relics of the olden times, which have have been discovered in the parish of Mildenhall, I feel that a short account of the places where they have been found, and of the surrounding country, may be of some use in enabling such gentlemen as may take an interest in the subject, to form their opinions on these mingled remains of the Romans and the Britons.

"Mildenhall is the name of a very large parish, situated at the north-western extremity of Suffolk, about one half of it being fen and moory land. To the eastward lies the parish of Icklingham, which is well known as having been a considerable station of the Romans. On this side, the soil of Mildenhall consists generally of sand: the centre of the parish is of chalk, bounded on the south by a stream called the Lauk, and on the west and the north by the great district of the fens. The chalk-rock disappears so

[d] Ann. tom. i. p. 307.

suddenly on the two latter sides as to suggest the idea of its having formed a peninsular promontory before the deposition of the sands, and the formation of the moor. On the north side of the parish the surface of the fen is on a higher level, and of a much more sandy nature than along the south-west line, where peat only with occasional layers of freshwater shells overlie the blue clay. Many circumstances have led me to believe that, in the time of the Britons, and even later, the former of these districts (I mean the sandy fens) were covered with woods and wild thickets, interspersed with bogs and marshes, amidst which a few elevated spots were found, affording convenient situations to the natives for their temporary villages, or, on the other hand, to the Romans for the establishment of military outposts. I consider the whole of this border country to have been a "debateable land," through which the British tribes, who had retreated before the invaders into the great level of the fens, made occasional irruptions, and along which the Romans were generally obliged to maintain corps of observation. Such outposts served at the same time to cover the roads leading from the Roman stations in Norfolk to Cambridge, and to the western parts of Essex.

"It has been along the borders of the sandy fen which I have attempted to describe, that all the specimens which I have now the honour of submitting to the Society, have been discovered: and I am sorry to have to add that many other objects, more worthy of curiosity and attention, have been here found, but are now irrecoverably lost. In 1812 some labourers, while levelling skirt-lands (by cutting down hillocks of sand, and throwing them into the moor-pits), discovered a human skeleton of large dimensions, stretched at its full length between the skeletons of two horses, arranged in a parallel order. On one side of the warrior lay a long iron sword, on the other his celt: he had a torques of gold; but the temptation of this precious metal induced the labourers to conceal for a time their discovery. The torques was conveyed secretly to Bury, sold to a petty silversmith, and immediately melted down. Among the objects which I have now the honour of submitting to the Society of Antiquaries, there is one to which I look with particular regret: it is a fragment of a glass vase, which was found two years ago in land belonging to me near the northern extremity

of the parish of Mildenhall. This vase, when discovered, was entire; and I understand that it was not till two days afterwards that one of the labourers who had dug it up, smashed it with his spade, in the pure wantonness of ignorance. The account I have received of the vase is, that it was nearly globular, with a small foot, and having a projecting lip round its opening. The diameter of the body is described to me as having been about ten inches, or perhaps more; and on the outer surface of the globe were some letters in deep relief. Within this vessel were ashes; and beads were either contained in it or were lying close to it.

"Not far from the spot where this glass vase was discovered, were found the two vessels of clay, containing Roman coins, which are transmitted herewith, and a portion of a third, likewise containing coins rusted into a mass. My conjecture as to these vessels has been, that it was customary in the Roman armies to keep money, in determined quantities, for the pay of the soldiers, in clay pots of the coarsest manufacture, and having very small mouths, which were sealed up; and that, when the coin was required, the pot was broken. I am informed that this mode of keeping coin of small value still prevails in some parts of Holland.

"One of the rusty javelin heads which accompany this memorandum was found perforating the collar bone of a skeleton buried in a chalk pit near the hamlet called Holywell Row. In the same pit were found several other fragments of weapons, and the bosses of shields (if they be such), which are similar to some already figured in former Volumes of the Society's Transactions. I, however, cannot help entertaining some doubt as to the use and adaptation of these latter objects, when I consider how much the weight of a large mass of iron, projecting so considerably from the wooden or wicker shield, must fatigue the arm and cramp the action of a warrior in close combat.

"On the low hills to the eastward of Mildenhall, as well as in the neighbouring parishes of Barton Parva, Icklingham, Elveden, and Eriswell, are several scattered barrows. In some of these have been found vessels of very coarse pottery, containing ashes and glass beads, and in some the bones of animals, probably those of dogs.

"I will not take up more of your time by my comments or conjectures, as I

am afraid that the objects which I offer to the inspection of the Society will be found to be of little interest.

"Believe me, my dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

"HENRY BUNBURY."

Ancient Grant of Land from Hamo Bovier to Christ Church Canterbury.

May 23, 1833. THOMAS WILLEMENT, Esq. in a Letter to Sir Henry Ellis, Secretary, communicated the following Transcript of a Grant of land in the County of Kent, from Hamo Bovier, to the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, in the year 1234, 18th Hen. III. It specifies very distinctly the owners of the adjacent lands, and has the names of a considerable number of Witnesses.

The Seal appendant to it



is that of Richard Fitz Dering de Hayton, son of Dering Fitz Wymond, by Margaret daughter and heir of Haymo de Morinis, whose Arms, Or, a saltire Sable, the Derings afterwards used, instead of their own, which were, Argent, a fess Azure, in chief three Torteaux. It is, however, evident by this Seal that their son had not then made the alteration.

Blean gives the name to a Hundred in the Lath of St. Augustine, and lies nearly north of Canterbury.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Hamo Bovier, filius Roberti, dedi et concessi et presenta carta mea confirmavi Priori et Conventui Ecclesie Christi Cantuarii, unam acram de terra mea in North Blean cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, jacentem inter terras dictorum Prioris et Conventus ex omni parte. Videlicet, inter terram que fuit Symonis de Blean que est versus orientem, et terram que fuit Salomonis de Fraxino que est versus occidentem, et terram que fuit Dieringi que est versus aquilonem, et terram que fuit Ricardi Capeleni avunculi mei que est versus austrum. Habendam et tenendam dictis Priori et Conventui in perpetuum libere et quiete, integre et quiete, in pace. Reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis unum denarium ad annuntiationem Beate Marie in thesauria eorum apud Cantuariam, pro omnibus serviciis, consuetudinibus, sectis, et omnibus aliis demandis temporalibus, omni occasione remota. Et ego prenominatus Hamo et heredes mei in perpetuum warrantizabimus prefatis Priori et Conventui totam predictam acram terre cum omnibus pertinentiis suis contra omnes homines et feminas, et defendemus eam de omnibus serviciis inde annuatim debitis et consuetis per predictum servicium, ad quam defensionem perpetuis temporibus faciendam obligavi totum residuum tenementi de Blean, de quo tenemento ego dictus Hamo et heredes mei de cetero dare vel vendere non poterimus, nisi emptor defensionem supradicte acre super se voluerit suscipere, et eam possit per tenementum suum defendere. Pro hac autem donatione mea et concessione, et presentis carte mee confirmatione et warrantazatione, nec non et obligatione mea facta et recordata, et sigillo meo munita in Curia de Blean, anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo quarto, dederunt michi prefati Prior et Conventus quatuordecim solidos sterlingorum in gersuma, per manum Johannis de Crumdale tunc temporis celerarii dicte Ecclesie. Hiis testibus: Roberto de Blean. Wil-

lielmo de Cluse. Roberto Lupo. Bartholomeo filio Symonis. Salomone de Brokesgate. Willielmo Pabnere. Vincentio de Fonte. Alexandro Pottario. Thoma de Northbroke. Michaele de Hakinton. Ada Burgeis. Willielmo de Walchelyne. Willielmo Textore. Willielmo, Roberto, et Bartholomeo, filiis Roberti Halfeniche. Henrico Page et multis aliis.

(*Endorsed.*) Carta Hamonis Bovier de j acra in North Blean reddendo inde ei j denarium ad annuntiationem Beate Marie in Thesauria.
XII. Reg. Blyen.

May 31, 1832. The following Letter was read from JAMES LOGAN, Esq. addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. President.

"MY LORD, London, March 13, 1832.

"Should the annexed brief Description and accompanying Drawings be thought of any interest, your Lordship would do me much honour by submitting them to the Society of Antiquaries.

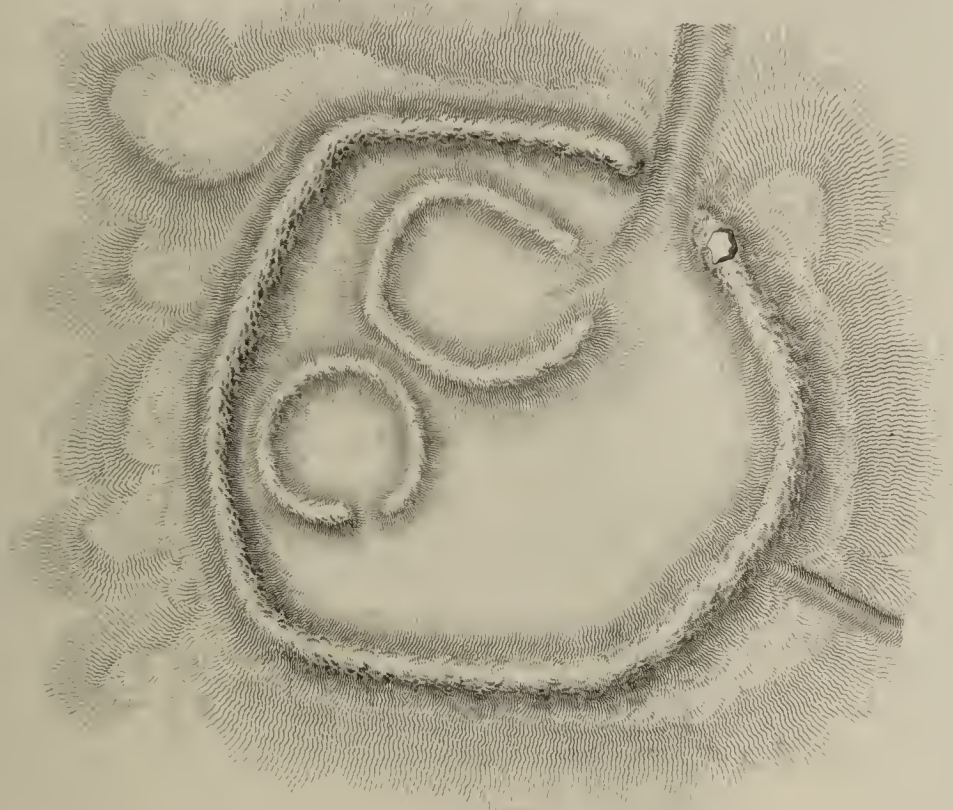
"The Drawing, Plate LXX. fig. 1, is the plan of a Hill Fort near Campbelton, in Argyleshire. The district in which it is situated is called Kintyre, properly Ceantir, 'the head of the land,' and is the part where the Dalriads are said to have established themselves when they arrived from Ireland. That this part of the country was the scene of many hostile contentions is evident, from numerous vestiges, and whether Bede's account of the conquest of Argyle by the Irish colony be correct or not, the intercourse between the two countries, friendly or otherwise, was certainly in former times, as it still continues, extremely frequent. So numerous indeed are the Scottish inhabitants of the north of Ireland, that they are denominated the Irish Scots; and those of Kintyre I found so generally Irish, or of Irish extract, that they may with equal propriety be called Scots' Irish.

"A short distance south-east from the loch on which Campbelton is situated, Knoc Scalbert, the subject of the drawing, is placed on a hill nearly inaccessible, except on the east side. The wall, which follows the shape of the hill, has been formed of stones without cement, and incloses

EAST

Fig. 1.

NORTH



Cnoc Scalbert Fort.

near Campbellton, Argyleshire.

SOUTH

Fig. 2.



Clachan more na Taradin.

A singular collection of stones on a small and rather steep conical hill at Taradin, parish of Kilcarnan, Ross-shire

I Logan del

J^s Basire sculp.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23^rd April, 1831.

an area of about 50 paces diameter. The entrance is towards the east, and on the south side appears a mound. The circles in the interior have been formed of stone, but they are now indistinctly observable.

"A short distance from this work are several others. One at Ballergie, scarcely a mile distant, has furnished from its walls stones to construct most of the fences for the neighbouring farms. Two similar forts on the adjoining lands of Bally William are of less dimensions and upon smaller eminences. Beside the walls of one, great quantities of the bones of animals are dug up.

"Further northwards, on a conspicuous hill, is another of those strengths, called Rannachan, which consists of two concentric walls that must originally have been very strong. I had no time to visit more of those remains, but have no doubt many others may be met with.

"I have never been able to ascertain satisfactorily how long a wall of stone, built without cement, will remain entire; much of course will depend on the workmanship and dimensions. The solid and firm state of the ramparts of some of the hill forts is astonishing. At the Barmkyn of Echt, in Aberdeenshire, where there are no fewer than five concentric walls, some of them, ten feet wide, stand yet upright and firm to the height of four or five feet. There the stones are irregular in shape, and consequently not well adapted for building in the natural state, but the mode was to strengthen the wall by pitching the largest and flattest stones on end at the foundation.

"At Dundalāiv a very remarkable hill fort, on a steep and rugged mountain, in Glenshiora in Badenach, a well built wall, from twelve to fourteen feet in thickness, appears in several parts in as perfect a state as when first erected; in some places reaching to a height equal to its breadth. Here the stones are flat and thin, something resembling tiles, but much larger and thicker. The quantity composing the circumvallation of this capacious stronghold is immense. The inclosed area is very rocky and forms two points from which the name seems to be derived—it contains a well, and on the south side, where the hill is most easily ascended, there is plainly discernible a road or approach carried obliquely to the summit. In one part of this path a wall has been thrown across, which leads me to suppose that by this way the stones for the building have been conveyed from the plain.

At the gap, between two rocks by which the summit was gained, the wall is highest and strongest. This is the most complete remain of a dry stone fortification which I have hitherto seen.

"The singular collection of stones, (Plate LXX. fig. 2,) was long concealed from general observation by a surrounding wood. The stones have been arranged so as to form a number of cells or apartments, some of which, as shewn by the plan, are nearly entire. I could find no tradition concerning those remains, which have no more appropriate name than Clachan more, 'the great stones.' The little eminence on which they stand may have been a place of residence, but I could not satisfy myself that there had been any surrounding wall or ditch. Near Belmaduthie house, the residence of Mr. Mackenzie of Kilcoy, some miles eastward, is a cell of a similar construction surrounded by a vallum.

"The most curious of those ancient stone erections is to be seen not far from Taradin; it consists of a circle formed of large stones, with a *covered way leading into it!* I regret that nightfall prevented my taking a drawing of this singular object. Near it is a large heap of stones called Cairn Earnan, which would appear to mark the burial place of the saint or holy person from whose *Cell* the parish is called *Cil* [Kil] Earnan.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"JAMES LOGAN."

Seal of King William the Conqueror.

November 21, 1833. Sir Henry Ellis exhibited to the Society a Cast recently taken in the Hotel Soubise at Paris by Mr. Doubleday, from the seal of King William the Conquerer, appendant to the Deed by which that monarch granted land at Teynton, in England, to the Abbey of St. Denis near Paris. (See Plate LXXI. fig. 1.) The Charter to which this seal is appendant is printed in the appendix to Dom Felibien's history of that Abbey.

This impression of the Conqueror's seal is the clearest and most intelligible at present known; although it has lost a small, but fortunately an unim-



1. Seal of William the Conqueror. 2.3. Great and Privy Seals of Owen Glyndowr as Prince of Wales.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1834

F. Basire del. et Sculp.

portant, portion of its inscription. No engraving of this Seal hitherto published has done it justice either in general accuracy or the minuteness of detail. The manner of fastening the helmet, as visibly described upon the Norman side of this seal, has not been before represented, nor has the lengthened form of the kite-shaped shield been heretofore given in its full extent. The large size and hollow form on the inner side of the Norman shields, furnished with which the leaders of the Norman armies are usually represented, answered other purposes besides that of mere personal protection in battle. The warrior could sleep within it, or if he slept sitting could be protected by it, while in the camp ; as is shewn in the representation of a warrior in an illumination of a MS. Breviary of the twelfth centuary, preserved in the library of Mr. Coke at Holkham, in Norfolk. This same large and hollow shield also offered the means of carrying the warrior from the field of battle when dangerously wounded. Such an application of the shield, it may be observed, was made in very early times among the Greeks. Potter says, " Most indeed of the ancient bucklers seem to have covered the whole body, whence we read of the famous command of the Spartan mothers to their sons Ἢ τὰ, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰν, ' Either bring this,' meaning the buckler, ' or be brought upon it.' The anecdote is recorded in Plutarch's Apophthegmata.

Iron Matrix of the Seal of of the Abbey of Langley in Norfolk.

November 21st 1833. Sir Francis Freeling, Bart., exhibited to the Society an iron Matrix, of the Seal of the Abbot of Langley, in Norfolk. It was found in demolishing the last London Bridge.

There were two religious houses of the higher class formerly existing in England at places of the name Langley ; one a House of Benedictine Nuns at Langley, in Buckinghamshire, near Bredon, founded in the beginning of the reign of Henry II.: the other a Premonstratensian Abbey, built and endowed by Robert Fitz Roger Helke, or de Clavering, A. D. 1198, in the county of Norfolk. Both houses were dedicated to the Virgin Mary.



The present Seal represents the Virgin Mary's Assumption; and the figure of an Abbot, with his crozier, below, leaves no doubt of the Langley to which it is to be ascribed.

The legend reads:

"Sigillum domini Abbatis de Langley"

An impression from the Seal of the Abbey of Langley, in Buckinghamshire, appendant to a Deed of 1284, preserved in the Augmentation Office, is described in the last edition of Dugdale's Monasticon.[e]

December 12, 1833. Mr. Samuel Woodward exhibited a sketch of an ancient sword which had been recently dredged up from the bed of the river Yare, at Thorpe, two miles below Norwich. The blade, although much corroded, was still very flexible; it was thirty-two inches in length, and about an eighth of an inch thick in the back. A rude crown of three rays, formed

[e] Vol. iv. p. 221.

by lines of red gold, was let into each side of the blade about five inches above the guard, which was of copper. The pomel and grip were very perfect, the former ornamented with rude engraving. The period of the first or second Edward is presumed to be the date of this sword.

Great and Privy Seals of Owen Glyndowr.

December 12, 1833. Mr. DOUBLEDAY, this evening, laid upon the Society's table, Impressions, also from the Hotel Soubise, at Paris, of the public and private seals of Owen Glyndowr, as Prince of Wales. (Plate LXX. figg. 2, 3.) The originals are appended to two instruments preserved in that Repository, in the Cartons J. 623 and J. 392, both dated in the year 1404, and believed to relate to the furnishing of the troops, which were supplied, in that year, to Owen by the King of France.

The Great seal has an obverse and reverse. On the obverse Owen is represented, with a bipid beard very similar to Richard the II., seated under a canopy of gothic tracery; the half-body of a wolf forming the arms of his chair on each side; the back-ground is ornamented with a mantle semée of lions, held up by angels. At his feet are two lions. A sceptre is in his right hand; but he has no crown. The inscription OWENUS . . . . . PRINCEPS WALLIE. On the reverse of the great seal, Owen is represented on horseback in armour; in his right hand, which is extended, he holds a sword, and with his left his shield charged with four lions rampant; a drapery, probably a *kerchief de plesaunce*, or handkerchief won at a tournament, pendent from the right wrist. Lions rampant also appear upon the mantle of the horse. On his helmet, as well as on his horse's head, is the Welsh dragon. The area of the seal is diapered with roses. The inscription on this side seems to fill the gap upon the obverse: OWENUS DEI GRATIA . . . . WALLIE.

The Privy seal represents the four lions, rampant toward the spectator's left, on a shield, surmounted by an open coronet, the dragon of Wales as a supporter on the dexter side; on the sinister a lion. The inscription seems to have been *Sigillum Oweni* PRINCIPIS WALLIE.

No impression of this Seal is probably now to be found either in Wales or England. Its workmanship shows that Owen Glyndowr possessed a taste for art beyond the types of the Seals of his predecessors.

Roman Antiquities discovered in the Parish of St. Olave, Southwark. Distinction between the three Manors of Southwark.

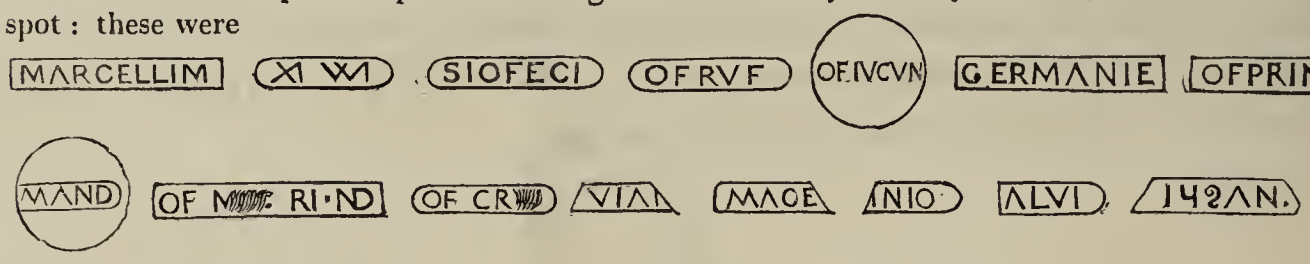
January 9, 1834. George R. Corner, Esq. F. S. A., exhibited some specimens of Roman pottery and an ancient key, found a short time since in excavating to lay the foundation of some new buildings in the parish of Saint Olave, Southwark, near the foot of London Bridge.

The first was a vase or bowl of bright red glazed pottery, 8 inches in diameter and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. The exterior embossed or stamped with a pattern consisting of a broad border, beneath which was a band or fillet divided into compartments of four several patterns, one of which exhibits dogs following hares, and on the lower or underpart of the vessel, reaching nearly to the foot, a scroll pattern with various ornaments. The interior has the potter's mark, which I take to be the same as that on one of the fragments of similar vessels mentioned in the "History of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane," OF MVRRA.

Mr. Corner mentioned two other vases of a similar kind in his possession, one exhibiting, on the exterior pattern, medallions containing goats in various attitudes, the potter's mark, IOVANTI; the other, which is of a different pattern is $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and the potter's mark, SERRVS.[f]

The second specimen exhibited was an elegantly formed vase of rough unglazed pottery, 7 inches in diameter, and 4 inches in height, standing on a foot raised about two inches. It has an indented and moulded projecting rim; and round the lower edge of the vase a moulded ornament

[f] At a subsequent meeting of the Society (Feb. 27, 1834) Mr. Corner communicated a List of Marks and Inscriptions upon other Fragments of Pottery, in his possession, found on the same spot: these were



similar to that on the lip. The colour of a pale red, but the bottom of the interior black, as if from the action of fire.

The third specimen exhibited was a small lead-coloured vase of thin substance and simple form, but ornamented on the exterior by a graving tool. Mr. Corner possesses two others of a similar kind: and several others were found near the same spot.

The remaining articles exhibited consisted of two lamps, found near the same place; a bronze key of curious construction, apparently of Roman make; and the neck and handle of a small earthern bottle, which had been gilt, the remains of the gilding being still visible.

The numerous Roman antiquities found in this neighbourhood, abundantly prove the occupation of the place by that people; but Mr. Corner considers it most probable that the Roman settlement on this side the river was confined within the limits of the guildable manor in Southwark, which extends from St. Mary Overies Dock on the west, to Hay's Wharf on the east, and includes the north side of St. Olave's (commonly called Tooley Street) from Hay's Lane westward to the Bridge, the south side of St. Olave's Street westward from Glean Alley, the site of the Hostelry of the Prior of Lewes, both sides of High Street (formerly called Long Southwark) as far as St. Thomas's Hospital, the west side of High Street nearly to the Town Hall, part of the Borough Market, the site of the church of St. Saviour, and Montagu Close; being bounded on the west by the Clink Liberty (anciently the Bishop of Winchester's Palace and Park), and on the east and south by another of the three City Manors in Southwark, called the Great Liberty Manor.

The guildable manor, he considers, had probably been part of the possessions of Earl Godwin, who had a house in Southwark.

It is stated in Domesday Book, "De exitu aquæ ubi naves applicabant Rex habuit II^{as} partes, Godwinus Comes tertiam."

After the Conquest, the Guildable Manor became the property of the Earls of Warren and Surrey, as appears by the deed dated in 1281, mentioned by Stowe (vol. ii. p. 23), whereby John, the 7th Earl, remitted to Nicholas, Abbat of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and the Convent of the same, and their successors, suit to his court of Southwark, which they owed to him for all that messuage and houses builded thereon, which they had of his fee in

Southwark, situate upon the Thames between the Bridge-house and the church of St. Olave.

This manor afterwards falling into the hands of the Crown, was granted by King Edward the Third to the citizens of London, by a charter dated the 6th March, in the first year of his reign. It is there called the vill of Southwark.

This was the commencement of the authority of the City of London in Southwark. The King's manor was then the property of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Great Liberty Manor belonged to the Monastery of Bermondsey. The City of London did not acquire these two manors, nor had they any jurisdiction in them, until the reign of Edward VI.

The distinction between the three manors in Southwark, Mr. Corner says, has not been pointed out by any of the local historians, most of whom have supposed that the City of London had jurisdiction over the whole of the present Borough of Southwark from the time of Edward III. He therefore conjectures that the Guildable Manor was the ancient Borough of Southwark; and that in process of time, as the Borough extended itself, and the buildings spread into the adjoining manors, those manors became also considered parts of the Vill.

Read 10th April, 1834.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1833.

We the Auditors appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 13th day of March 1834, to audit the Accounts of their Treasurer for the year ending the 31st day of December 1833, having examined the said Accounts, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, do find the same to be just and true; and we have prepared from the said Account the following Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, for the information of the Society; viz.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance of last year's Account				232	5	5½
RECEIPTS OF THE YEAR 1833.						
By Admissions of Members elected	176	8	0			
By annual Subscriptions including Arrears . . .	928	10	6			
By dividend on 7,200*l.* stock 3 per Cent Consols, due 5th January 1833	108	0	0			
By dividend on 7,000*l.* stock 3 per Cent Consols, due 5th July 1833	105	0	0			
By Sale of Books and Prints	92	18	4			
By Stamp-duty on fourteen Bonds . . .	21	0	0			
				1431	16	10
By Compositions in lieu of annual Subscriptions . .				294	0	0
By sale of 200*l.* stock in 3 per Cent. Consols . .				174	3	6
				£2132	5	9½

Stock in the 3 per Cent. Consols, 7,000*l.*

DISBURSEMENTS OF THE YEAR 1833.

	£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Artists and in Expenses of Publications by the Society	1302	13	1			
For Taxes	74	9	8			
For Salaries	422	15	0			
For Tradesmen's Bills, *viz.* Coals, Candles, and House Expenses	85	2	7			
For Bookbinding	19	14	0			
For Insurance	22	11	0			
For Anniversary Dinner	21	3	0			
For Watering the street	2	2	0			
For Postage, Parcels, Advertisements, and Petty Cash .	59	7	5			
For Collecting Subscriptions	45	19	9			
For Stamps for Bonds	19	10	0			
				2075	7	6
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 1st day of January 1834				56	18	3½
				£2132	5	9½

Witness our hands this 9th day of April 1834.

(Signed) A. DICKSON, Col.
T. PHILLIPS.

The Treasurer reports to the Auditors, that he regrets to be under the necessity of again postponing the statement, which he hoped he should now be able to make, of the Receipts and Disbursements occasioned by the Anglo-Saxon Works undertaken by the Society, as he has not yet obtained

from the Publishers any account of the proceeds of the Foreign sale of Cædmon's Paraphrase, nor has the Printer's bill yet been delivered. In the meantime, the payments already made have not quite exhausted the amount received by Subscriptions, and by the sale of the work at the Library; so that no aid has yet been required from the Funds of the Society.

The Treasurer also wishes to take this opportunity of remarking, that the very heavy expense of publishing in one year the whole of the Twenty-fourth Volume of the Archæologia, with more than one hundred Engravings, instead of the customary publication of a half volume, has materially increased the amount of the Disbursements included in the Account now audited.

PRESENTS TO THE SOCIETY,

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH VOLUME OF

ARCHÆOLOGIA.

1832.

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Somerset Place, April 10, 1834.

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